RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Windows on the World

BY

J.T. KOTILAINE

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PREFACE

This book reviews some key aspects of what became the last century of the state that called itself the Grand Duchy of Muscovy. To many, that state continues to represent a stubborn vestige of the Middle Ages, a repository of Byzantine traditionalism with few cultural or other links to the rest of Europe. The West, in contrast, was undergoing a remarkable commercial revolution having embraced fundamentally different, "modern" values in the Renaissance and the Reformation alike. By the 18th century, however, the "medieval" Muscovite grand duchy had transformed itself into a mighty empire with an energetic and far-sighted leader at its helm, the much lionized, nearly mythological Peter "the Great" who is credited with turning his back on old Muscovy and opening Russia's "window on Europe."

Yet Peter was as much as child of Muscovy as was the empire he established. This monograph is an attempt, among other things, to highlight the crucial role that the West played in Muscovy's transformation during the century leading up the Great Northern War. It demonstrates that foreign merchants, through their interest in Muscovite raw materials and semi-processed products, lent a crucial impetus to the dramatic growth in the productive activities of urban artisans and the rural sector alike. Foreign trade fuelled the Russian economy with specie and supplied the state at many critical points with weapons and other key products. The West, through its merchant-entrepreneurs, was a key agent in Russia's rise to the stature that eventually allowed it to challenge other European powers. When Peter broke the Baltic barrier, he was treading a road well travelled by his compatriots and Western—and even Asian—merchants alike. This book is an attempt to show that the Petrine transformation was only possible after some of the key developments described here. The commercial revolution of 17th-century Russia thus raises some important questions about the received notion of late Muscovy as a stagnant and isolated society awaiting its savior in the great Romanov reformer.

A work of this magnitude inevitably invites difficult choices and, as a result, represents a number of compromises. My desire to do full justice to my sources and to provide relevant factual information to those interested in pursuing further some of the numerous

issues addressed here has resulted in many largely descriptive sections. At the same time, a proper appreciation of the nature of the heterogeneous source base used is often crucial for understanding some of the conclusions reached, as well as for full awareness of many key issues.

There is no obvious way of structuring a work of this remit. The choices made are partly driven by the analytical approach adopted but, in fairness, also owe a great deal to the limitations of the sources used. A structure that has a major geographic element permits greater cohesion within individual chapters than would have been possible otherwise. It has the further advantage of allowing some of the chapters to stand essentially on their own for the benefit of those readers interested in particular trade routes.

Covering a century of key aspects of any country's economic history is an enormous undertaking. This book is a synthesis of a great deal of existing scholarship and primary data but inevitably also just one step in the process of understanding the economic and social processes that over the centuries shaped Eurasia into what it is today. It is impossible to do full justice many of the complex issues addressed here in any single monograph. I therefore hope that many of the questions that have been left unanswered or only partially answered will inspire others to follow suit on this fascinating journey of discovery.

A work of this scope would not have been possible without the important contributions of many of other students of Eurasian trade history. I have had the privilege of getting to know many of them over the years and owe them an immense debt of gratitude for their interest, support, and suggestions, too many of which were undoubtedly left unheeded. Many of them generously shared their notes and copies of archival documents. Much of the research for this book was conducted under the thoughtful supervision of Edward Keenan, Stephen Marglin, and David Landes. I remain deeply grateful for their patience, support, and encouragement.

Countless individuals showed me generous hospitality during my research trips around Europe and allowed me to gain new and often unexpected insights about the countries and regions I studied. I was repeatedly impressed with the professionalism of the staff at the various archival repositories I consulted. Many of them devoted considerable time and effort to helping me locate relevant documents as well as to filling the gaps after my research travel was completed.

This project benefited from generous financial support by a number of organisations. I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Harvard Society of Fellows, the Davis Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the Social Sciences Research Council of the Finnish Academy, the Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Osk. Huttunen Foundation.

Many of my colleagues have helped in preparing the manuscript, among other things by providing illustrations. I would especially like to thank Jan Willem Veluwenkamp, Darius Antanavičius, and John LeDonne.

As great as my gratitude is for the various individuals and organisations, both named and unnamed, they naturally bear no responsibility for any factual errors that exist nor do they necessarily share the views expressed in this book.

My wife Jennifer has been with me throughout this project. She has provided constant support and has been a valued source of ideas. She has kept me in good humor and done more than her fair share of editing and proofing with admirable devotion. My research has coincided with the arrival of our children Henrik and Annika who have been a endless of source delight. I dedicate this work to all three with more gratitude than any words could ever begin to express.

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Queen Christina to the Baltic German merchant Bernchard Steen von Steenhusen in 1638. Steenhusen lived in Nyen until his death in 1648/9. Fig. 19 (b) dates from 1698 and was drawn by J. Mejer. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Swedish Consulate General in St Petersburg.

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duced with permission from: Birutė Butkevičienė, Irena Krivienė, Alma Braziūnienė, and Tomasz Niewodniczański, eds., *Imago Lithuaniae: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės žemelapiai ir dokumentai is Tomaszo Niewodniczańskio rinkinių: Parodos katalogas 2003 09 17–11 28*, Vilnius: Margi raštai—Vilniaus Universiteto Biblioteka, 2002.

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Fig. 25. Map of Siberia.
By Semën Ul' ianovich Remezov who was one of the leading cartographers of Siberia in the late 17th and the early 18th century. This maps dates from ca. 1699. Although it has an inverted perspective like the Spatharios map, it is marked by a great deal more detail and accuracy. In particular, all settlements along the large rivers of Siberia are indicated. Pen and ink and watercolor ; 16 × 21 in. Published in *Imago mundi*, XI, 111. Houghton Library, Harvard University MS Russ 72 (3). Published by permission.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE RISE OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN TRADE IN THE 17TH CENTURY

When the 17th century dawned, few could imagine that it—in spite of the recent demise of the long-standing Riurikide dynasty—would mark the end of an era for a state still known as the Grand Duchy of Muscovy. This principality had grown from modest beginnings on the Moskva River to reclaim the mantle of Kievan Rus' and to occupy an enormous swathe of the Eurasian continent stretching from the Kola Peninsula to the foothills of the Caucasus, or from Lake Peipus on the Livonian border to the endless Siberian taiga. Yet, its considerable successes notwithstanding, late Muscovite Russia remained on the periphery of the European consciousness and geography alike, a land set apart culturally and politically. Compared to Western Europe, it was an underdeveloped economy which still in 1600 got much of its treasure from furs caught in the *terra incognita* of the Urals and the newly conquered Siberian colonies, as well as a limited range of largely unprocessed agricultural products.

As remote, alien, and forbidding as the Muscovite state may have seemed to the Western observer, it was also a country on the verge of breaking out of its centuries-long isolation. Russian involvement in international diplomacy and warfare—especially starting with the Livonian War—was an important milestone for a country that had tended to fight its battles with the nomadic successors to their one-time Mongol overlords on the inner Eurasian steppes. But another area where the transformation was no less profound and far-reaching was the economic sphere, specifically commercial exchange with foreign powers. This study undertakes a comprehensive examination of this interaction and seeks to assess the impact international trade had on the country's overall economic development.

The last Muscovite century can hardly be characterized as a departure from complete autarky for Russia. The country had long traditions of commerce and Varangian trade on the Dniepr route had in fact been instrumental to the creation of the Kievan state. However, the

period under review here does mark the advent of a new era of dramatic commercial expansion and institutional innovation, in essence, a new, mature phase when Russian trade with the West and the East alike became regularized on a substantial scale. The still relatively modest foreign trade in the Middle Ages had taken place along overland routes cutting across Poland-Lithuania or the southern steppes and through the Hanseatic *Kontor* at Novgorod. In contrast, the expansion of overseas trade in 17th-century Russia—primarily on the White Sea route and secondarily in the Baltic—was marked by intensive commercial interaction with the leading mercantile powers of the day. Asia, similarly, constituted another "new" frontier of Russian trade where the evolution of commercial relations beyond traditional luxury trade and gift-giving laid the foundation for Russia's role as an intermediary in intercontinental economic exchange. In addition to providing the first comprehensive account of the evolution of Russia's seaborne trade with northern and western Europe, this study also analyzes the impact of technological change on the once-important central European overland routes.

The end of Russia's relative economic isolation was nothing short of dramatic. According to N.A. Baklanova, the country was more dependent on foreign trade during the last Muscovite century than at any other point in her history.[1] This claim, while difficult to prove with precision, makes an important point. Late Muscovy was drawn into a rapidly expanding global system of exchange at a time when the economic dynamism of the leading Western European trading nations translated into unprecedented demand growth. The Muscovite supply response transformed a subsistence-level agricultural producer into an increasingly important supplier of a range of raw materials and semi-processed goods demanded by the Dutch, English, etc.

Foreign trade played a pivotal part in Russia's general economic development. 17th-century Muscovy was a highly monetized society which nonetheless lacked known domestic sources of precious metals. Russia's money supply was instead replenished through a deliberate and consistent policy of ensuring large trade surpluses which foreigners settled in specie. Thus, at a very basic level, the Muscovite economy depended on foreign trade to function normally and to benefit from the efficiency gains further monetization entailed. The Muscovite

[1] Baklanova, "Ian de-Gron," p. 110.

state grew steadily more dependent on trade-related revenues—whether customs duties, state-controlled exports, or monopolies farmed out to foreign traders—for its fiscal health. Similarly, foreign trade served as a means of ensuring the very survival of the state. Large-scale weapons and munitions imports preceded each major military campaign even as a domestic arms industry gradually began to take shape. The advent of the Imperial era would eventually fundamentally reduce this dependency on trade due to the discovery and exploitation of domestic sources of precious metals and an active policy of import substitution.

Muscovite policy-makers were naturally acutely aware of the need for foreign specie and, as a result, took pains to stimulate trade and exert control over it. According to J. Savary, a contemporary French observer, foreign merchants trading at Arkhangel'sk normally paid for the purchases of Russian wares half in Western imports, half in foreign specie—the sought-after *efimki* (a term derived from the word *Joachimsthaler*, although it appears to have referred to Western silver specie—most notably the different varieties of *Reichsthaler*—more generally). Many Westerners were, by and large, happy to oblige with the government's demands, since using large quantities of bullion typically gave them improved terms of trade. The 1667 New Commercial Code formalized, and further contributed to, this practice by specifying that customs duty on foreign goods was to be collected in foreign specie.[2] P.J. Marperger's early 18th-century account states that the proportion of specie in payment for Russian goods was normally between one-quarter and one-third. However, he notes, that the bundle of imports bartered for the balance typically also contained some precious metals and, in fact, the most popular Western import with the Russians was gold wire. Marperger claims that Russian precious metal imports were actually not a fixed proportion of the value of exports but rather varied in accordance with domestic demand for metals.[3] Large surpluses were no less common in Baltic trade, in spite of the added layer of Baltic merchants. A. Attman's analysis of a number of short periods from the late 16th and the first half of the 17th century suggests that export surpluses in the

[2] Attman, *The Russian and Polish Markets*, p. 183; Chistiakova, "Novotorgovyi ustav," p. 122 ff.

[3] Savary, *Le parfait négociant*, 280; Marperger, *Moscowitischer Kaufmann*, p. 218 ff.; Attman, *The Russian and Polish Markets*, pp. 181–3.

Baltic region tended to vary between 20 and 40 percent of the combined value of imports and exports. In the case of the Lübeck-based *Compagnie der Novgorodfahrer*, for which we have an almost uninterrupted series of trade data from 1637–1700, the proportion was as high as 42.4 percent.[4] Even if a possibly sizeable fraction of the specie was retained by the Swedish authorities with their own mercantilist agenda, much of it undoubtedly still made it to Russia. Moreover, Western merchants operating in northwestern Russia were subject to the same policies as their counterparts in Arkhangel'sk and elsewhere in the country.

Another aspect of the strategic dependency had to do with important goods which Russia either did not produce at all or was unable to turn out in sufficient quantities. The late 16th–17th centuries saw the Muscovite response to the gunpowder revolution to the west of the Dźwina. At the end of its relative geographic and political isolation, Russia was forced to devise institutions that permitted it to compete militarily with its more advanced Western neighbors, an imperative necessity at a time when war was becoming more the norm than the exception. The Muscovite response was based on establishing a high degree of government control over key productive resources which entailed, among other things, a stratification of Muscovite society, most importantly the institution of serfdom under the 1649 *Ulozhenie*.[5] However, foreign trade played a critical and hitherto underappreciated role in the Muscovite response. A particularly crucial category in this regard were weapons. Russia's domestic weapons production only got on its feet after the middle of the century and large quantities of imports were needed even thereafter, indeed well into the 18th century. In the simplest terms, foreign trade was at least a precondition for Russia's political survival at a time when she was faced with increasingly aggressive neighbors. The available evidence of large-scale weapons and munitions imports during the Smolensk campaign and the Thirteen Years' War suggests that normal trade relations were a prerequisite for large-scale offensives and that military need, in turn, served as an important catalyst for trade. Foreign trade, similarly, remained the source of most metals. Domestic

[4] Harder, "Seehandel," I, p. 113; II, p. 26; Attman, *The Russian and Polish Markets*, p. 183; Olechnowitz, *Handel*, p. 174; Kotilaine, "Opening a Window," p. 498.
[5] Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change*, pp. 135–45.

iron and copper production was—in spite of concerted efforts—insufficient to eliminate this dependency until the 18th century.[6]

Foreign trade had an impact on several other aspects of Russia's development. The leading cities of the nation's periphery—most notably the six border towns designated in the 1667 New Commercial Code—were heavily dependent on international commerce and, thanks to it, invariably experienced dramatic growth, often from a very modest starting point. The busiest of the six—Arkhangel'sk on the White Sea coast—saw its trade volumes increase at least four-fold in the course of the century. It became the driving force behind the economic expansion of the vast coastal region consisting of the Northern Dvina-Sukhona valley. The leading central Russian cities—Vologda, Iaroslavl', Kostroma, Moscow, etc.—conducted a substantial proportion of their trade with the northern port. The two northwestern border towns—Novgorod and Pskov—underwent an expansion which was in many ways even more impressive. Novgorod, in particular, rose from near-total destruction during the Time of Troubles and made considerable progress towards reclaiming its position as the country's second city. In the second half of the century, the impressive renaissance of Baltic trade made the Novgorod-Pskov region the most rapidly growing part of the Russian economy. The history of the western and southwestern border points Smolensk and Putivl' was much more checkered. However, both of them ultimately embarked on a path of remarkably rapid growth by the 1670s; the former because of growing interaction with Riga, the latter because of the increasing reorientation of the Left Bank Ukrainian economy towards Moscow. The southern border point, Astrakhan', eventually grew into a crucial center of silk trade and tied large parts of the Volga basin into international commerce. Even Russia's vast Siberian colony was drawn into foreign trade, first with Central Asia and then increasingly with China. The Volga-Dvina axis between Astrakhan' and Arkhangel'sk, in turn, provided the basis for Russia's rise as an intermediary in intercontinental trade.

The Muscovite pattern of rapid growth in response to an external demand stimulus is not unique by European or global standards. As David Ricardo demonstrated well over a century ago, an economy departing from (*de facto*) autarky can be expected to experience a

[6] Kotilaine, "In Defense," pp. 78–94.

shift in its output profile and resource allocation.[7] Whole new productive activities sprang up in response to foreign demand as some of the traditional activities gradually declined. In spite of the highly imperfect factor markets, or even a near-total lack of them after the consolidation of the *pomest'e*-serfdom system,[8] the Russian case even manifests parallels with the classic response predicted by the Heckscher-Olin model of international trade. One of the central tenets of this model is that "A country has a production bias towards, and hence tends to export, the commodity which uses intensively the factor [of production] with which it is relatively well endowed."[9] In the Russian case, of course, the factor in question was land, whether used in agriculture or forestry. In many cases, this openness meant less attention to, and fewer resources for, particular productive activities than would have been seen under conditions of autarky. It is revealing that a more active policy of import substitution under Peter I and thereafter came to be accompanied by a steady retreat from the economic openness of the late Muscovite era.

The late medieval and early modern history of eastern and northern Europe provides several examples of more or less subsistence-level agricultural economies experiencing a pronounced supply response to integration in international trade. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, thanks to an extensive network of navigable rivers that linked much of the country with the ports of Danzig (Gdańsk), Königsberg, Riga, etc., was able to emerge as a leading supplier of grain, as well as other agricultural and forest products, as the local magnates rose to meet the growing needs created by urbanization west of the Elbe.[10] Many have endorsed W. Rusiński's claim that the rise of the *folwark* economy was a direct result of the country's economic opening-up in the 15th century. Serfdom, the argument goes, permitted intensive agricultural production by minimizing labor costs and protecting

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[7] Jones and Kenen, *Handbook of International Economics*, I, p. 1.

[8] The widespread use of conditional land tenure (*pomest'e*), in spite of some significant changes over time, essentially eliminated normal land markets. After the peasantry was tied to the land by the 1649 *Ulozhenie*, normal labor markets, similarly, disappeared.

[9] Jones and Kenen, *Handbook of International Economics*, I, p. 15.

[10] Bogucka, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska*; Doroshenko, "Riga i eë khinterland;" *idem*, *Torgovlia i kupechestvo Rigi*; Forstreuter, *Die Memel als Handelsstraße Preußens nach Osten*; Attman, *The Russian and Polish Markets*.

profit margins even in the event of long-distance transportation.[11] In Scandinavia, foreign demand drove in important ways the development of the Norwegian forest industry which reduced the historical dependency on fishing. A similar process was observed in Swedish iron and copper production, and more generally in the development of agriculture and forestry.[12] Indeed, as A. Attman has shown, commercial considerations were paramount in driving Swedish expansionism across the Baltic in a way that would permit the kingdom to control and tax the trade flows passing through eastern and southern Baltic ports.[13] Ultimately, of course, the newfound wealth of the northern European powers and the dramatically increased value of their resource endowments led to a hard-fought and drawn-out battle for control of the Baltic region.[14]

In the Russian case, the earliest instance of a large-scale domestic supply response to an external demand stimulus involved the growth of fur trade in the late Middle Ages, something that led to the rapid decimation of the fur-bearing fauna of European Russia and drove the expansion into Siberia.[15] However, fur trade was still inevitably limited in scale and a more systematic integration of Russia had to await a change in the European demand profile toward something that more closely corresponded with the country's natural resource endowments. This happened with the establishment of the Dutch and English mercantile empires and that of large-scale shipbuilding that turned Russia's endless forests and her agricultural products into valuable assets. It further stimulated the development of a rudimentary processing industry that converted timber into products with higher value-added. The transition from self-sufficient agriculture, hunting, fishing, and small crafts towards a more systematic exploitation of Russia's land fund was helped along by several institutional factors and policies. Russia's growing colonization of the south and the east

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[11] Rusiński, "Znaczenie rynku zewnętrznego," p. 441. For a survey of interpretations, see: Kochanowicz, "The Polish Economy," pp. 96–100.

[12] Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, I; Magnusson, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*; Wittrock, *Svenska Handelskompaniet och kopparhandeln under Gustav II Adolf*; Åström, *From Tar to Timber*; Ellehøj, *Danmarks Historie*, VII; Olsen and Askgaard, *Danmarks Historie*, VIII; Johnsen, *Norwegische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 252–5.

[13] Attman, *Den ryska marknaden; idem, The Russian and Polish Markets; idem, The Struggle for Baltic Markets; idem, Swedish Aspirations and the Russian Market.*

[14] Frost, *The Northern Wars*.

[15] For a survey of the medieval Russian fur trade, see: Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness*.

provided access to new land and forests. The institution of serfdom, by effectively eliminating the problem of peasant mobility, ensured a steady labor supply in areas with serfs (although the allocation of labor was obviously not optimal under serfdom), among other things the key fiber-producing regions of the northwest which had been severely depleted in the second half of the 16th and the early 17th century. A causal connection between foreign demand and the rise of serfdom has not gained currency in the Muscovite case as it has in the literature on Polish-Lithuania. While this may be justifiable by the political history of the era, it is unquestionably the case that serfdom facilitated the Russian supply response in the 17th century. What is unique about the Russian case, as compared to her European neighbors, is the relative lateness of this transformation and its momentous consequences. A once-peripheral country was able to use its integration in the global economy as part of an institutional makeover that turned it into the most politically successful country of the European periphery—an empire to rose to subjugate its one-time rivals and established itself as one of the great powers of the world.

The Russian state had a major stake in foreign trade. Russia was an early modern economy with an underdeveloped, albeit rapidly growing, administrative infrastructure. Levies on trade remained one of the simplest and most effective ways of generating revenue for the government. Perhaps even more importantly, Russia was a poor economy where the vast majority of the population lived on a subsistence level and where the peasants' limited ability to pay was highlighted by recurrent regional uprisings throughout the century. Thus, the government's ability to raise revenue from its peasant subjects remained severely limited. Indirect tax revenues were complemented by the nationalization or centralization of trade in a number of important commodities.

The Muscovite state regularly obtained in excess of 40 percent of its budget revenues from indirect taxes. This dependency appears to have been particularly acute during the first half of the century, for which we, regrettably, possess only very fragmentary data. 55–62.2 percent of the revenues raised in the Nizhnii Novgorod region came from customs duties, and another 28.2–36.6 percent from tavern duties, in 1614 and 1619–20. The share of customs duties in the war-ravaged Novgorod was 30.5 percent in 1620 and 25.2 percent in 1625, with another 29–36.6 percent raised in tavern duties. The dependency on trade was even more extreme in Vologda, a key nod

on the Arkhangel'sk route, where 91.4 percent of all revenues came from customs and tavern duties in 1626. A revealing official report from 1614–5 laments the fact that the government had no revenues apart from customs and tavern duties. Additional government revenues came from monopolies of particular goods typically farmed out to foreigners. These at times totaled several thousand roubles a year.[16]

The institution of serfdom, by curbing peasant mobility, significantly facilitated the collection of direct taxes and gave the government a more secure revenue base and a last-resort source of extraordinary taxes. In spite of this, the fiscal normalization of the post-*Smuta* decades did not markedly diminish the role of customs duties. The share of the two main categories of indirect taxes in the 1680 budget was 44.4 percent. It still stood at 40.4 percent in 1701, in wartime when the reliance on other extraordinary levies was much greater. In the meantime, however, the total amount of money collected rose from R 650,223 to R 1,195,974. In contrast, the revenues generated by direct taxes declined during the same period from 33.7 percent to 19.8 percent. These figures reflect the growing importance of foreign trade, and the dynamism of the open sector of the economy, in the closing decades of the last Muscovite century.[17] Very clearly, the growing prosperity of the Muscovite state in the runup to the Great Northern War owed a great deal to its economic interaction with the outside world.

As great as the Russian dependency on trade was, the country was a unique participant in Eurasian commerce. In the vast majority of cases, Russia's economic relations with other powers consisted of foreign merchants coming to Russia for their business. Active trade by Russian entrepreneurs was hampered by the country's lack of a merchant navy until the closing years of the century. Foreign operations by Muscovite traders were thus confined to Russia's immediate neighbors. Western European merchants active in Russia were left playing the leading role in the country's economic opening-up. Most of these merchants came from the commercial superpowers of the day: the Netherlands and England. The Dutch, especially, possessed unparalleled capital and technical resources which made them the most competitive group of foreign merchants active in Russia. Other

[16] Miliukov, *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo*, pp. 17–8, 43, 46; Kliuchevsky, *A Course*, pp. 247, 253–4; Bazilevich, "Èlementy merkantilizma," p. 7.
[17] Miliukov, *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo*, p. 118.

merchants active in Arkhangel'sk included northern Germans and even some Italians. The composition of the foreign merchant corps was very similar in the Baltic. However, the burghers of the Eastern Baltic cities, as well as the Swedish administration, constituted an important additional element. In spite of the asymmetry of the Baltic market, it did offer opportunities for more active involvement by Muscovites and eventually saw the establishment of Russian overseas shipping between Nyen and Stockholm. On the overland routes in the west and the south, Russians tended to be more equal partners. They regularly undertook trips to Lithuania and the Ukraine, as well as Persia and Central Asia. In spite of Russia's institutional weaknesses on foreign markets, the government was reasonably successful in turning trade to its benefit and avoiding the pitfalls of political dependency these conditions could have led to. For this, Muscovite commercial policy, in spite of its numerous inconsistencies, deserves a great deal of credit.

This analysis has a dual purpose. On the one hand, it seeks to clearly establish the parameters of Russian export trade in the 17th century. On the other, it wishes to assess the broader implications foreign trade had on the country's economic development in the early modern era. The first one of these tasks is a primarily mechanical one. In order to assess the importance of trade, one has to quantify it. A central aspect of analyzing the broader implications of trade involves delineating the production regions of various commodities and the nature and extent of the Russian hinterlands of the various border points. The study also examines the ways in which foreign merchants operated in Russia, how they acquired their goods and established supply networks among Russians. Similarly, an attempt is made to determine the institutional parameters affecting the operations of Russian merchants.

This work seeks to fill a number of important gaps in the existing literature. Early modern Russian trade history is still an underdeveloped field in a variety of ways. First and foremost, trade remains a seriously under-researched topic. As a general rule, scholarship during the Imperial era represented a pioneering effort which, in most cases, did little beyond introducing particular issues. Moreover, it tended to be primarily descriptive in nature. Soviet scholars, indoctrinated in dialectical materialism, did not lack enthusiasm for economic topics. Their work, however, was hampered both by the need to force 17th-century economic history into an officially sanctioned deterministic

scheme and by a near-total lack of access to foreign sources. The most serious contributions tended to be very narrow in scope and many were often either not published at all or only saw the light of day in a very abridged form in second-tier journals. No less problematically, much of Russian trade history has tended to be not *economic* history but, rather, a sub-field of *diplomatic* history. To this day, diplomatic correspondence has remained the most popular type of primary source data used to examine what is, after all, an unequivocally economic problem. Consequently, many accounts tend to be impressionistic rather than quantitative and are filled with leaps of faith based on inductive reasoning rather than hard data.

While it is easy to criticize previous scholarship of an excessive reliance of descriptive data, it has to be recognized that any more directly economic analysis is seriously hampered by a frustrating shortage of quantitative data. As far as the most obvious source category of interest to a trade historian—*viz.* customs records—is concerned, the shortages are extreme indeed. There are only two extant Russian customs books from the pre-*Smuta* period and next to none from the last two decades of the century. The period with the best coverage is the 1670s and even there, we no longer possess either temporally or geographically continuous sets of data. The gaps confronting those interested in foreign trade are even more daunting. Not a single 17th-century customs record survives for the country's leading port, Arkhangel'sk, a total of only three for the important northwestern border towns of Novgorod and Pskov, four for Smolensk, at best half a dozen for the Ukrainian border point Putivl', and perhaps two or three for Astrakhan'.[18] While it has been possible to bridge at least some of these gaps by relying on sources on Russia's trade partners, the hope of serious econometric analysis has had to be abandoned in most instances. In spite of these serious constraints, a careful analysis of the surviving quantitative data allows us to treat the evolution of Russian trade with a degree of precision that has hitherto eluded historians. In combination with a range of other sources, customs data offers us a significantly richer, more nuanced, and complete understanding of late Muscovite economic history, and of Russia's place in the global economy, than has been possible up to now.

[18] There are no complete books for Astrakhan', but enough customs receipts to effectively reconstitute a couple of volumes.

This analysis goes beyond the narrowly quantitative, however. This is in part due to the aforementioned limitations of the available economic data but, more importantly, due to a desire to consider the broadest possible range of relevant explanatory variables. Many of these—policy decisions, administrative practices, etc.—are not, even with the best of data, amenable to narrowly statistical analysis. Moreover, attention to other types of data can help us appreciate the limitations of the surviving economic records: idiosyncratic accounting practices, underreporting due to smuggling, etc. The ultimate goal, in short, is a history of Russian trade, not just *trade history* narrowly defined.

This study has adopted an approach designed to overcome what I deem to be one of the most serious problems of the existing literature. I have replaced the traditional micro-level analysis of Baltic and Russian trade historians by a broader, more comparative macro-level focus. The narrow, time-specific studies of individual cities have given way here to an aggregate analysis of overall trends spanning the entire 17th century. The evolution of Russian exports in the four main regions of exchange—Arkhangel'sk, the Eastern Baltic, the Central European land route, and the Asian border—has been quantified and analyzed in a comprehensive fashion to identify cases of trade diversion from one route to the next, as well as periods of overall growth in all areas. Thanks to an exhaustive search for primary source material (both quantitative and descriptive) at nearly 20 archives in 14 countries ranging from Britain to Russia, I have been able to increase the source base several-fold and thereby eliminate many of the sampling biases that have plagued previous writing in the field. I have also drawn on a wide range of published sources, as well as secondary scholarship in some 20 languages, much of it entirely neglected by Western scholars.

This work is composed of nine chapters. Chapter 2 of this study lays out the geographic aspects of Russian trade by describing the main border points and their hinterlands. The trade routes connecting these points increasingly wove the Muscovite economy into a nationwide network of exchange, even if the Leninist dictum about the formation of an all-Russian market has to be treated with considerable skepticism in the context of late Muscovy. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to a presentation of the demand and supply-side factors that shaped the evolution of Russian foreign trade in the course of the century. They review the basic policies and commercial prac-

tices of Russia and her foreign trade partners, as well as examining the evolution of productive activities in the open sector of the Muscovite economy. This is followed by four chapters dealing with the main geographic regions of exchange between the Russian and foreign markets. This choice is explained in part by the inconsistencies in the available data across regions. More importantly, however, it is due to the regional nature of much of Russia's foreign trade, even if the size of the regions in question varied a great deal. The structure of this book is based on the Muscovite government's choice of important border points under the New Commercial Code. Chapter 5 analyzes the most important border point, the White Sea port of Arkhangel'sk, which for much of the century accounted for the majority of Russian export trade. Chapter 6 examines Russia's trade with the Baltic region and undertakes an examination of the economic development of the two leading cities of northwestern Russia, Novgorod and Pskov. Chapter 7 reviews Russian cross-border trade with the Swedish Grand Duchy of Finland and the history of the Central European land routes. The steady decline of trade with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is contrasted with the expansion of commercial ties with the Ukrainian lands. Chapter 8 focuses on Russia's economic relations with Asian powers ranging from Safavid Persia to Qing China.

CHAPTER TWO

POINTS OF ENCOUNTER: RUSSIA'S OUTLETS TO THE WORLD MARKETS

Russia's economic interaction with the rest of the world was historically concentrated in remarkably few towns and cities: "At the end of the 16th century there were three principal routes linking the Russian market with Western Europe: an overland route through Poland, a sea route through the Baltic, and another route across the White Sea from the port of Archangel."[1] Commercial exchange with the Ottoman Empire took place through the Ukraine and trade with the rest of Asia was chiefly channeled through the Volga port of Astrakhan'. While accurate surveillance along the land borders was obviously beyond the means of the government and smuggling far from rare, geographic and logistical considerations naturally tended to concentrate trade in the largest cities with the necessary economic potential to sustain it on a substantial scale. The establishment of six officially designated border points—Arkhangel'sk, Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk, Putivl', and Astrakhan'—under the 1667 New Commercial Code effectively confirmed an existing order of things. Throughout the 17th century, these leading border crossings accounted for the vast majority of Russia's economic interaction with the rest of the world. This chapter will present the border points and seek to delineate their hinterlands which for much of the period remained relatively distinct from each other.

The Arctic Coast

Muscovite contemporaries referred to the remote White Sea port of Arkhangel'sk as Russia's "gate to the seas." This is an apt description of a city which rapidly rose from modest beginnings to become the main focal point of Russia's economic relations with the outside world, a veritable "window on Europe," as the Petrine cliché would

[1] Öhberg, "Russia and the World Market," p. 123.

have it. Following the 1617 treaty of Stolbovo, Russia was left confronting the so-called "Baltic barrier" in the West, consisting of the Swedish eastern Baltic provinces of Estonia and Ingria. After the conquest of Riga from Poland in 1621 and the formal annexation of Livonia in 1629, all of Russia's traditional outlets to the Baltic were in Swedish hands. Moscow was therefore compelled to choose between two second-best alternatives: trading through the intermediation of Baltic German merchants and paying customs duties to Swedish administrators, or developing instead the remote Arctic Sea port of Arkhangel'sk. The Muscovite authorities' understandable preference for the northern route was backed by many Western merchants who were keen to avoid multiple duty payments in the Baltic, not least the Danish Sound toll.[2] The shift that this course of action represented in Russian trade patterns became a source of considerable dismay to the Swedes who had premised their "Great Eastern Program" on the fiscal exploitation of Russian trade with Europe. Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, expressing frustration at the difficulty of reviving trade in the Baltic, told the Swedish Council of State (*Riksråd*) that "The Grand Duke [of Muscovy] has even taken measures to draw all trade with Livonia away and to divert it to Arkhangel'sk."[3]

The "prehistory" of 17th-century Arkhangel'sk is relatively short and well-known—indeed one of the most researched periods of early modern Russian trade history—and need thus not be repeated in detail here. Following growing awareness of the North Cape route and the publication of a description of it by Sigmund von Herberstein in *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii* in 1549, the northern Russian waterway was "discovered" by Western traders by accident, as an unintended first—and, as it turned out, last—stop on what was hoped would be a new route to China and India. In 1552, the *Mystery Company and Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of unknown lands etc.* was founded in London with Sebastian Cabot at its head. In 1553, the new company promptly dispatched three vessels—the "Bona Esperanza," the

[2] Even in cases when some concessions were made in favor of Baltic trade, the government remained determined not to let Arkhangel'sk's position to be undermined. Thus, an ultimately unsuccessful 1634 agreement with Holstein on silk trade with Persia envisaged using the Baltic as the main export route. However, the Russian authorities inserted a provision in the treaty requiring Holsteiners to move their operations to Arkhangel'sk, in case there was any evidence of a downturn in White Sea trade. Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, p. 195.

[3] *SRP*, XIV, p. 399; Öhberg, "Russia and the World Market," p. 157.

"Edward Bonaventure," and the "Bona Confidentia"—under the direction of Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor on a journey into the unknown. The daring adventure was plagued with misfortune almost from the beginning: Willoughby's two vessels were lost in the ice. However, Chancellor's ship reached Rose (Iagry) Island in the estuary of the Northern Dvina on November 23, 1553. The captain journeyed down to Moscow where he was received by Ivan IV as the English ambassador. The merchant adventurers' expression of willingness to trade with Russia was welcomed by the tsar who, in February 1554, authorized English merchants to operate freely within his dominions. On Chancellor's return, the new *Muscovy Company* received its charter with Cabot as its life-time president. In 1555, Ivan IV then issued the company a set of privileges.[4] In spite of these modest beginnings, a new chapter of momentous importance had been opened in Russian economic—and political—history.

While trade in the Dvina estuary at first came to be effectively monopolized by the English, a more established area of Russian-Western interaction was the more northwesterly coast of the Kola Peninsula: especially the Pechenga area in the ill-defined borderlands near the Norwegian fortress of Vardøhus, the Motka (Rybach'ii) Peninsula, the Kola region (around today's Murmansk), Kil'din Island, and the Ponoi coast in the east.[5] The small Russian settlement of Kola-ust'e by the mid-1580s evolved into a fortified city. Its location, 75 kilometers off the Kola coast at the bottom of a fiord, was in many ways ideal for trade, not least because the Murman coast remained ice-free throughout the year. On the other hand, however, the economic potential of the region was limited by its low population density and inhospitable climate, and Danish pirates posed a security risk.[6] While the regional economy was modest in size, it did posses some real assets

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[4] Gamel', *Anglichane*, I, pp. 3–4, 26–30, 254–5; Öhberg, "Russia and the World Market," pp. 125–6.

[5] Ahvenainen, "Some contributions;" Johnsen, "Et træk af den dansk-norske regjeringens handelspolitik," p. 3; *idem, Finmarkens politiske historie*, pp. 133–44; Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 129.

[6] According to a 1574 census, Kola had 44 houses, of which seven belonged to merchants or entrepreneurs from elsewhere. By the early 1580s, the number of houses attained 71 and the total population at least 700. A Danish naval squadron attacked Kola in 1582 and seized R 50,000 worth of goods. The Kola fortress was built largely in response in 1583 by *Voevoda* Maksak Fedorovich Sudimantov. The growth of the city slowed down considerable after the establishment of Arkhangel'sk. In 1608, it had 116 houses and 500 residents. After intensive development since

for international commerce. The northern fisheries began to be more systematically exploited in the 16th century. The local population had a tradition of shipbuilding and regularly engaged in whaling and fishing in the rich waters between Spitsbergen and Novaia Zemlia. The annual catch of cod reached 100–120,000 *pud* at the beginning of the century. In addition, cod liver oil was produced at the rate of nearly 10,000 *pud*. Other exports were generated by local salmon fishing and hunting, but included even pearls from the local river mussels. At least 2,000 people were active in export-oriented production by the beginning of the 17th century.[7]

In the second half of the 16th century, the Kola coast emerged as an economic center of nationwide importance. Danish-Norwegian traders had operated in the area for a long time, albeit only on a very small scale and almost exclusively in local products. Burghers of Bergen and Trondheim, as well as Dutch merchants, established ties with the Pechenga monastery by the 1560s (Chapter 3). The Dutch—who were barred from Kholmogory and the Dvina delta by the privileges of the English—were especially active in the region. They entered into agreements with Novgorod, Vologda, Iaroslav', and other Russian merchants who supplied export goods from central Russia. In an effort to outbid the Muscovy Company, they paid significantly higher prices than the English.[8] The Kola coast continued to be frequented by Western merchants throughout the 17th century, often on their way to Arkhangel'sk.

The transfer of trade to the Dvina estuary was thus very gradual. In the years following Chancellor's discovery, White Sea trade struggled with a number of structural problems. Not the least of these was the fact that the small port of St Nicholas, around the Nikolai-Korel'skii monastery, was far from ideal for large-scale trade. It was located right on the Arctic coast, across from the English base on Rose Island and some ten miles to the west of the Dvina estuary. Ships were forced to ride at anchor on the open sea and wares had to be unloaded on to smaller vessels and transported to the harbor, something that increased both risks and costs. The region's administrative

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the end of the 15th century, the souther coast of the Kola Peninsula still had just over 200 houses and a total population of perhaps 1,500 in 1563. Ushakov, *Kol'skaia zemlia*, pp. 59, 71–5.

[7] *Ibidem*, pp. 63, 65.

[8] Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, pp. 22–7.

center, Kholmogory, was significantly further inland and shipping upstream created additional costs and risks. The situation only improved significantly in 1582 when the Dutch accidentally discovered a far superior and more protected harbor in the Pudozhemsk branch of the Dvina estuary. It turned out to be possible to sail upriver until the monastery of St Michael the Archangel by Pur-Novolokskii Point. The tsar, on hearing the Dutch report, issued an order on March 4, 1583 for a city to be built on this location. The city was given the name Novogorodok which subsequently became Arkhangel'sk after the monastery. Already in 1585, the government ordered all foreign merchants in the north to move their operations to the new city. The Dutch duly arrived in 1586, and the English—after considerable resistance—abandoned their base at Rose Island in 1591.[9]

Even as Kholmogory retained an important role as a regional economic hub, the new port developed at a brisk pace, interrupted only by the Time of Troubles which temporarily severed connections with central Russia. By the middle of the 17th century, the city of Archangel Michael had established itself as a substantial center of national economic importance and decisively eclipsed its regional rivals. In 1624, it had 113 houses belonging to townsmen and an estimated townsman population of 170 (although another estimate claims 130 tax-paying houses, 34 tax-exempt households, 205 musketeer houses, two houses belonging to paupers (*bobyli*), and nine empty lots in the *posad* alone). By 1678, these figures had risen to 122 and 223, respectively. After that, growth slowed down somewhat and the two figures reached 128 and 283 by 1702. These small totals are, obviously, in large part due to the fact that Arkhangel'sk, situated on the inhospitable northern periphery of Muscovy, effectively hibernated during the long winter months. In the summer, however, the city's population was amplified by significant numbers of visitors from elsewhere in Russia, as well as from overseas. Some of these visitors, soon enough became *de facto* permanent residents. In 1680, there were eight houses belonging to chartered merchants and six owned by ordinary merchants from other Russian cities. By 1667, the city already boasted 18

[9] The Dvina estuary consisted of three main branches, from west to east: Murmansk, Pudozhemsk, and Berezovo. In the 17th century, foreign ships usually reached the city through the Pudozhemskoe or the Berezovskoe. *AAE*, I, p. 380; Kordt, *Ocherk*, pp. L–LV; Liubimenko, *Istoriia*, I, pp. 19–20; Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 99–100.

houses owned by foreign merchants and the number steadily increased to 24 in 1678, 29 in 1680, and 35 in 1710. The foreigners resided in their own district of the city, located down the Dvina to the north of the foreigners' guesthouse.[10]

Arkhangel'sk was built around a monastery on a river bank surrounded by marshy lowlands. It was fortified with a 417-*sazhen* (888.21 meters) city wall which had three gates and six towers and further girded by another 312-*sazhen* defensive wall on three sides.[11] Next to the fortified center itself was the *posad* and further down the Dvina the true heart of the town's economic activity, the guesthouses and marketplaces for visiting merchants. The Russian guesthouse in the first half of the century had 84 two-story warehouses for export goods and 32 shops. The so-called "German" yard for foreign visitors boasted 86 comparable warehouses, as well as another 30 warehouses belonging to foreign merchants. In the vicinity of the magazines were the residences of foreign merchants and the so-called "Moscovite foreigners" (*Moskovskie inozemtsy*). On a hillock facing the guesthouses was the city's customs house and further down the river 70 shops belonging to local townsmen. Driven by strong Western demand, the commercial district experienced rapid growth. Johan de Rodes, during his visit in 1653, noted that Arkhangel'sk already had three guesthouses. In addition to Russian warehouses, there were now separate facilities for Dutch and English merchants. Alongside new warehouses for grain, a stone building had been erected inside the city walls for storing Treasury goods.[12]

The growth of Arkhangel'sk was—not atypically for the era—periodically checked by often devastating fires. An unusual number of them in the 1660s culminated in the 1667 conflagration which destroyed all the guesthouses, warehouses, postal facilities, and customs. To avoid this scale of damage in the future, the government opted to build stone guest quarters and warehouses, a project supervised by the originally Hamburg merchant Peter Marselis. After decades of rapid growth, the city finally acquired a physical appearance befitting a leading center of Muscovite economic life. The ambitious

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[10] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 37–8; Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk*, pp. 60, 65, 71; RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, 1680 g., d. 14, fol. 120^{v}.

[11] For a more detailed description, based on a 1622–4 account by Miron Vel'iaminov, see: Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk*, pp. 49–58.

[12] *Sostoianie Rossii*, p. 189.

project was completed by the centenary of the city in 1684.[13] The guesthouse area was now divided up into three parts: in the north was the "German" yard for foreign merchants, in the middle the so-called "stone city" (*kamennyi gorod*), and in the south the Russian yard. The German yard was somewhat larger than the Russian. The first floor of the Russian *dvor* contained 51 rooms with another 54 on the second floor. The corresponding numbers in the foreign yard were 58 and 59. However, the capacity of the German yard was evidently insufficient for the foreign visitors, who not only fully occupied the 21 warehouses of the Stone City, but in fact rented space also on the Russian side.[14]

Arkhangel'sk's harbor was located at the southeastern point of Kegostrov, opposite the guesthouses and the customs. Much like its Baltic rivals, it suffered from a number of weaknesses. The sandy Dvina estuary had several shoals, banks, and small islands, which necessitated the creation of a cadre of pilots to guide foreign vessels with their valuable cargoes. This became a specialty of Kholmogory townsmen and so-called *nizovtsy*, islanders of the estuary. The new arrangement evidently had serious limitations. In 1673, foreign merchants submitted a complaint about the frequent lack of pilots in the estuary, which exposed the visiting ships to great danger.[15]

At peak times, long lines of ships would reach up the Dvina to the monastery. The government repeatedly expressed concern over the fact that this arrangement made the foreign visitors, as well as the city itself, potentially vulnerable to pirates, a state of affairs that led to frequent enquiries about erecting fortifications along the river. The authorities were evidently hoping to use better protection of the port also to curb smuggling. However, no significant measures were

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[13] Titov, *Letopis' Dvinskaia*, pp. 21, 28; Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk*, p. 60; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 35; *DAI*, V, p. 284.

[14] Following a fire in 1669, a new stockade of 395 *sazhen* was built. It had nine towers and two gates. A "wooden town" (*dereviannyi gorod*) to the south of the guesthouses, had five towers. The Wooden Town was an important commercial center in its own right. Its 112 stores of various kinds compared to 44 in the Russian yard and 17 in the Stone Town and constituted a significant proportion of the total of 346 recorded in 1694. Most of these evidently belonged to visiting merchants. In 1703, Arkhangel'sk residents owned only 130 of the total 317 shops recorded. Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk*, p. 61; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 35–7.

[15] Just as importantly, the limited supply coincided with what were perceived as exorbitant prices of R 5–6 a ship into the harbor and R 10–12 on the way out. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 45–6; *DAI*, VI, pp. 178–80.

implemented in the 17th century, perhaps because the sandy shores made large-scale construction efforts very difficult.[16]

The port did, however, have a dual verification system for cargoes, designed to limit black-market trade. Upon arrival in the Dvina estuary, a ship captain was required to submit a list of his cargo to the head of the musketeers, who dispatched a copy of it to the customs. Another control took place in the harbor, or after 1667, upon unloading the wares. The system was evidently found ineffective, since a new control procedure was instituted in 1687 with a special port checkpoint. The head of the office was charged with ensuring that enemy ships could not visit the harbor and with accompanying ships from the estuary so as to ensure that they did not illicitly unload any of their wares before reaching the harbor. He was eventually also placed in charge of interrogating all visiting ship captains about wars, epidemics, and enemy vessels.[17]

The Arkhangel'sk customs was headed by an administration—appointed on an annual basis—consisting of a *gost'* at the head, "heads of customs" (*tamozhennye golovy*) chosen from the "Hundreds" of privileged merchants and sworn officials (*tseloval'niki*) who, similarly, came from the Hundreds. They were assisted by additional officials chosen from among northern townsmen and peasants. Some time after 1658, four Moscow *tseloval'niki* were apparently complemented by people from Iaroslavl', Vologda, and Ustiug Velikii, Kostroma, Sol' Vychegodskaia, and Kargopol', cities which annually sent large numbers of merchants to the White Sea port. In May 1699, the number of outside *tseloval'niki* was increased to 14, including two townsmen of Iarensk.[18]

Trade at Arkhangel'sk followed a fairly rigidly defined annual cycle which changed little in the course of the century and which, geographically speaking, took place across the length and width of central and northern Muscovy. During the winter, goods were taken by various means from central parts of the country to Vologda, the starting point of the long Sukhona-Dvina waterway. The people in charge of the process were usually peasants, less frequently townsmen or agents of foreign merchants. One cart usually carried 23–33 *pud*, a modest quantity which typically translated into, for instance, one

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[16] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 39–41.
[17] Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk*, pp. 104–5, 108; *PSZ*, I, pp. 43–4, No 1248.
[18] *DAI*, III, p. 116; VI, pp. 144, 398; *PSZ*, I, p. 55; III, p. 616; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 54–5.

barrel of white ash or potash. Consequently, the initial leg of the long journey required literally thousands of carts. Iaroslavl' and Kostroma—the leading urban centers of the Upper Volga—were the most important initial pooling places for Russian exports. The services of peasants further to the north were frequently required later in the year as barges returning from the Arkhangel'sk fair were locked in ice. For instance, in 1650, 1,525 carriages with goods from such disabled vessels passed through Ustiug. In fact, merchants often preferred to transport their goods both ways during the winter, since the transportation cost for sleighs was but one-half of the expense involved in river transportation with several portages.[19]

A group of officials (*tseloval'niki*) from Moscow, Iaroslavl', and Kostroma by early April journeyed to Vologda where they, along with local officials, compiled a list of the goods to be shipped to the Arkhangel'sk fair. The *gost'* and the customs heads followed them at the end of May or the beginning of June. The "sworn men" carefully supervised this key phase of the annual cycle of trade. Two of them returned to the Dvina estuary on the first river barges. The other five remained in Vologda until the arrival of foreign ships at Arkhangel'sk to control the rest of the process.[20]

When the Dvina became free of ice, a steady stream of all manner of river vessels slowly made their way to the White Sea port. Most of them belonged to Vologda townsmen and foreign merchants. The largest barges required significant outlays of capital. A typical *doshchanik* had a pilot (*nosnik*), two helmsmen (*kormshchiki*), and 40–50 hired hands. A smaller *karbas*, in contrast, required two helmsmen and 10–13 hired hands.[21] Once they reached Arkhangel'sk, the river barges were parked along the Kunchukur'e, a small tributary of the Dvina, where they effectively served as warehouses until they were unloaded. The barges were kept under strict supervision in order to prevent any irregular dealings and smuggling. The goods were eventually moved by workmen supervised by a special group of porters (*driagili, gruzchiki*) who were further responsible for taking the goods

[19] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 74–8; Iakovtsevskii, *Kupecheskii kapital*, p. 22; RGADA f. 141, op. 7, 1699 g., d. 502, fol. 2; *PSZ*, IV, No 2254.

[20] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 56; *PSZ*, I, pp. 3, 8–b.

[21] The typical cost of transportation between Vologda and Arkhangel'sk was 7.5 kopecks per *pud*. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 63–4, 70–1; Iakovtsevskii, *Kupecheskii kapital*, p. 22.

to be weighed and measured. They similarly dealt with the incoming cargoes of western ships. The lengthy process of unloading began in July and ended in September-October, sometimes only November.[22]

The central focus of commercial activity in Arkhangel'sk was the annual *iarmarka*, on which the city's survival was based and around which everything else was structured. The 17th century saw a protracted debate between foreign and Russian merchants on the basic parameters of the fair. Until 1663, commercial exchange between the two sides was limited to the month of August. However, over time Russian merchants increasingly wished to lengthen the fair, and eventually to keep the dates completely open, whereas foreign visitors wished to impose limits on its duration arguing that a later end date would expose the returning ships to great danger due to the onset of the Arctic winter with ice and frequent storms (Chapter 4).[23]

Trade at Arkhangel'sk was a game involving high stakes. The White Sea port was a remote place, at the end of a long and arduous journey for Western skippers and Russian merchants alike. Transportation costs were high and risks not inconsiderable. Most merchants' livelihoods depended on making each journey a success. For Westerners, Arkhangel'sk was the ideal and often the only source of a variety of Russian goods. Westerners were in a much better position to influence the terms of trade here than in the established commercial centers of the Baltic where the local burghers, moreover, expected to get their slice of the pie. Most Russian merchants could not afford not to sell their goods and thus often concluded transactions at low prices, something that bred resentment and led to persistent efforts to turn the tables on the Westerners.

In spite of their bargaining power, the Western merchants also faced numerous uncertainties. The brief northern summer frequently compelled foreign visitors to spend the winter in Arkhangel'sk.[24] At times, also warfare, whether in Russia or at home, prompted

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[22] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 57; *DAI*, III, p. 149; Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk*, pp. 85–6.

[23] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 61.

[24] In 1669, two vessels belonging to Peter Marselis froze stuck in the waters around Arkhangel'sk. In 1687, bad weather conditions induced a large number of ships to stay in Arkhangel'sk. In 1688, a Dutch vessel got stuck in the Berezovo branch of the Dvina estuary and spent the winter there. In 1692, Dutch vessels stayed in Arkhangel'sk due to bad weather and concerns over piracy. Similar problems were experienced four years later. In most cases, the merchants and their agents returned home via Novgorod or Pskov. Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 59.

Western skippers to delay their journeys.[25] Another important example of the inevitable risks involved in northern trading were periodic shipwrecks. Due to the long distances, West Europeans tended to send some of their largest ships to the Arctic. While this made the transportation costs tolerable, it also meant that the loss of a ship would result in potentially enormous financial losses, a risk also run by Russians navigating their barges in the shallow Dvina delta.[26] There are regrettably no comprehensive estimates of shipwrecks on the White Sea cost, but the recorded incidents likely represent merely the tip of the iceberg.

Very often, Muscovite policy-makers created additional problems. Foreign traders clearly suffered from the Russian insistence that ships approaching Arkhangel'sk should use exclusively the Pudozemsk channel of the Dvina estuary. The relatively shallow waterway became increasingly risky in the post-*Smuta* years as the average size of Western vessels increased. For instance, two English ships were wrecked and their cargoes lost in 1630–1. Digby in 1637 claimed that three vessels had been lost in 1634–5. Nonetheless, the Russian, investigating the matter found that the channel had not become shallower and could merely recommend using smaller ships. Following

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[25] In 1654, the Anglo-Dutch war caused many merchants to stay in the city and they sent some of their wares to the west through the Baltic ports. Similar problems were experienced in 1665 and 1672. Five Hamburg ships spent the winter of 1687–8 in Arkhangel'sk upon hearing of Danish blockade of their home port. The experience was repeated in 1690, also by some Dutch traders worried about a French attack on the Netherlands. Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 59.

[26] For example, E. van der Hus at the beginning of the century lost R 2,400 worth of goods in a shipwreck. In 1631, a ship belonging to the Muscovy Company sank in the Dvina delta with a cargo of Russian goods. In 1633, three Hamburg merchants lost a ship carrying grain, hides, tallow, and wax in a storm. In 1635, the De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership lost R 4,170 worth of goods in a shipwreck. Two Dutch merchants lost a ship during its approach to Arkhangel'sk in 1636 and were forced to sell their spoiled wares at low prices. In 1680, a Dutch skipper "Sackle Elchis Yongsman" lost a vessel on the Norwegian coast (Vallersund) on his way home. In 1668, the loss of the "Loyall Monk" exacerbated an already difficult financial situation of the Muscovy Company. In September 1675, an English vessel was wrecked off the Irish coast on its way home. In 1676, two English vessels returning from Russia were thrown on an island off Cape North, although some of their equipment was rescued by a Dutch vessel. In 1697, another English ship was lost on the open sea, although it proved possible to salvage some *iufti*. Baklanova, "Privoznye tovary," p. 18; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 58–9; Berg, *Trondhjems sjøfart*, I, p. 33; Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 272; GHL Ms. 11,741/1, pp. 31, 39–40.

Dutch petitions, the Russian government in 1637 agreed to authorize the use of the Berezovo and Murmansk channels but required additional payments to cover the cost of new fortifications and guards. Faced with increased costs, foreigners apparently withdrew their demand and unloaded larger vessels on the open water.[27]

Various outside attempts to capitalize of the growing Western trade with Arkhangel'sk constituted another threat. The dawn of Arkhangel'sk shipping was followed by efforts on the part of the Danish authorities to suppress it. Bergen had since 1294 had a monopoly over northern shipping and foreigners were not *de iure* allowed to sail past it.[28] Concerned over their customs revenues in the Sound, the rulers of Denmark—starting with an enquiry by Christian III in 1557—sought to curb and tax commercial exchange on this new trade route. Claiming sovereignty over the entire Finnmark-White Sea region, the Danish king forbade all shipping in the northern waters without a royal licence. While Western ships were in principle in a position to circumvent the Danish toll station at Vardøhus in northern Norway, security considerations frequently prompted them to follow the northern coast and to pass the Busse Sound (Bussesundet) between Vardøhus and the mainland, at which point the Danish authorities could stop them.[29] Especially in the late 16th and the early 17th century, the Danes met with some success in their efforts to capitalize on Western shipping with northern Russia and a number of sea passes survive in the Danish archives.[30] Even as passes continued to be issued

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[27] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 192–5, 199–200, 234; Johnsen, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 95.

[28] Berggreen, Christen, and Kolltveit, *Norsk sjøfart*, I, p. 149.

[29] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 125.

[30] For instance in 1593–4, eight English ships and one Dutch one paid toll at Vardøhus. As of 1572, the authorities at Vardøhus were told to seize foreign ships sailing without a pass. Starting in 1579, the government made a systematic effort to patrol the northern waters and the cargoes of some Western ships were indeed confiscated. The Muscovy Company between 1583 and 1594 in fact made an annual payment of 100 rosenobles for the right to sail to Russia. In 1606, *Voevoda* Aleksei Tolstoi of Kola complained that Danish men-of-war on the Kola coast had seized an English merchant ship. Christian IV reiterated his claim to control shipping in the "Northsee" with renewed force in 1623 as diplomatic relations with Russia hit a new low. In 1639, for example, four Dutch vessels were seized by Danes off the Kola coast. Johnsen, "Et træk af den dansk-norske regjeringens handelspolitik," p. 3; Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, pp. 129–131, 141, 154, 159–60; Berggreen, Christen, and Kolltveit, *Norsk sjøfart*, I, p. 151.

throughout the 17th century, their overall impact on the evolution of White Sea shipping was marginal.[31] The Danes were not the only rent-seekers faced by Western ships. For instance in 1643, some Dutch ships were lost to Spanish corsairs. In the late 1680s-early '90s, shipping in the North Sea was made difficult by French pirates. A 1646 decree by the States-General required all Dutch vessels on the Arkhangel'sk route to be mounted with cannon according to specific instructions and convoy shipping became increasingly common over time.[32]

The problem of robbery was no less acute on the overland and river routes between central Russia and the White Sea port. In 1637, an English caravan of 28 carts from Vologda fell prey to an attack by armed bandits to the north of Moscow. According to a series of foreign petitions (submitted in 1634–42) regarding security on the Northern Dvina, bands of robbers of up to 160 men would wait on the banks of the Dvina and descend on the passing barges, "attacking, torturing, burning, and robbing them of their goods and belongings . . . and so all merchants fear to use the route."[33] Russian authorities apparently sought to control the problem by sending investigators to Arkhangel'sk after every incident, albeit to little avail. In 1688, English, Hamburg, and Dutch merchants complained of murderous highway robbery taking place in forests on the Moscow-Vologda route. In 1687, a Dutch merchant, R. Houtman, had been killed on the road and his money—allegedly totaling over R 10,000—stolen. The government sought to improve the situation by cutting down forests along the roadside at the scene of the crime. In 1696, 30 well-armed robbers assaulted a commercial agent near the Troitse-Sergiev monastery and stole R 3,130 in cash, as well as his goods. In the same year, Dutch and Hamburg merchants requested a escort of 20 musketeers to accompany them on the road. Not surprisingly, it was quite common for foreign merchants to carry firearms on the northern route.[34] Ultimately, of course, effective control on the long route

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[31] Kellenbenz, "Les passeportes maritimes du Roi de Danemark;" *idem*, "Dänische Päße für fremde Rußlandfahrer;" Supphellen, *Trondheims historie*, II, p. 80; Berggreen, Christen, and Kolltveit, *Norsk sjøfart*, I, p. 151. Many of these passes are reproduced in: *Norske Rigsregistranter*.

[32] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 59; GAA arch. 6, no. 63: "Ordre by de Hoogh-Mogende Heerem Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden ghemaeckt op het bevaren van Archangel in Moscovien;" GHL Ms. 11,741/1, p. 123.

[33] Arel, "Making an Honest Rouble," pp. 11–2.

[34] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 60; Arel, "Making an Honest Rouble," p. 11; Limonov, *Rossiia*, p. 47.

was impossible, while the valuable cargoes continued to create considerable incentives for robbers throughout the century.

Trade in the Baltic

Throughout the Middle Ages, the northwestern Russian city of Great Novgorod and later also its western suburb Pskov were the focal points of Russian commercial interaction with Western Europe. Sigismund Herberstein in 1549 heaped praise on Novgorod as the premier international commercial center of Russia, one which attracted large numbers of wealthy merchants from all corners of the country, as well as from Lithuania, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany.[35]

R. Chancellor described Novgorod as the second largest city of Muscovy which served as a market of the whole empire. Moreover, he claimed, "The great wealth of flax and hemp indisputably ensures Novgorod a place of preeminence before all other Russian cities."[36] The foreigners' impressions are confirmed by a 1580s survey of shops and stalls in the city. It counted an impressive total of over 1,800 commercial operations of different kinds: stores, stalls, warehouses, etc.[37]

Novgorod's historical preeminence in Russian trade was due in no small part to its ideal geographic location with easy access to the rest of Russia and the Baltic ports alike. Even as there were no good river connections with central Russia, Moscow could be reached by an "ancient road" through Torzhok, Tver', and Volok Lamskii. The road to Pskov passed through Pshaga (Mshaga), although in the summer it was possible to cover some of the 155-*versta* distance by sailing across Lake Il'men' and up the Sheloni River. The Volkhov River running through the city linked with the large Neva river basin which covered much of northwestern Russia and connected Novgorod with Ladoga, Oreshek (Sw. Nöteborg), and Korela (Sw. Kexholm), as well as the Gulf of Finland. From Lake Ladoga, one could reach Lake Onega through the Svir'. Alternatively, a number of roads led north from Novgorod to Onega and then to northern Karelia and the White Sea coast. In the southern direction, Novgorodians could

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[35] *Rossiia XV–XVI vv. glazami inostrantsev*, p. 103.
[36] Adams, "Puteshestvie," p. 56.
[37] Pronshtein, *Velikii Novgorod*, pp. 95–7.

take the Staraia Russa-Kholm road to Połock and Smolensk, and on to Poland-Lithuania.[38] Thus most of the more densely populated parts of Russia fell naturally into Novgorod's hinterland, a fact exploited by Peter I when he decided to make St Petersburg the new center of Russian foreign trade. The main connection between Novgorod and Narva was a road to Tesov (Tesova zastava) which, in turn, was connected to the Gulf of Finland by the Luga River. A more difficult route involved taking a 50-*versta* waterway to Pshagi, another 10 *versty* by water to Medveditskii pogost, and then a 15-*versta* road connection to Volok and another to Onezhits (Onezhitskaia zastava) on the Luga. In the immediate post-Stolbovo era, Novogorod merchants would in the winter journey via Nöteborg to Viborg (Finn. Viipuri, Russ. Vyborg) and sail from there to Narva. By the 1640s, however, the "Kantsy" route via the Neva and Nyenskans had established itself.[39]

The basic advantages of Novgorod were shared by Pskov which was located in the immediate backyard of the Swedish Baltic ports. The city had particularly good connections with Narva through the Velikaia-Lake Peipus (Russ. Chudskoe ozero)-Narova waterway. Alternatively, one could take a land route—which was used in wintertime—via Elizarov Monastery and Gdov. The distance between the two cities was 180 *versty*.[40] Two main roads connected Pskov with Riga, while Reval could be reached via the Dorpat (Est. Tartu) road. Dorpat, in turn, was within easy reach through the Velikaia, Lake Peipus, and the Embach (Est. Emajõgi).[41]

The northwestern Russian cities retained their position of economic pre-eminence—some significant reversals of fortune notwithstanding—well into the second half of the 16th century. Although Arkhangel'sk had risen to challenge the Baltic ports by that time, it was only following the Swedish conquest of Narva in 1581 that the White Sea route began to eclipse the traditional axis of Russian export trade. Moreover, the protracted Livonian war, whose effects were amplified

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[38] The freight costs in the area were relatively modest. The Novgorodfahrer of Lübeck estimated 7–9 kopecks a *pud* for water transportation and 3 kopecks overland. Transportation costs typically accounted for 4–10 percent of the total value of goods. Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 15; Olechnowitz, *Handel*, pp. 177–9.

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 54.

[40] *Pskov*, II, pp. 139–40.

[41] Post would reach Riga in 5–7 days, Reval in 15–6 days, and Narva in 4–5 days. *RIB*, XV/1, No 128.

by the *Oprichnina*, contributed to disastrous de-population of the northwest of the Muscovite state with the core Novgorod lands in many cases losing over 70 percent of their prewar population. In early 1584, only 94 of the 1,805 houses on the Sofia Side of Novgorod itself had inhabitants. On the Commercial side, the corresponding numbers were 31 out of 550. However, a strong recovery ensued within a year. In 1585, 290 of the 438.5 houses of the *posad* had been restored. According to the 1580s cadaster books, Novgorod had 19 "better," 162 "middling," and 1,051 small-scale merchants. The return to normalcy was aided by the Tiavzino Peace of 1595 which, among other things, allowed Swedish merchants to visit Moscow, Novgorod, and Pskov.[42]

In spite of the speedy recovery, the once unassailable position of Novgorod was seriously undermined by the turmoil of the late 16th century. For instance N.A. Baklanova dismissed 17th-century Novgorod as "primarily a regional economic center."[43] However, as I.P. Shaskol'skii—one of the pioneers of Russian scholarship on Baltic trade—noted in an early study on topic, the traditional interpretation of a total collapse of trade on the Baltic route is fundamentally erroneous.[44] No combination of political factors was sufficient to completely undermine the geographic advantages of the Baltic route which, consequently, remained an important focus of Russian-European trade throughout the last Muscovite century.

Even as the news of Novgorod's demise was greatly exaggerated, the 17th century was marked by several sharp reversals of fortunes for the great commercial centers of the Northwest, none sharper than the Time of Troubles that ravaged the region only decades after the previous scourge. In particular, the Swedish intervention had a profound impact on the region. It resulted in the conquest of Korela (Kexholm), Ladoga, Tikhvin, Oreshek (Nöteborg), and Novgorod, and thus put much of the traditional hinterland of the Baltic ports under foreign control.[45] At the time, the Swedes were trying to place their own

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[42] Bakhrushin, *Nauchnye trudy*, I, p. 154; Pronshtein, *Velikii Novgorod*, p. 181; Goehrke, *Die Wüstungen*, pp. 113 ff.; Riaboshapko, "Tiavzinskie peregovory;" "Vyrabotka," pp. 160–3.

[43] Baklanova, "Privoznye tovary," p. 25

[44] Shaskol'skii, "Torgovlia," pp. 59–74.

[45] Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, pp. 226, 245 ff., 257.

candidate on the Muscovite throne and Johan III's original plans for eastward expansion came to exist in two variants: one, a dynastic union, which could leave Sweden satisfied with its Tiavzino borders, the other, a program of territorial expansion including Korela, Ivangorod, Iam, Kopor'e, and Kola, something that eventually resulted in the Russian loss of the provinces of Korela/Kexholm and Ingria.[46]

The Swedish occupation left the once mighty Great Novgorod a mere shadow of its former self. According to a 1607 survey, Novgorod had 3 *gosti*, 34 "better people," 238 "middling people," and 883 small-scale merchants. There were a total of 1,158 households in the city at the time.[47] However, another inventory, compiled half a year after the Stolbovo peace of March 1617 revealed a fundamentally different situation. The Sofia Side of the city was described as "deserted:" there were only 24 "white" houses left with a total of 25 inhabitants, as well as 40 tax-paying (*tiaglye*) houses with 49 residents.[48] It took, not surprisingly, two decades for the city to recover to a significant degree. In 1639, 472 houses in the *posad* were inhabited. This figure had risen to 640 in 1646. By 1671/2, Novgorod had 837 households and 51 *poludvory* in its *posad* with a combined male population of 2,496.[49]

Pskov, in contrast, remained beyond Swedish control, in spite of repeated attempts to conquer it.[50] In general, the city's demographic and economic development were marked by relative stability as compared to Novgorod. In 1638/9, Pskov had 812 townsman households and 128 houses belonging to paupers. In 1646, the Pskov *posad* had 848 households and 19 houses belonging to *bobyli*, a total male population of 1,996. In 1678, the number of households stood at 891 and the city's total male population had reached the figure of 5,625. The number of townsmen was 2,577.[51]

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[46] Shaskol'skii, *Stolbovskii mir*, p. 24; Almquist, *Sverge och Ryssland*, pp. 208, 212.

[47] Varentsov, "Torgovlia i kupechestvo," p. 95; RGADA f. 159, op. 3, d. 579, fol. 175.

[48] RGADA f. 96, op. 1, Stb. No 7, fol. 500.

[49] RGADA f. 96, op. 1, Stb. No 7, fol. 500; Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 46; Tikhonov, "Sotsial'noe rassloenie," p. 309.

[50] The city was sieged five times the Swedish forces, particularly in 1615 with Gustav Adolf as their commander, and was also affected by interventions by Polish units. Shaskol'skii, *Stolbovskii mir*, p. 30.

[51] Arakcheev, "Posadskoe naselenie," p. 100; Smirnov, *Goroda*, I/2, pp. 34–5; Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 181.

The northwestern cities were highly dependent on foreign trade. For instance, 50 percent of the trade recorded in the 1670/1 Pskov customs book was international and it is unlikely that the proportion varied much over time.[52] The situation was not much different in Novgorod, whose importance for Russian commerce was reflected in the fact that—as in Arkhangel'sk—only *gosti* could head the local customs office.[53] The customs head and the serving men, of whom there was 20–30 in the 16th century, were appointed for a period of one year at a time and they were expected to devote themselves completely to government service and not to conduct their own business during that time.[54] The northwestern border points, like Arkhangel'sk, had special guest houses for foreign visitors. The famous *St. Petershof* of Novgorod served as the center of the commercial operations Hanseatic merchants—with some interruptions—for most of the 16th century. Following its destruction in 1572, a new guesthouse served Lübeckers in 1586–1603 (Chapter 3).[55] The Tiavzino Treaty of 1595 had provided also for a Swedish guesthouse in Novgorod. It is possible that such a facility indeed existed, since the 1617 Stolbovo Treaty refers to it. However, there is no conclusive surviving evidence and it is conceivable that Swedish subjects stayed at homes of Novgorod traders.[56]

The immediate postwar period saw attempts to revive operations by foreign merchants in Novgorod. The Lübeck guesthouse had been occupied and once again destroyed during the Time of Troubles, but its reconstruction began 1619.[57] The Swedes received formal assurances in 1618 that they could build a house in Novgorod, as well as in Pskov and Moscow. However, a long and complicated dispute ensued before construction finally began. The tsar repeatedly rebuffed Swedish attempts to find a place on the Commercial Side of Novgorod and a house was only built in 1627.[58] In spite of the obvious inconvenience of the protracted delay in construction, the

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[52] Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 165.
[53] Ianin, *Opis'*, II, p. 317.
[54] Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 10, 49–50; *Zakonodatel'nye akty*, No 160.
[55] Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Novgorod," p. 81; *idem*, "Deutsche Kaufleute," pp. 101–9.
[56] Tsvetaev, *Veroispovednoe polozhenie*, p. 45; Rybina, "Shvedskii dvor," pp. 75–6.
[57] AHL Alte Bürgerschaft D, Nr. 62, fols. 713–4.
[58] Shaskol'skii, "Ustroistvo," pp. 105 ff.; RGADA f. 96, 1620 g., No 1, fols. 180–3; 1627 g., No 1, fols. 32–3; 1644 g., No 1, fols. 19–21.

Swedish merchants also drew some benefit from it. They typically stayed at homes of local merchants, which created ideal opportunities for illegal trade and tax evasion, even if it also strained relations with the authorities. Eventually in the 1620s, Swedish merchants would stay at the main guesthouse of the city along with merchants from other parts of Russia.[59] The Swedish House was completely destroyed in the fire of 1633 and its reconstruction once again became a charged issue with the Novgorod authorities reluctant to let it be rebuilt in its old location. Even though the central authorities this time came to the Swedes' rescue, the first evidence of a new facility dates only from 1648.[60]

Pskov had special guesthouses for "German"—traditionally Baltic German—and Lübeck merchants. Both institutions were located next to each other on the western shore of the Velikaia outside the city walls but connected with the fortified center by a bridge. N. Angermann suggests that the German guesthouse was built during or immediately after the Livonian War and its location was due to a Russian desire to control information flows to potential spies and to more effectively supervise commercial transactions. Visitors at these institutions were usually not allowed to enter the city itself. The Hanseatic merchants were first given their own guesthouse in Pskov in 1586. After the 1603 mission to Moscow, the Lübeckers were put in charge of the Zavelich'e establishment and a more formal building was erected next to the German guesthouse. The Lübeck Council adopted a charter for the house in 1608. However, it was completely destroyed already the following year in connection with the Time of Troubles.[61]

Swedish attempts to obtain a special guesthouse in Pskov were ultimately unsuccessful and the Swedes were left with the German guesthouse which, in a very real sense, they were the natural users

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[59] Shaskol'skii, "Ustroistvo," pp. 104, 107; RGADA f. 96, 1626 g., No 2, fols. 317–8.

[60] RGADA f. 96, 1634 g., No 5, fol. 150; 1635 g., No 2, fols. 45–6; 641 g., No 2, fol. 48; f. 96, 1648 g., No 1, fols. 234–48. A description of the new house was written by the local Swedish resident A. Ebers. The "guesthouse" was an elaborate compound with several buildings for accommodation and storage, as well as a brewery, cellar, horse shed, and an orchard. Forsten, "Snosheniia," (1898) 2, p. 213.

[61] Angermann, "Zum Handel," pp. 15–6. AHL Alte Bürgerschaft G, fol. 1: "Translation des plescowischen Kaufbrifes;" Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," pp. 229–31. *Pskov i ego prigorody*, II, pp. 23–31; Angermann, "Zu den deutschen Handelsniederlassungen," p. 81; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," p. 231; Graßmann, "Der Lübecker Hof," pp. 269–70.

of, since the facility had been used in the past by the Baltic German merchants who by 1621 were all Swedish subjects. In addition to the Swedes, the German guesthouse was used by Lübeck merchants in 1609–37, Polish-Lithuanian merchants until 1656 (with the exception of 1632–4), and Dutch and English visitors. After the Russian-Polish war of 1654–67, Polish merchants were ordered to stay in the *posad*, possibly because the authorities were intent on transferring the German guesthouse completely to the Swedes. The German/Swedish guesthouse was rebuilt after a fire in 1663.[62]

Unlike Arkhangel'sk, the northwestern cities had an old and established "bourgeoisie" of merchants who, sometimes for generations, had played an important role in regional trade. This was something that the Russian government both recognized and capitalized on. Indeed, one indication of the growing commercial significance of Novgorod in the course of the 17th century is the large number of appointments of members of leading merchant families to the privileged merchant corporations, especially in the second half of the century. This was undoubtedly at least in part a reflection of the strong recovery of the war-torn city.[63] The nature of the Pskov merchant community greatly resembled that of Novgorod, although the number of government-appointed elite merchants was much smaller. Nor did local customs officials have to be *gosti*.[64] A more detailed description of the merchant families of Novgorod and Pskov can be found in Chapter 6.

Several other secondary commercial centers of regional importance were tied into the Baltic economy through the large river basins of the Neva and the Narova, even though they paled in comparison with Novgorod and Pskov. For example, the collection of *piatinnye den'gi* in 1634 yielded R 4,752.35 in Novgorod, compared to R 782.35 in Tikhvin, R 140.05 in Ladoga, R 34.03 in Staraia Russa, R 14.63 in Porkhov, and R 9.61 in Kholm. In comparison, for instance the peasants of the Solovki monastery (in the White Sea) paid R 609.65.

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[62] The new facility had total floor space of 1,296 square meters, which was some two-thirds of the size of the Swedish guesthouse in Novgorod (1,866 sq.m.). The premises included a customs office, scales, a guard station, a warehouse, guest quarters, and a shed for storing salt. *Pskov*, II, p. 25; *RBSVIIP*, p. 17; Timoshenkova, "Sviazi," p. 57; RGADA f. 96, 1663 g., No 1, fols. 150–2; Rybina, *Inozemnye dvory*, p. 131.

[63] Varentsov, "Genealogiia," pp. 142–3.

[64] Labutin, "Sergei Pogankin," p. 53.

The collections in Pskov yielded significantly less than those in Novgorod. Thus the whole Pskov region generated only R 3,430.77, of which the share of Pskov itself appears to have been R 1,800.[65]

Tikhvin—on the Tikhvinka, a tributary of the Sias' which flows into Lake Ladoga—became an active participant in cross-border trade following rapid growth in the 16th century. The number of houses in the *posad*, which had grown up around the local monastery of the Dormition, nearly trebled from 60 in 1564 to 145 in 1583. The Time of Troubles resulted in widespread destruction, however, and in 1620, there were only 79 houses in the fortress and 23 in the *posad*. By 1647, however, the *posad* had already recovered to 330 houses and 436 inhabitants and nearly doubled again by the end of the century.[66] Tikhvin's trade volumes did not necessarily reflect the town's true potential, however, for the simple reason that the authorities sought to force local traders to conduct their foreign operations via Novgorod. However, the town's merchants had a long tradition of taking the "old direct route" to Sweden via the Sias', Lake Ladoga, and the Neva. The monastery authorities sought to defend the local peasants and townsmens' actions on grounds of geographic convenience and historical precedent. Yet delays and losses were regularly caused by Novgorod, and sometimes even Ladoga, officials stopping Tikhvin merchants in the Sias' estuary and exacting duties, often illegally. Tikhvin became an important enough commercial center in the 17th century to attract foreign merchants. For example, four to six Lübeck merchants visited the city every year between 1662 and 1666.[67] Tikhvin merchants became some of the most active participants in Russian direct trade with Stockholm. Every spring, a procession of boats sailed down the Sias'. They had to unload their goods for inspection and store them at the Sias' estuary while journeying to Novgorod to petition the head of the customs to send an official to inspect their goods. According to K.N. Serbina, 11 families of Tikhvin

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[65] The relatively modest collection apparently has to do with the relative poverty of Pskov's merchant class at the time. Unlike Novgorod, Pskov had a very small number of well-to-do merchants, who paid the tax. The collections in Pskov's "suburbs" were much less significant. Thus, Gdov yielded R 202.83, Opochka R 71.31, Izborsk R 3.69, and Sebezh R 1.28. Karpachev, "Goroda," pp. 68, 70–2, 74.

[66] The number of *posad* households in 1678 attained 430 and grew further to 550 in 1686, and 622 in 1697. Serbina, *Ocherki*, pp. 54–5; Karpachev, "Goroda," p. 69.

[67] Serbina, *Ocherki*, pp. 257–8, 268; *AAE*, III, No 312, 314.

merchants were active in trade with Stockholm by the 1660s and '70s. The numbers of Tikhvin merchants visiting Stockholm steadily rose to attain 12 in 1675 and 1680, 20 in 1685, 31 in 1687, 40 in 1688, 34 in 1690, 32 in 1691, 22 in 1694–5, 36 in 1696, and a record 46 in 1698. They were regularly one of the three most important groups of Russian merchants in the Swedish capital.[68]

Further to the north was Russian Karelia which traded both on the Neva route and across the border with the Swedish Grand Duchy of Finland. The economic importance of the region, which was not particularly densily populated to begin with, was heavily undermined by devastation suffered during the Time of Troubles. In 1615–7, the Olonets, Shuia, Kizhi, Shun'ga, Tolvuia, and Chelmuzhi *pogosty* of Russian Karelia had 2,231 inhabited and 1,434 empty houses. The area of cultivated land dropped by some two-thirds, in some districts by a great deal more more. Only the more remote northern parts of Karelia were spared from turmoil and their economic potential grew. The restoration of peace gradually paved the way for a recovery in the Onega Fifth, as well. Many peasants returned and the population nearly doubled in 12 years, in part due to economic incentives offered by the government to repopulate abandoned areas. Agricultural production appears to have attained prewar levels by the '30s with, among other things, intensive flax production along the shores of Lake Onega.[69] Fragmentary data on the Olonets district reveals that the population of the six local *pogosty* expanded from 30,010 in 1563 to 41,860 in 1629. The population of the Onega province in general increased from 7,284 households (11,169 male inhabitants) in 1646 to 12,380 in the late 1670s, suggesting a total population close to 100,000. New inhabitants were attracted to the region by its fisheries, iron ore, copper, and coal production in the Shun'ga *pogost*. For instance, the Foimoguba iron works, founded in the 1660s, at one time employed 700 people. The number of households in the northern Lopskie *pogosty* rose from 895 in the 1620s to

[68] In addition, Tikhvin merchants and artisans visited Riga, Dorpat, Nyen, Viborg, and Kexholm, albeit on a much less regular basis. The most important of these families were the Shpil'kins, and thereafter the Samsonovs. Others included the Bykovs, Nekrasovs, Bel'skiis, Ostratovs, Belavins, Korol'kovs, Kharlovs, Grobnikovs, and Spiridonovs. Serbina, *Ocherki*, pp. 260–3.

[69] Bernadskii *et al.*, *Ocherki*, I, pp. 127–8.

1,161 in the 1670s. The Karelian White Sea coast, which had developed salt production, had 523 houses.[70]

The Onega coast had, by the late 1620s, at least 63 peasant artisan households representing 16 different specializations. The development of the region received a new and powerful impetus from the 1649 founding on the northeastern shore of Lake Ladoga of the town of Olonets. Created on the foundations of a prosperous settlement, Olonets with its suburban settlements by the 1670s had over 700 houses, a figure that stood at some 600 in 1700 when the city's total population approached 4,000. Many of the Olonets townsmen were wealthy merchants who frequented the fairs of Tikhvin, Sermaksa, Ladoga, the Kirillo-Belozerskii monastery, Arkhangel'sk, and even Makar'ev.[71]

Southern Karelia had several areas of at least partially market-oriented agricultural production and exported flax, among other things. In addition, the local forests were an important source of various furs: fox, hare, marten, ermine, squirrel, and otter, as well as elk hides.[72]

The Novgorod-Pskov region was involved in foreign trade almost exclusively through the intermediation of the cities of the eastern Baltic littoral, most notably Riga, Reval, Narva, and Nyen. Riga was by far the most important one of these four cities. Its total population almost certainly exceeded 10,000 and was rivaled in Sweden only by Stockholm. The annual average number of ships from Riga passing the Danish Sound was 127 in 1557–1630, two-thirds of the total from the eastern coast of the Baltic.[73] The dominance of Dutch merchants gave the Livonian capital access to almost unparalleled capital resources and allowed it to regain its economic strength after its surrender to Sweden in 1621. Initially, however, trade slumped dra-

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[70] Kirkinen *et al.*, *Karjalan kansan historia*, pp. 146–9, 157–60; Bernadskii *et al.*, *Ocherki*, I, pp. 127–8, 135–6; Miuller, *Ocherki*, p. 165.

[71] For instance, the surviving Tikhvin customs records typically list 100–200 Karelian peasants and 50–100 Olonets townsmen in any given year. The leading merchant families of the city included the Svechnikovs, Guttoevs, Rukhtoevs, Igumnovs, Rasputins, and Lergoevs. Bernadskii *et al.*, *Ocherki*, I, pp. 131–2, 134; Miuller, *Ocherki*, pp. 161–2, 164–6; Cherniakova, *Kareliia*, pp. 90–124, 185–91, 258–77; Kochkurkina, *Drevnii Olonets*, pp. 58, 63; Kirkinen, *Karjala*, I, p. 109.

[72] Miuller, *Ocherki*, p. 166; Kochkurkina, *Drevnii Olonets*, pp. 58, 64.

[73] Dunsdorfs, *Latvijas vēsture*, p. 177; Piirimäe, "Tendentsiia;" Doroshenko, *Torgovlia*, pp. 52, 59; Bogucka, "Handel bałtycki;" LVVA 673–1–1253, fols. 67–76, 1381–1–10691.

matically, partly due to diversion to Königsberg where even some merchants emigrated. As late as 1627, Riga's exports were said to be insufficient to fill even three ships. However, a robust recovery soon materialized and severalfold increases were recorded in the volumes of all the main export commodities by the 1650s, by which time Riga once again decisively overshadowed its neighbors to the northeast. In 1653, a fairly representative prewar year, *Portorium* customs duties collected in Riga amounted to Rtl 39,775, or 71 percent of the combined total for the main Swedish Baltic ports of Riga, Reval, Narva, and Pernau. There were a total of 875 arrivals and departures by duty-paying ships and 382 by smaller vessels, compared to a total of 485 for the other three cities. The degree of Riga's dominance declined somewhat during the second half of the century.[74]

Riga possessed some considerable advantages for Russian trade. The city's relative wealth of capital compared favorably to Reval, Narva, and Nyen. Similarly, the availability of a multitude of West European import wares often drew Muscovite merchants there rather than to the Estonian-Ingrian coast. On the other hand, however, Riga's natural hinterland consisted almost entirely of Lithuanian lands in the Düna (Pol. Dźwina, Latv. Daugava, Belor. Zakhodnaia Dzvina, Russ. Zapadniaia Dvina) valley and the city was not in an ideal geographic location to become the center of the Swedish policy of diverting Russian foreign trade from Arkhangel'sk to the eastern Baltic ports. The two principal Muscovite areas with regular trade links with Livonia were: (i) Pskov, whose trade with Riga was of long standing, and (ii) Smolensk, which was regained by Muscovy in 1654—having been conquered by Poland-Lithuania in 1611—and whose location close to the upper reaches of the Düna, via the tributary Kasplia (only 15 km to the north of the city), ensured the continuation of trade with Riga under the new rulers.[75]

The medieval fortress town of Reval was the first foothold of Swedish rule in the eastern Baltic. It is situated on the southwestern shore of the Gulf of Finland, at the bottom of a protected but shallow nearly semi-circular bay (Revaler Bucht, Est. Tallinna laht) whose entrance is further shielded by the island of Nargö (Est. Naissaar).

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[74] Jenšs, *Der Handel*, p. 55; Pāvulāns, "Khoziaistvennoe i politicheskoe znachenie," p. 90; Piirimäe, "Tendentsiia," pp. 103, 105–6; Dunsdorfs, "Der Außenhandel."

[75] Doroshenko, "Riga," p. 59.

The comparatively mild climate of the city, coupled with its location close to the open sea, made it ideal for shipping almost throughout the year. Lasting snow cover normally begins around December 20 and ends at the very beginning of March. This state of affairs placed Reval at an advantage over Arkhangel'sk and the eastern Gulf of Finland ports which were shackled by ice for two months longer each year.[76] In contrast, the physical condition of the Reval harbor left a certain amount to be desired: it was relatively narrow, sandy, flat, and shallow but still far superior to that of its regional competitors. Reval's size, while eclipsed by Riga, befitted its long history as an important commercial center. The total population of the city has been estimated at 7,000 in 1620s and 8–12,000 in the 1680s.[77]

If geography favored Reval in terms of its climate and the condition of its harbor, its location on the map of Europe gave it an additional advantage in trade with the commercial superpowers of the day. The distance between Reval and the Western European markets was short enough to allow two to three, sometimes even four trips in one year.[78] In contrast, Reval was far less abundantly blessed as far as the geography of its hinterland is concerned. In particular, no important rivers run to the sea in or near Reval. This meant that the transportation of goods from areas beyond the city's immediate, largely agricultural Estonian hinterland had to be done either over land or by sea from other cities. This state of affairs constituted Reval's chief liability in the battle for the Russian market.[79]

One of the main attractions of Reval to Russian merchants was

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[76] Liiv, "Tallinna ajalugu," p. 25.

[77] *Ibidem*, p. 25; Gierlich, *Reval*, pp. 279–81; Pezold, *Reval*, pp. 10–1; *Die Revaler Munster-Rolle*, p. 18; Soom, *Die Politik*, p. 238; Turpeinen, "Kui palju," p. 67.

[78] Reval's trade ties in the West were primarily with the Netherlands and Lübeck. Dutch ships accounted for 31.2 percent of the total number of arrivals in 1609. In volume terms, the figure was an even higher 42.7 percent. The Dutch retained, and even increased, this position of dominance over time. Lübeck merchants, however, focused much more heavily on Russian goods in their trade. In addition, Reval maintained regular ties with regional ports around the Gulf of Finland. There was a long history of peasant shipping with the Southern Finnish coast. Over time, also trade with Sweden grew in importance, although domestic shipping remained secondary to the more long-distance trade. Pullat, *Tallinna ajalugu*, pp. 44–5; Soom, *Die Politik*, p. 238; Rühe, "Revals Seehandel," p. 196; Blumfeldt, "Statistilisi lisandeid," pp. 9–11; Liiv, "Iseloomustisi;" Soom, "Zur Geschichte;" Piirimäe, "Nekotorye voprosy," p. 105.

[79] Reval's Russian links were primarily with Novgorod and only secondarily with Pskov, Tikhvin, and Ladoga. Shaskol'skii, "Torgovlia," p. 68.

its relatively rich supply of Western imports. Salt was almost certainly the most important of them and played a pivotal role in the city's trade with Russia.[80] Reval's other imports consisted of herring and a variety of metal goods from Sweden and Finland. Russian merchants were especially interested in metal products, given their constant scarcity in Muscovy. Lübeck and the Netherlands supplied Reval with a range of luxuries and other dear goods, particularly various types of cloth and textiles, all products for which a market existed across the border in Russia.[81]

Narva, on the Estonia-Ingrian border, was the most important center of Russian transit trade during most of the century. Unlike Riga and Reval, the city had a very modest Swedish hinterland. Narva's fortunes consequently ebbed or flowed in conjunction with trade relations with Russia.[82] If Narva depended on Russia, it also possessed unique advantages for Muscovite trade, not least because of an excellent river connection with Pskov. The only practical problem was posed by the Joala rapids which necessitated reloading before the port. The relatively low costs of water transportation made possible large-scale trade in bulky goods, especially flax and hemp. The Narova river shared an estuary with the Rosana River (Rosanischer/ Jamascher Beck; Est. Rosana jõgi), which was in turn connected with the Luga river—a convenient route to Jamborg (Russ. Iam) and Novgorod.[83] Of course, Novgorod traders could also reach Narva overland or via the Volkhov-Neva route. These geographic advantages caught the attention of the Stockholm government which—due to the relative weakness of the local Baltic German traditions and institutions—was eager to turn Narva into a Swedish city. Philip von Krusenstiern, who served as the first government-appointed castellan (*Burggraf*) in Narva, described the city as a *tabula rasa*, likening it to wax that could be molded according the to government's wishes. Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna in the 1640s even proposed turning Narva into the second capital of the Kingdom of Sweden, a *Vorpost*

[80] Liiv, "Tallinna ajalugu," pp. 26–7.
[81] *Ibidem*, p. 27.
[82] A. Attman estimated that the share of Russian wares in Narva's exports was 98 percent in the late 16th century. This proportion did not fall markedly in the 17th century, in spite of more intensive agricultural production in the area. Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, p. 53; Piirimäe,"Sostav," p. 39.
[83] Soom, "Narva jõe veetee korraldamise küsimus," p. 146.

of Swedishness in the Eastern Baltic, where the king would reside for a year every four years.[84]

Narva, unlike Reval, was also culturally a border town. On the eastern bank of the Narova River, the German Baltic culture of Narva met the Russian traditions of Ivangorod (Est. Jaanilinn), which after 1617 was an integral part of the Swedish kingdom and intimately connected with Narva's development. The two cities were formally merged in 1652 (Chapter 3). In population terms, Narva-Ivangorod was clearly smaller than Reval. A 1617 census of Ivangorod revealed 178 tax-paying citizens and 30 widows which exceeded the population of Narva at the time. E. Küng estimates the population of Narva in the middle of the century at a minimum of 3,300 people. This number clearly declined as a result of the Swedish-Russian war and fires, only to recover again towards the end of the century.[85]

Nyen, the geographic center of the Swedish province of Ingria, was one the boldest attempts by the Swedish government to divert Russian foreign trade to the Baltic. The city was built in an economically and strategically important area in the Neva delta which had been contested terrain between the expanding Swedish Kingdom and the Novgorod Russians for centuries. Much of the area consisted of marshy lowland sparsely populated primarily by Finnic Izhorians and Votes, and mixed with some Russians. However, it constituted the most logical connection between the Baltic Sea and the river system leading to Great Novgorod, the starting point of the ancient route "from the Varangians to the Greeks." By the early 17th century, the Muscovite settlement in the Okhta estuary was called Nevskoe ust'e and the Swedish fortress of Nyenskans was built right next to it—at the confluence of the Rivers Neva and Okhta—in 1611, soon after the start of the Swedish intervention during the Russian Time of Troubles. The Russians took to calling the new Swedish port "Kantsy."

In population terms, Nyen was a modest settlement. The 1640 and 1641 Mill Duty records put the local population at 294 in 1640 and 384 in 1641. Nyen had 316 inhabitants (full citizens, their families

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[84] Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 78–92; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik, p. 190.

[85] Soom, "De ingermanländska städerna," pp. 38–9; Küng, "Narva elanikkonna suurusest," p. 50.

and servants) in 1642, although another figure (on the tax-paying residents of the Nöteborg district) counts 232 men and 239 women that same year. According to Prince Petr Ivanovich Potemkin, the new city, its suburbs included, had 500 houses and a total approximate population of 2,000–2,500 in 1656. In 1701, seven Ladoga merchants maintained that Nyen had 400 houses. By that time, the city had experienced a period of sustained development in the closing decades of the century.[86] Like Narva, Nyen also had an apparently significant Russian population.[87]

The main Finnish port involved in Russian trade was Viborg (Finn. Viipuri, Russ. Vyborg) on the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland. The population of the city was relatively stable at around 3,500 throughout the century (with 1,500–2,000 taxpayers). However, the port town itself was surrounded by a relatively populous countryside with an estimated 55,000 inhabitants in 1618. The adjacent Kexholm province had only slightly fewer 45,000. Together, the two eastern provinces accounted for just under one-third of the combined total for the Grand Duchy of Finland (350,000).[88] After Stolbovo, there were consistent efforts to promote the development of towns in the newly acquired Kexholm province, especially on the western shores of Lake Ladoga. Although several projects ultimately failed, the region did boast three middling towns by the end of the century. Sordavala (Finn. Sortavala, Russ. Serdobol') in the northwestern corner of Lake Ladoga had a total population of some 600. Precise estimates of the population of Kexholm (Finn. Käkisalmi, Russ. Korela, now Priozersk; in the southwestern corner of the lake) are not available, but a 1697 register of lots in the city lists 150 burghers and 125 others and thus a total population perhaps in excess of 1,000. Kronoborg (Russ.

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[86] Bonsdorff, *Nyen*, p. 410; KARA 9656: 1642, fols. 200–203^{v}, 296^{v}; Rukhmanova, "Russko-shvedskaia torgovlia," p. 146; RGADA f. 210 Moskovskii stol, 1656, d. 279, fol. 857; Hipping, *Neva*, p. 157; ASPF IRI RAN f. 132, op. 2, No 1337, fols. 199–205.

[87] In 1691, the city itself, whose population roughly equaled that of its suburbs, had 100 houses belonging to Swedish citizens. In contrast, Shaskol'skii has located 46 names of Russian inhabitants in the second half of the century, many of them probably former inhabitants of Nevskoe ust'e or their descendants, others Muscovite immigrants. Bonsdorff, *Nyen*, p. 402; Shaskol'skii, *Russkaia morskaia torgovlia*, p. 141; ASPF IRI RAN f. 132, op. 2, No 1337, fol. 202. The 1640 burgher list includes six Russians, quite possibly an underestimate of the Russian community of the area. Aminoff, "Borgerskapet," pp. 134–7.

[88] Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, pp. 99–110.

Kir'iazhskii *pogost*; Finn. Kurkijoki), located to the north of Kexholm, came to have over 100 burghers and at least 500 inhabitants.[89]

Northern Finland was decked by dense coniferous forest interspersed with several river valleys whose more fertile land created the basis for modest population settlements. In spite of this, or partially because of the weakness of the local economy, the region maintained regular ties with Russian Karelia, especially the western coast of the White Sea. P. Virrankoski has estimated the total number of inhabitants of northern Ostrobothnia, including the Torneå (Finn. Tornio) parish, at a mere 19–20,000 in 1609. This figure may have grown to 24–26,000 by 1654 and 40–44,000 in 1695. The leading town of the area, Uleåborg (Finn. Oulu) by the Uleå (Oulujoki) estuary on the Gulf of Bothnia coast, had an estimated population of perhaps 900 in 1654 and some 1,100 in 1695. Kajana (Finn. Kajaani), some 200 km inland up the Uleå water system, was clearly smaller with a mere 88 tax-paying citizens in 1653. Torneå, at the northern tip of the Gulf of Bothnia in the delta of the eponymous river, had some 50 burghers in the 1660s, although their number gradually rose to over 70 by the outbreak of the Great Northern War when the total population may have exceeded 600.[90]

If trade on the Northern Dvina route involved great dangers, the Baltic routes were far from risk-free. In order to facilitate trade, the leading northwestern Russian cities had, since the 15–16th centuries, particular corporations of townsmen who specialized in road and river transportation. To further increase security, it was common for merchants to travel abroad in armed groups of at least 2–3 people. In spite of this, instances of robbery were not rare. The bandits included peasants and Swedish soldiers. However, perhaps in reflection of the overall scale of trade, the sums involved were seldom very large, at most tens of roubles. A significant and probably relatively rare departure from this pattern was an incident in June 1663 when Pskov merchants O. Ugol'nikov and A. Vorob'ev were beaten to death by men from a Baltic German estate, who took 500 ducats, Rtl 300, and R 50, as well as pistols, a saber, and caftans. Local peasants also harassed boats and rafts on the Narova River.[91]

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[89] Karttunen, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, p. 49; Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, pp. 30–3; Kuujo *et al.*, *Käkisalmen historia*, pp. 42–51; Immonen, *Kurkijoen seutu*, pp. 151–4.

[90] Virrankoski, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaa*, pp. 98–105; Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, p. 107; I. Mäntylä, *Tornion kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 131, 585–6.

[91] Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 66–7.

While conditions in the Baltic were hardly comparable to the arctic waters of Northern Russia, shipping nonetheless entailed considerable risks, not least for Russians on the Nyen-Stockholm axis who used essentially river vessels to sail across open sea. A number of instances of shipwrecks have been recorded.[92] Further problems were created by the sub-optimal conditions of the Eastern Baltic harbors, most notably Narva and Nyen where silt from the rivers tended to make the already somewhat precarious approach to the harbor ever shallower. In spite of various attempts to address the problem, it was never satisfactorily solved in the 17th century (Chapter 3).[93]

The existence of an international border between the old Novgorod lands and the Baltic littoral introduced a political dimension to the commercial exchange with all the complications that this entailed. Trade inevitably became an important bargaining chip in Swedish-Russian diplomacy, given that the historic dependency of the northwestern Russian cities on Baltic trade was only matched by the Swedish ambitions of turning their Baltic possessions into thriving centers of commerce. The only way this could be done to any significant degree was, of course, through trade with Russia. As much as the Swedish and Russian authorities consistently made trade a central plank of their diplomacy and sought to ensure free exchange in peace treaties, the relationship remained a contentious one. Every round of diplomatic negotiations between the two countries involved drawn-out debates on long and detailed list of complaints by merchants.[94] These typically dealt with inadequate accommodation or storage facilities, corrupt officials, excessive customs duties and a wide range of other charges. Instances of arrests of merchants and confiscations of merchandise were legion and not infrequently amplified by a tit-for-tat response by the other side.[95] Great consternation was always caused by the Swedish government's occasional decisions to ban the export of copper coin to Russia, copper being one of the leading Swedish exports to Russia which at the time had no domestic

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[92] For instance in 1648, the Novgorod *Gost'* Semen Stoianov lost a vessel with its cargo on the Stockholm route. In 1654, the losses of Ivan Telesh of Tikhvin included two *karbasy* and their cargo. Maksim Voskoboinikov of Novgorod lost one vessel, as did Larion Shikovkin of Tikhvin. 18 lives were lost in connection with the sinking of two boats. Rukhmanova, *Bor'ba Rossii*, p. 86.

[93] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 216–9, 222–4; Soom, "Narva jõe veetee korraldamise küsimus," I, pp. 146–7; *Ibidem*, II, p. 8.

[94] For a recent survey, see: Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 28–76.

[95] LVVA 673–4: a. 20, Nos. 9–12.

production to speak of.[96] Export bans were periodically imposed on other goods, as well.[97] In spite of their frequency, such incidents were never sufficient to undermine trade and, moreover, there is reason to believe that they played a somewhat ritualistic role in diplomacy and typically presented in an attempt to gain leverage on other issues.

Overland Trade with Europe

In contrast to the trade flows passing through Arkhangel'sk or the Russian northwest, commercial exchange along the European land border tended to be much less centralized. The Dniepr-Dźwina basin brought together western Russia and the east of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and later the Ukrainian Hetmanate, in an economic region that transcended the shifting political borders of the area. Consisting of the upper reaches of the Dniepr (Russ. Dnepr, Belor. Dniapro, Ukr. Dnipro) and Dźwina rivers, this area constituted in many ways a clearly defined economic space. Both sides of the Russian-Lithuanian border were fairly densely populated. On the Lithuanian side, the region was home to most of the leading cities of the Grand Duchy—Mohylew (Belor. Mahilioŭ), Połock (Belor. Polatsk), Witebsk (Belor. Vitsebsk), and even the nearby Wilno (Lith. Vilnius), as well as a number of smaller settlements. Western Russia had some of the oldest commercial centers of Muscovy ranging from Pskov in the North to Velikie Luki, Toropets, Smolensk, Viaz'ma, and Briansk.[98] Of considerable importance was also the Svensk fair by the Svensk monastery which was located three *versty* away from Briansk at the mouth of River Sven'.[99] The developed artisan pro-

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[96] Further pleas ensued when, in 1686, the government initially imposed higher rates on copper pipes to Russia. Eventually, all exportation of these pipes was banned. Russian boatmen occasionally also complained that their boats were detained in Nöteborg, where they were required to pay a 35 kopeck duty in addition to the 50 kopecks exacted in Nyen. Often Nyen customs officials refused to take customs duties in copper money and insisted on receiving *riksdaler* or ducats, instead. Letters by Prokofei Dorofevich Gibloi of Novgorod, July 28 and 30, 1632, RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. XLVI; RGADA f. 96, kn. 108, fols. 73–87, 90–92, 101–5; kn. 113, fols. 1–3, 5–8.

[97] For instance, the Poles repeatedly banned the export to Russia of weapons, gunpowder, copper, and grain during the Time of Troubles. Jenš, "Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība," pp. 156–7; Jenšs, "Rivalry," pp. 151, 156; LVVA 673–4–449, 459.

[98] Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi," p. 20.

[99] Pirog, *Chernigovshchina v XVII v.*, p. 215.

duction and partially complementary production profiles of the local cities created excellent opportunities for mutually beneficial trade which wove the neighboring communities into a complex web of interdependence. This was reflected in the large number of crossing points that covered the length of the border.[100]

At the outbreak of the Thirteen Years' War, nearly one third of the population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (just over 500,000 tax-paying households) lived in the four palatinates (*województwa*) historically directly bordering on Russia—Mińsk, Połock, Witebsk, and Mścisław, as well as the Palatinate of Smolensk, controlled by Poland-Lithuania in 1611–54. A further roughly 17 percent lived in the Palatinate of Wilno. The eastern half of the Grand Duchy thus dominated the country economically and demographically, which increased the strategic importance of Russian trade. The relative weight of these regions declined sharply during the military conflict of the 1650s–'60s, however, as warfare took a devastating demographic toll and Smolensk was permanently lost to Muscovy. The 1667 census, used with minor modifications until the 1690s, had under one-fifth (17.7 percent) of the population living in the border provinces with another one-fifth (21.6 percent) in the Palatinate of Wilno.[101]

The main focal point of Lithuanian-Russian trade in the 17th century was the eastern Belorussian city of Mohylew which appears to have overtaken Wilno as the leading commercial center of the Grand Duchy during the second half of the 16th century. The rapid development of the comparatively young town was due in no small measure to the pivotal role it assumed in Muscovite trade after the old center of this commerce, Smolensk, was conquered by Vasilii III in 1514. Following dramatic growth after the conferral of the city charter in 1505, Mohylew numbered 1,261 houses and at least 7,000 inhabitants by 1577. Further development took this to 2,211 houses

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[100] Following the Iam-Pol'skii treaty of 1582, customs stations were set up at Dzisna (Belor. Dzisna), Druja (Belor. Druia), Połock (Belor. Polatsk), Witebsk, Uświat (Belor. Usviat), Orsza (Belor. Orsha), Mścisław (Belor. Mstsislaŭ), Kryczew (Belor. Krychaŭ), Czeczersk (Belor. Chachėrsk), Homel (Belor. Homel'), and Rzeczyca (Belor. Rėchytsa). The lists of recipients of late 16th-century royal letters on Lithuanian-Russian trade suggests that additional points of entry into the Common-wealth included Suraż (Belor. Surazh), Wieliż (Belor. Velizh), Mohylew, Propojsk (Belor. Prapoisk), and Rohaczew (Belor. Rahachoŭ). L.S. Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi Belorussii s Russkim gosudarstvom," p. 20.

[101] VUB RS f. 77, b. 123.

and over 11,000 inhabitants in 1604, although these figures fell to 1,600 houses and just over 10,000 citizens by 1609. In the second half of the 17th century, Mohylew is said to have had nearly 3,000 houses and a population of over 15,000.[102] Mohylew merchants were the most active participants in long-distance trade in the Polish-Lithuanian lands and tied Muscovy into an elaborate system of trade based on a network of important annual fairs across the *Rzeczpospolita.* By the early 16th century, Mohylewians were regular visitors at the three annual fairs in Lublin. Towards the end of the century, they began to visit also other Polish cities: Gniezno, Poznań, Toruń, and Jarosław, as well as Lwów at least on occasion.[103]

In the northeast of the Grand Duchy, Połock and Witebsk based their prosperity on long-standing river trade with Riga. Połock also organized two annual two-week fairs which attracted among others Russian merchants. Z.Iu. Kapyski has suggested that the population of Połock may have reached nearly 50,000 around the middle of the 16th century, which would have made it one of the largest cities in early modern Europe. However, other estimates put the total at only 1,515 houses in 1552 and as low as 82 houses and 1,719 men in 1654. Połock's population appears to have further fallen sharply in the wake a highly destructive fire in 1643.[104] Previously much in Połock's shadow, Witebsk entered the 17th century which its economic importance recognized *de iure* by the Polish-Lithuanian authorities. The city received a Magdeburg charter in 1597 which specified, among other things, its right to trade along the Dźwina and to maintain guesthouses for visiting foreign merchants and stipulated an annual fair for St Peter's day. Witebsk had 1,010 houses in 1614, a figure that by 1665 declined to 668 houses and 1,306 men.[105]

Further inland, there was the capital Wilno, which was a regional metropolis of impressive parameters. The fire of 1610 alone destroyed 4,700 buildings. As many as 25,000 local residents took part in the

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[102] Łowmiański, *Handel Mohylewa*, pp. 520–1, 523–4; Meleshko, "O torgovle," p. 48; Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi," pp. 18–9; *Mogilevskaia starina*, I, p. 204; Marzaliuk, *Mahilioŭ*, p. 97; *IIuM*, XVII, p. 129.

[103] Topolski, "Rola Gniezna;" Topolski, "Faktoren;" Łowmiański, *Handel Mohylewa*, pp. 536–7.

[104] Petrikov *et al., Polotsk*, pp. 44, 46–7.

[105] Levko, *Torgovye sviazi*, p. 59; *AZR*, IV, pp. 165–70; Ignatenko, "Russko-belorusskie torgovye sviazi," pp. 54–5; Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi," pp. 40–; Levko, *Vitebsk*, pp. 73–89.

ultimately unsuccessful defense of the city against the advancing troops of Aleksei Mikhailovich in 1654. In 1708–10, over 34,000 inhabitants died from hunger. In spite its relative decline compared to eastern Belorussia, the role of Wilno was particularly important, at times even superior to Mohylew's, in the trade with Russian skins and hides. A group of Wilno merchants claimed in 1621 that the majority of merchants in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy lived on trade with Muscovy.[106]

Central and western Belorussian towns tended to be smaller than their counterparts on the eastern periphery. Mińsk (Belor, Minsk, Mensk) by the middle of the 16th century a population of roughly 2,000 (some 300 households).[107] Pińsk (Belor. Pinsk), in 1555, had 800 houses, a figure than by 1575 fell to 264. The number of households in Grodno (Belor. Hrodna, Harodnia) appears to have remained fairly stable at just over 540 throughout the period.[108] Many of these cities were of considerable regional importance, however. Grodno became a particularly pivotal location after the creation of a customs post at Augustów in 1569, which was a checkpoint for merchants going from the Grand Duchy to the Crown lands. *Serebszczina* military tax data from 1551 sheds light on the relative weight of the major Belorussian towns. Mohylew's contribution was Zł 1,800, as compared to 655 for Witebsk, 655 for Połock, 500 for Mińsk, 300 for Brześć (Belor. Berastse, Brést), 250 for Pińsk, and 200 for Grodno. A 1673 merchant levy (*donatiwa kupiecka*) yielded Zł 3,350 in Mohylew, Zł 1,200 in each of Witebsk and Połock, and Zł 500 in Mińsk. The 1700 *hiberna* tariff was assessed at Zł 8,708 in Mohylew, compared to 4,004 in the Witebsk district, and 2,002 in Połock.[109]

Until the middle of the century, the western borderlands of Russia were much more sparsely populated than the eastern parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, the Thirteen Years' War fundamentally altered this situation and, while many Lithuanian settlements struggled to recover, the turn of the 18th century saw a

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[106] *ĖHB*, II, p. 296; Tsitoŭ, *Heral'dyka*, p. 135; *Relacje*, I, p. 1864; Prochaska, "Protest," p. 445; Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia*, pp. 24–5, 72.

[107] *ĖHB*, V, p. 150.

[108] Łowmiański, *Handel Mohylewa*, pp. 526, 529; Ignatenko, "Russko-belorusskie torgovye sviazi," pp. 54–5; Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi Belorussii," pp. 40–1.

[109] Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi," p. 41; Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia*, p. 30; *AVAK*, VIII, pp. 289–92; P'iankov, "K voprosu," p. 70.

dramatic economic boom on the Muscovite side of the border. The main Russian border town—expect during the 43-year interlude of 1611–54—was the ancient fortress town of Smolensk. Possevin in 1581–2 estimated that the city had 20,000 men capable of bearing arms, while another estimate put the total population at 70,000. V.P. Mal'tsev put the townsman population of Smolensk at some 30,000 in 1609. Following the devastating wars of the 1610s and '30s, the population of Polish-controlled Smolensk in 1650 has been estimated at around 10,000 people. However by 1656, two years into the next Polish-Russian war, the local burgomasters complained that only 200 burghers remained.[110] We can assume that the growth of the city in subsequent decades broadly mirrored the rapid economic revival of western Russia. The other towns of the Smolensk district were Dorogobuzh, Krasnyi, Belaia, and Roslavl', all of them significantly smaller than the region's capital. The total population of Dorogobuzh has been estimated at 3,200–3,400, as compared to 2,800–3,000 for Krasnyi, 2,100–2,200 for Belaia, and 1,400–1,600 for Roslavl'.[111] Briansk had some 400 townsmen in 154 households, as well as 943 other households by the middle of the century. By the 1670s, the number of townsmen had fallen to 161, while the number of other male taxpayers stood at 879. The townsmen population once again recovered to 863 by 1722.[112]

Viaz'ma—located some 150 kilometers east of Smolensk on the Moscow road—rose to assume its neighbor's position as the center of Russian-Lithuanian border trade when Smolensk fell into Polish hands. While significantly smaller than its neighbor, Viaz'ma was still of considerable regional significance. In 1594/5, it had 500 tax-paying households. Their numbers fell to 136 in 1610. The total in the 1620s and still in 1638/9 was 188, which rose somewhat to 239 in 1646/7, at which time the number of registered inhabitants of the *posad* was 499 and 38 widows. The Viaz'ma *uezd* had a total population of 21,813 people residing in 2,698 houses.[113]

The most important cities in the northern sector of the Lithuanian border were Toropets and Velikie Luki. Velikie Luki had the dimen-

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[110] Dumin, *Smolenskoe voevodstvo*, pp. 55–6; Mal'tsev, *Bor'ba*, p. 339; Makovskii and Orlov, *Smolensk*, pp. 91, 146.

[111] Dumin, *Smolenskoe voevodstvo*, p. 55.

[112] Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," p. 287.

[113] Smirnov, *Goroda*, I/2, p. 40; Vinogradov, *Istoricheskii ocherk*, pp. 124–5, 127–32.

sions of a significant regional town, although it paled in comparison to the leading Lithuanian cities. After the post-*Smuta* rebuilding efforts, the city had 101 houses in 1620, a figure that doubled to 206 over the ensuing seven years. However, the 1678 survey records only 123 houses in the fortress.[114] Toropets was more or less comparable in size, although it experienced much greater variability in its fortunes. Although it still had 415 houses in 1540/1, the number had plummeted to 17 in the 1620s following near-total destruction during the Time of Troubles. Some relief came from soldiers stationed there, who numbered 1,144 in 1622. Another blow to the fragile recovery was dealt by a destructive fire in 1634. The number of households rose somewhat to 39 in 1638/9, but still in 1641 the local residents described the city as burnt and empty, shunned by outside traders. A subsequent recovery took the number of households to an impressive 339 by 1646/7.[115]

Overland trade in the Dniepr-Dźwina region took place along a number of trade routes which together constituted an elaborate network bringing together most of the important population centers of Russia and Lithuania. The Warsaw road went through Orsza (Belor. Orsha, Vorsha), Borysów (Belor. Barysaŭ), Mińsk, Słonim (Belor. Slonim), Brześć and Lublin. The main stops on the Wilno road, denoted by Herberstein as the "old and usual" route, were Orsza, Borysów, Łohojsk (Belor. Lahoisk), Mołodeczno (Belor. Maladzechna), and Krewo (Belor. Krėva). Kraków could be reached via Lublin, Babin, Belżyce, and Urzędów. A more northern road diverged from the Warsaw route at Mińsk and went though Nowogródok (Belor. Novaharodak, Navahrudak), Grodno, Augustów, Toruń, Gniezno, and Poznań. Königsberg was reachable through Kowno (Lith. Kaunas). In Poland, these routes connected with a whole network leading to Saxon, Silesian, and Bohemian economic centers such as Leipzig, Breslau (Pol. Wrocław), and Prague. Of lesser importance were north-south routes connecting Smolensk and the Swedish Baltic provinces, respectively, with the Ottoman-controlled northern littoral of the Black Sea.[116]

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[114] Iurasov, *Velikie Luki*, p. 50; Karpachev, "Goroda," pp. 74–6.

[115] Smirnov, *Goroda*, I/2, pp. 25–6, 40; Poboinin, *Toropetskaia starina*, pp. 163, 165.

[116] The main axes of this north-south trade were the (i) Dniepr, (ii) the Mohylew-Lojew-Kiev-Crimean route, (iii) the Wilno-Wołkowysk (Belor. Vaŭkavyisk)-Kamienec

Mohylew on the Dniepr formed the starting point of the two main routes leading to Moscow: (i) the Orsza-Smolensk-Dorogobuzh-Moscow road, known as "Old Smolensk road" and (ii) the more circuitous Starodub-Kaluga-Moscow route. In the north, there was a historically important road connecting Moscow with Nevel' and Połock, but its role appears to have become role rather marginal by the 17th century. Nonetheless, regional interaction between Połock and Witebsk, on the one hand, and the northwestern Russian towns of Velikie Luki, Belaia, and Toropets remained lively throughout the century.[117] In addition to roads, a number of rivers—especially the Dźwina and the Dniepr—facilitated trade in the Muscovite-Lithuanian border regions. Especially Połock and Witebsk merchants engaged in very large-scale trade on the Dźwina, primarily with Riga. The Dźwina though its tributaries brought a number of Muscovite cities to the sphere of influence of northeastern Belorussia. It led to Wieliż, and via the Toropa to Toropets, as well as via the Meża/Mezha and the Obsha to Belaia.[118] Belaia, in turn, was within easy reach from the Volga or the Moskva. Smolensk and Mohylew were connected by the Dniepr. Between Wilno and Pskov there were the Wilia, the Dzisna, the Dryssa, and the Velikaia. Wilno and Novgorod were connected by the Wilia, Dzisna, Dźwina, and Lovat'. Northern and Central Belorussian merchants from Pińsk, Mozyrz (Belor. Mazyr), Petryków (Belor. Petrykavichy), and Słuck took their wares to Muscovy via the Prypeć (Belor. Prypiats') or the Słuck-Hłusk (Belor. Hlusk Dubrovitski)-Parycze (Belor. Parychy)-Horwol (Belor. Horval')-Homel or the Mińsk-Hłusk-Wołosowiczy (Belor. Valosavichy)-Zahale (Belor. Zahalle)-Bragin routes which connected to the Moscow-Briansk-Kiev highway. The Dniepr-Prypeć waterway potentially drew much of the Belorussian lands into trade with Muscovy, in as much as it connected Mohylew with Brześć. In addition, there existed a number of land routes, often passing through towns with significant annual fairs.[119]

(Ukr. Kam'ianets')-Brześć-łuck (Ukr. Luts'k) road, and (iv) the Wilno-Kleck (Belor. Kletsk)/Słonim-Pińsk (Belor. Pinsk)—Łuck road. Muscovite merchants traveled to Turkey not only via Kiev but also via Mińsk. Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi," pp. 18–20; Fekhner, *Torgovlia*, pp. 154–5.

[117] Meleshko, *Mogilev*, pp. 107, 109–10; Petrikov *et al.*, *Polotsk*, p. 46.

[118] Petrikov *et al.*, *Polotsk*, p. 46.

[119] Meleshko, *Mogilev*, pp. 27, 108, 119; Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi," pp. 19–20; Łowmiański, *Handel*, p. 547.

On the eve of the 17th century, the Russian-Polish border in the Ukraine cut across the geographic and demographic peripheries of the two states. There southern borderlands were far more sparsely populated that the Dniepr-Dźwina basin and, just as importantly from the economic perspective, highly vulnerable. Destructive raids by Tatars remained a risk factor well into the 17th century. There were 70 recorded raids on the Ukrainian lands—primarily the Kiev (Pol. Kijów, Ukr. Kyiv) and Bratslav (Pol. Bracław) provinces—in 1456–1586 and 70 between 1600 and 1647. An average raid yielded 3,000 captives, sometimes as many as 300,000. In Podolia, some one-third of all the villages were destroyed or abandoned in the comparatively short time between 1578 and 1583.[120] Tatar raids were a problem north of the border, as well. In 1633–46 alone, Tatars killed or captured 15,115 people in the Kursk *uezd*. Still in 1680, they wreaked extensive havoc in the towns of the Belgorod regimental district killing 3,258 people, driving away 24,193 heads of cattle, burning 688 houses, and devastating agricultural areas.[121]

In spite of the inauspicious beginnings, the demographic structure of the central and eastern Ukrainian lands changed fundamentally in the 16th and 17th centuries due to intensive colonization which the authorities actively encouraged. Magnates were given land free from obligations for 10–30 years. Many serfs deserted their homes in the west where oppressive practices were common.[122] Most of the towns of the Palatinate of Kiev and the Left Bank were founded in the first half of the 17th century, primarily for defensive purposes. They included Nizhyn which, in spite of receiving its charter only in the 1620s, rose to become the leading economic center of the Left Bank. By the 1640s, the young city had over 100 masters in 12 guilds. Most of the region's markets emerged under the protection of fortresses. The number of such new foundations in the Palatinate of Kiev alone totaled 200, while the Palatinate of Bratslav had nearly 100 new foundations.[123] I.P. Kryp'iakevych counted 871 Ukrainian towns in the 1640s, most of them in the Palatinates of Kiev (385), Bratslav

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[120] Subtelny, *Ukraine*, p. 106.
[121] Vazhinskii, "Khlebnaia torgovlia," p. 5.
[122] Subtelny, *Ukraine*, p. 107.
[123] Pirog, *Chernigovshchina*, pp. 74, 361; Iershov, "Nizhyns'ki tsekhi," pp. 317–8; Kryp'iakevych, *Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi*, pp. 34–5, 294; Romanovskii, "Razvitie," p. 403.

(122), and Podolia (111). O.S. Kompan identified 756 towns, of which 409 were on the Left Bank.[124]

V. Romanovs'kyi, using the 1666 census, estimated the total population of the Left Bank at some 500,000, whereas O.I. Baranovych arrived at a much higher figure of some 5 million for the total population of the Polish-controlled Ukraine in 1629.[125] O.S. Kompan, reached a somewhat lower total of 3.2 million, of which the Kiev and Chernihiv regions accounted for 1.75 million. In the second quarter of the 18th century, the population of the Left Bank has been estimated at some 700,000, which suggests that it probably was not much different in the era of the "Ruin."[126] The three largest cities of the ethnically Ukrainian lands were Lwów, Pereiaslav, and Kiev. Lwów had an estimated population of nearly 30,000, roughly equal to that of Pereiaslav which, in Beauplan's probably considerably inflated estimate, had some 6,000 households. Kiev's population approached 20,000. A 1622 census counted 1,750 households which would correspond to roughly 15,000 inhabitants. In addition, there were a large number of cities with more than 500 households, i.e. a population of at least a couple of thousand people.[127] The 1666/7 census of the Left Bank counted 65 towns and smaller urban settlements and a total number of 24,604 houses. The number of houses in urban settlements listed in the surviving parts of the census is 11,949, which suggests an "urbanization" level of 46 percent. Naturally, however, many of the smaller towns were very essentially fortified villages where virtually the entire population were engaged in agriculture.[128]

Long-distance trade in the Ukraine centered around regular annual fairs, of which most towns had two and some up to four, and one or two weekly market days. The fairs typically lasted 1–2 weeks. Even some larger villages and monasteries organized them. The most important

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[124] *ŹD*, XVIII, p. 146; Baranovich, *Ukraina*, pp. 135–6, 138; Kryp'iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, p. 34; Subtelny, *Ukraine*, p. 107; Strishenets', "Chiselnist';" Baranovich, "Naselenie," pp. 198–232; Baranovich, "Novyi gorod," pp. 237–40; Kompan, *Mista*, pp. 70–4.

[125] Romanovskii, *Ocherki*, p. 308; Baranovich, *Ukraina*, pp. 133, 139; Baranovich, "Naselenie," p. 211.

[126] Kompan, *Mista*, pp. 70–4; Vodarskii, *Naselenie*, p. 192.

[127] Holobuts'kyi *et al.*, *Istoriia Kyieva*, I, p. 148; *ŹD*, V, p. 130; Baranovich, *Ukraina*, pp. 135–6.

[128] Subtelny, *Ukraine*, p. 124.

fairs in the Ukraine were held in Krolevets' (Pol. Królewiec), Nizhyn, and Poltava. Both Christian and Jewish citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as foreign merchants, were allowed to trade at these fairs and required to pay only the standard duties. There was a steady expansion in the number of fairs on the Left Bank, from 40 in 1665 to well over 300 in the middle of the 18th century.[129]

North of the border was the Muscovite Southern Frontier which gradually emerged as an economic region of some importance. A Tatar raid, which coincided with the onset of the Smolensk war in 1632, paved the way for a major program of fortifications and "[b]etween the late 1630s and 1651, a series of new fortress towns was built . . . near the edge of the forest-steppe zone."[130] The Belgorod Defensive Line provided the security needed for the economic and demographic take-off of the vast region encircled by the Polish border, the Tula Defenses, and the Don and Voronezh Rivers, even though this process continued to be checked by periodic Tatar and Cossack raids. The border towns of Belgorod, Valuiki, and Putivl' were founded in the late 16th century and the region subsequently became home to people displaced by the Polish conquest of the Smolensk region during the Time of Troubles. In addition to the arrival of large numbers of soldiers to southern garrisons, the southern provinces benefitted from an exodus of northern and central Russian peasants, driven away by war and enserfment and attracted to the frontier by its exceptionally fertile lands.[131]

The security afforded by the new defenses ultimately made the Southern Frontier one of the most demographically dynamic in all of Muscovy, even if the local population tended to be poorer than average.[132] The border districts proper, together with the Kursk region, saw their population treble in the space of the four decades following 1678, although they in 1719 still lagged clearly behind the western border. The "Wild South" of Russia over time acquired a number of towns of some importance. From the viewpoint of Ukrainian

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[129] *AIuZR*, V/1, pp. 14, 36, 48, 73, 79, 81, 86, 96, 99, 107, 126; VII/3, pp. 279, 285–6, 292, 294, 296, 299–300; *ŽD*, V, pp. 83, 181; Shvid'ko, *Ukreplenie*, p. 74.

[130] Stevens, *Soldiers*, p. 20.

[131] The neighboring Sloboda Ukraine received a major boost to its population in 1667–81 when political instability in the Hetmanate pushed Ukrainians to the Muscovite side of the border. Stevens, *Soldiers*, pp. 21–2, 30.

[132] *Ibidem*, pp. 31–2.

trade, the most important ones—along with Briansk, which was discussed above—were the district capitals: Putivl', Ryl'sk, and Sevsk.

Putivl'—11 years after becoming designated as a border town under the New Commercial Code—had an estimated total population of 1,965, of which one-quarter were townsmen or other merchants and two-thirds were soldiers. The total in 1710 was almost unchanged at 1,934. Ryl'sk had 932 inhabitants in 1678, but only 82 towns-men/merchants. In contrast, the 1722 total was already 1,881 with 40 percent townsmen. The population of Sevsk totaled 1,596 in 1678—with 250 townsmen—and rose to 3,862 in 1710, albeit with the relatively modest total of 363 townsmen/merchants.[133] The area thus continued to be marked by the absence of large urban centers. Moreover, the social structure of the southern towns remained atypical throughout and, while many soldiers participated in trade, their involvement and incentives were not ordinarily comparable to those of full-time businessmen.

As much as demographic factors provided a strong basis for international trade, Russian-Ukrainian trade could further draw on a centuries-long tradition of such exchange on a network of trade routes. Historically the most important of these was the so-called "ancient road" which connected Russia with the old Genoese colony of Kaffa (Feodosia) in the Crimean.[134] The most frequently used roads went through Putivl' which, in turn, was linked with Moscow through Sevsk, Korochev, Volkhov, and Kaluga. By the turn of the 18th century, the main routes linking central Russia with the Ukrainian lands were: (i) Moscow-Serpukhov-Tula-Orel-Kursk-Belgorod-Khar'kov; (ii) Moscow-Kaluga-Odoev-Belev-Bolkhov-Briansk-Sevsk-Nizhyn-Kiev; (iii) a detour of the same through Kursk; and (iv) a postal route Moscow-Sevsk-Kiev. However, the quality of these roads often left a great deal to be desired, which in turn gave Russian-Ukrainian trade a seasonal character. Much of it took place in the winter when transportation in sleighs significantly cut costs. The spring and autumn rains and floods and the resultant *rasputitsia* (time of bad roads) put an end to significant commerce.[135] In the east, there was the so-

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[133] Briantsev, *Chislennost'*, pp. 29–30.

[134] Shvid'ko, *Ukreplenie*, p. 69; Baranovich, *Ukraina*, p. 23.

[135] Kafengauz, *Ocherki*, p. 289; Baranovich, *Ukraina*, p. 153; Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, p. 405.

called Muravskii route going north-south in the area between the Dniepr and the Don, more or less along the Ukrainian-Russian border to Belgorod and Livna. It was in common use, in spite of fairly frequent Tatar raids.[136] Another route connecting Sevsk with the Ukraine went through Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, Snovs'k, Sosnytsia, Chernihiv, Nizhyn, Nosivka, Kobyzhcha, Basan', and Kiev. From Basan', one could also proceed to Baryshivka. Other roads connected the Starodub and northern Chernihiv region with Briansk, Trubchevsk, etc.[137] In addition to these routes, there were numerous back roads and detours taken by merchants smuggling "forbidden wares" across the border. There were two important routes connecting the western Ukraine with Moscow. The northern one was linked with the old Smolensk road which passed through Brześć through Mińsk and Smolensk to the Russian capital. An alternative, more southern route went from Lwów to Kiev and then on to Moscow. The roads to be used tended to be decreed by the government and penalties were administered for avoiding them.[138] The merchants involved in the cross-border trade typically traveled in caravans in an attempt to provide security during a potentially perilous journey. These convoys usually consisted of 3–5 merchants, although quite often the number were much larger. There were caravans that contained dozens, or even hundreds, of merchants. Caravans usually grew over time as merchants would depart from cities of the interior and then be joined by others as they passed through different settlements on the routes leading to Muscovy.[139] While river routes were relatively less important in the trade with the Ukraine than elsewhere, they were naturally used where possible and provided the basis for more extensive trade in bulky commodities which historically had played a secondary role in Russian-Ukrainian trade. Waterways appear to have assumed an increasing importance towards the end of the 17th century

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[136] A western branch of the Muravskii route proceeded along the Seim to the upper reaches of the Oka. The Bakaiev route went between the Rivers Seim and Pslom and eventually joined the Muravskii route. Also the Sagaidaki route led to Belgorod, from Zin'kiv and Poltava. Platonov, "K istorii," p. 86; RGADA f. 79, 1648 g., d. 1, fols. 133–6.

[137] RGADA f. 124, 1648 g., d. 3, fols. 9–14.

[138] *ŹD*, XVIII/2, p. 472; XXII, p. 362; Kryp'iakevych, *Zv'iazky*, pp. 17–8; XXII, p. 362; Kompan, *Mista*, p. 307.

[139] Holobuts'kyi *et al.*, *Istoriia Kyieva*, I, p. 153; Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, p. 405; Kompan, *Mista Ukraïny*, p. 308.

and especially in the 18th. The Dniepr obviously constituted a significant commercial artery and a natural link with the Smolensk region. Timber was floated up the Desna and its tributaries. The Seim provided access to the Kursk region, especially the important Korennaia fair. The neighboring town of Orel served as a connection to the Oka. Also some potash trade took place along the waterways.[140]

Contacts with Asia

Muscovite trade with Asia took place on three broad fronts: (i) with the Ottoman Empire which, of course, at the time included also several principalities and lands on the Balkan Peninsula; (ii) via the Volga port of Astrakhan' which established itself as the principal focus of Russian-Asian trade in the 17th century; and (iii) through the network of Siberian border fortresses.

Russian commercial ties with the Black Sea region built on long-standing trade with Kefe (Kaffa) throughout the Middle Ages.[141] A large number of trade routes connected the Ottoman lands with Moscow, which constituted the main—and for much of the century, the exclusive—center of this trade. A group of routes originated in Kefe or Azak (Russ. Azov) and converged on the Don or the Donets.[142] Geographically the most convenient connection between Russia and Istanbul passed through the possessions of the Crimean Khan. The shortest of them measured 1,100 km and could be covered in 37 days. However, the element of risk involved was considerable, since the road was vulnerable to attacks by Cossacks, Nogais, Tatars, and Polish-Lithuanians. The route involved crossing the Black Sea, or going overland, from Istanbul to Kefe or Akkirman, from where one could follow the Dniepr north.[143] Ottoman merchants appear to have favored more secure western routes via Moldavia to Kiev or from the Black Sea through the Ingulets valley to the Dniepr and Kiev and on to Moscow by way of Viaz'ma. The Moldavian capital Iaşi

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[140] Holobuts'kyi *et al.*, *Istoriia Kyieva*, I, pp. 152–3; Kafengauz, *Ocherki*, p. 289; Samsonov, "Kurskaia Korennaia iarmarka," pp. 99, 106.

[141] Bushkovitch, *The Merchants*, p. 92.

[142] Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les marchands," pp. 371–2, 375–6; Pogradskaia, "Moldavskoe kniazhestvo," p. 107.

[143] Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les marchands," p. 374.

was a central nod on all the western overland routes. It was a place where merchants from a number of different places formed caravans for a joint journey to Russia.[144]

Following Ivan IV's conquest of the lower Volga basin in the 1550s, the Muscovite Grand Duchy suddenly found itself protruding deep into the northwestern remains of the Mongol Empire.[145] Even if the Russians did have centuries of interaction with the Tatars behind them, their new holdings opened a window on more distant lands through the trade routes that criss-crossed the territories around the Caspian Sea. For the Russians, the Caspian became their southern sea which the Croatian visitor Juraj Križanić with justification described as the center of the Asian continent.[146] The Russian "window on Asia" was the city of Astrakhan' in the Volga estuary. Following the Russian conquest of the area, the city was moved from the right to the left bank of the Volga and centered around a stone citadel, the kremlin. Next to the fortress were built a "White Town" (*Belyi gorod*) and an "Earth town" (*Zemlianoi gorod*) whose total population was estimated at 5,000. Robust growth ensued and the city had a total of 11,650 houses according to a 1707 survey. Astrakhan' is estimated to have had at least 2,283 artisan musketeers (*strel'tsy*) between 1614 and 1699, and in the first quarter of the 18th century, there were 350 masters of various crafts. By 1619, the city even had its own shipbuilding industry, a key precondition for the development of trade in the Caspian region. The local leather industry produced processed horse hides, the so-called *khozy* and *savry* which were of considerable importance among the city's exports.[147]

In spite of the gradual colonization of the Russian south, Astrakhan' remained on the distant periphery of the Muscovite state and its trade with the rest of the country was vulnerable to disturbances. For instance, the lower Volga was isolated from the Muscovite interior in the beginning decades of the century and ravaged by Ivan Zarutskii's expedition. Especially in the 1630s–'60s, merchants were

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[144] Podgradskaia, "Moldavskoe kniazhestvo," pp. 110, 118–9; Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les marchands," pp. 376–7.

[145] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 16.

[146] Baklanova, "Ian de-Gron," p. 111.

[147] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, 28, 271, 272–3, 279; Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 23.

repeatedly subjected to attacks by Kalmyks, Nogais, and Tatars, as well as rebellious Don Cossacks. A great deal of damage to trade was caused by Stepan Razin's uprising during which for instance *Gost'* Vasilii Shorin's river fleet was raided. Ultimately, measures were taken to use musketeers to protect merchant convoys and the travelers themselves were invariably armed. Epidemics similarly tended to have a profound effect on trade. The worst ones in the 1660s and '90s again virtually isolated the city.[148]

Astrakhan', on the edge of two continents, was a truly cosmopolitan city, frequented by merchants from Central Asia, Persia, Turkey and Trans-Caucasia already in the 16th century. The Russian government, moreover, made a conscious effort to attract Asian merchants to the city during the acute financial crisis that followed the Time of Troubles.[149] For their benefit, Astrakhan' came to have three guesthouses—Russian, Gilan, and Indian—as well as three settlements (*slobody*) for Armenian, Bukhara, and Indo-Tatar "Agrazhan" merchants. The oldest of these, the Gilan and Bukhara yards were initially set up outside the city walls, the first for Persian and Trans-Caucasian merchants, the second for Central Asians and Indians. An Armenian guesthouse was built in the city center in the 1640s. By 1640, Astrakhan' already had an Armenian church and the total number of Armenian families in the city was estimated at around 40 in the second half of the 17th century. The total number of Armenians at the turn of the 18th century evidently came close to 200. Indian merchants began to settle in Astrakhan' in the 1640s and their guesthouse regularly accommodated 17–18 individuals. By the beginning of the 18th century, numerous merchants from other parts of Russia as well owned bases in Astrakhan'.[150] In evident response to strong economic development, the Muscovite authorities made a special effort to improve the facilities for Asian merchants in the closing decades of the century. A new stone guesthouse for Bukharan, Gilanian, and Indian visitors was built in 1673–4, while Sofia ordered the construction of a Bukharan house outside the city walls and Indian and Gilanian houses in the city.[151]

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[148] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, pp. 30–1.
[149] Golikova, *Ocherki*, p. 161.
[150] *Ibidem*, pp. 160 ff.; Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 29.
[151] Burton, *The Bukharans*, p. 492.

Astrakhan''s geography gave it extraordinary potential as a center of trade. It was connected with much of the Russia's economic heartland by the great Volga waterway. The standard route to Moscow consisted of taking the Volga to Tsaritsyn, Saratov, Simbirsk, or Smitrievsk (Kamyshin) and a road to the Don. Moscow could be reached either via the Alatyr'-Arzamas-Vladimir route or through Temnikov, Kasimov, and Vladimir. An alternative route went through Kazan' to Makar'ev, Nizhnii Novgorod, Kostroma, Iaroslavl', and Kineshma.[152] The duration of the river journey from Moscow to Astrakhan' was at least 40 and often up to 130 days with 51–84 days apparently being the norm. The trip up the river took 150–160 days. Goods were transported by river barges (*strugi*)—wooden vessels meas-uring 6–15 meters, or sometimes even more, in length. According to Olearius, they were capable of transporting 3–500 lasts of grain, although the maximum capacity appears to have increased to 1,000 lasts (14,000 *pud*) by the end of the century. Most barges were rowed, although some of them had masts. The largest ones had crews of 20 people.[153]

Across Muscovy's southern border, Astrakhan' had convenient connections with Trans-Caucasia, Persia, Central Asia, and even India. Persia could be reached across the Caspian to Darband, and a road connection through Shamakhi and Ardabil led to Isfahan, which was the main center of Russian-Persian trade. An alternative overland route passed through Terskii gorod, Tarki, Darband, and Shamakhi. The main connection with Central Asia was the Caspian to the Mangyshlakskie pristani-Karagan' and on, across the steppe, to Urgench and Bukhara. On occasion, Central Asian merchants used an overland route via Iaik, Saraichik, and Urgench to Bukhara.[154]

While convenient and cost-effective, sailing on the Caspian was a highly risky business. Vessels were naturally threatened by storms, but also by various bands of pirates. Improving the security of Russian boats was of major concern to the government. Among other things, it prompted the construction of the "Orel," the first Russian military ship which, however, was destroyed during the Razin uprising.

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[152] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, pp. 29–30.
[153] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, pp. 28–30; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 35–6.
[154] Fekhner, *Torgovlia*, p. 19; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 36–8; Burton, *The Bukharans*, map facing p. 391.

Andrei A. Vinius (Andries Winius) in 1668 proposed to further the trans-Caspian trade by building a type of vessels, so-called *katargi* which would be faster and easier to defend.[155]

Russian expansion into Siberia, by opening a long new border with inner Asia and eventually also with Qing China, opened up vast new horizons for trade. The gradual Russian colonization of the southern periphery of Siberia provided both a stimulus and an institutional basis for commercial exchange across the inner Asian expanses.

The years between 1586 and 1654 saw the establishment of the key Siberian cities—Tiumen', Tobol'sk, Tomsk, Eniseisk, and Irkutsk, as well as a number of smaller towns.[156] However, the local population remained modest and thinly spread out. Urban growth was to significant degree associated with military considerations. For instance Tiumen' in 1624 had 222 government servitors whose number more than trebled to 790 in 1645, in addition to 108 Tatars. Tomsk saw its servitor population expand from 481 in 1627 to 1,143 in 1699. In 1635, the town had 719 adult males. Tobol'sk in 1698 had 327 townsmen with 599 dependents. By 1710, the core areas of western Siberia (the districts of Verkhotur'e, Turinsk, Tiumen', Tobol'sk, and Tara) had a combined population of 212,400, more than one-half of them in the Tobol'sk region. The more northerly areas (Pelym, Berezov, Surgut, Narym, and Ketsk) had 7,200 inhabitants, while the population of the Tomsk and Kuznetsk regions to the east numbered 27,300. The total population of western Siberia thus attained the somewhat significant 246,900 by the dawn of the Imperial era.[156]

Even though these town were often little more than fortified military outposts, their strategic importance for the emerging empire was incontestable. The Russians took pains to promote the development of regional commerce and there was a systematic program designed to attain agricultural self-sufficiency.[158] The Muscovite government early on recognized the importance of trade with especially the Central Asian khanates in ensuring the economic viability of its new colony. Above all Bukharan merchants were instrumental in supplying the Russian settlers with foodstuffs and other important

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[155] *DAI*, V, No 80.
[156] Lantzeff, *Siberia*, pp. 34–9; Kabo, *Goroda*, pp. 49–95.
[157] Kabo, *Goroda*, pp. 56–7, 84, 92.
[158] Lantzeff, *Siberia*, pp. 155–75.

commodities (Chapter 8). The end of the century, moreover, saw the gradual rise of commerce with China. Three main routes were used to traverse the enormous distance between Russia and China: (i) Tobol'sk-Lake Beijing, (ii) Selenginsk-Outer Mongolia-Urga-Beijing, and (iii) the Nerchinsk route to Beijing. However, the challenges presented by Chinese trade were daunting. It took an average of three years to complete a trip from Moscow to Beijing and back. The trip between Nerchinsk and Beijing alone (the dominant route at the end of the century) took three months in one direction.[159]

Conclusions

Russia's geographic periphery was a scene of increasingly lively exchange with foreign merchants, whether along the long land border or the northern coast, dominated by the port of Arkhangel'sk. Foreign trade existed on two levels. Along the land border, and even on the Kola coast, localized interaction with immediate neighbors was the typically the leading, or at least a substantial, element of trade. However, there existed an increasingly important nationwide network of trade routes which connected the key production regions with Arkhangel'sk and the Baltic and eventually also with Astrakhan'. These key trade routes dominated Russia's dealings with the outside world, even though also short-distance cross-border trade could be of considerable regional significance.

The White Sea port of Arkhangel'sk served as the leading outlet of Russian exports to world markets throughout the 17th century. Connected to the central Russian heartland by the Dvina-Sukhona waterway, Arkhangel'sk could serve an enormous hinterland and the transportation of goods over long distances could be done in a reasonably cost-effective fashion. The attraction of Arkhangel'sk was enhanced by the fact that trade there freed foreign merchants from any taxes and duties paid to third parties. The Kola coast remained a secondary venue of trade with the West throughout the century.

The Baltic route was dominated by the northwestern border towns of Novgorod and Pskov, but also smaller communities (Tikhvin, Olonets, and Ladoga) were active, especially on the Stockholm route.

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[159] Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 163–71; Aleksandrov, *Rossiia*, pp. 206–7.

The Baltic route differed fundamentally from the White Sea trade. The existence of the "Baltic barrier" meant that all commercial interaction with Western merchants had to take place through Swedish-controlled territories after 1617–21. This typically resulted in additional costs and potential political uncertainty. In addition, the history of the Russian northwest was marked by several reversals of fortune which repeatedly undermined the potential of Baltic trade. The demographic crises and the consequent depopulation of the Novgorod lands around the turn of the 17th century severely weakened the potential of the Baltic routes for much of the first half of the century. Ultimately, however, no temporary setbacks or political decisions could ultimately undermine the basic economic and geographic advantages of the Baltic basin, which paved the way to a dramatic recovery of Muscovite transit trade by the 1650s, and especially after the 1661 Russian-Swedish Kardis peace. The late 17th century saw a reversion towards the kind of dominance the Baltic had enjoyed as an outlet of Muscovite exports in the 16th century, a process completed by Peter I.

The importance of the overland routes and border towns varied a great deal in the course of the period under review, although it was generally less—at least in relative terms—than in the Middle Ages. While the rise of seaborne trade served to undermine the Central European overland routes, the political geography of the region arguably constituted an even greater threat. Muscovite trade with Poland-Lithuania received serious blows from the demographic crises of the Time of Troubles, the Smolensk War, and, above all, the Thirteen Years' War. In contrast, the preconditions for commercial exchange in the south improved as colonization north and south of the Ukrainian border proceeded apace. Secured by the Belgorod defenses, the Russian Southern Frontier saw a steady influx of new inhabitants and became one of the most rapidly growing regions of the Muscovite State. Similar trends were observed in the Ukraine and, moreover, the Left Bank was especially in the second half of the century relatively shielded from devastation of wars and the Ruin. The demographic balance of eastern Europe thus changed dramatically by the end of the century. Whereas the Russian-Lithuanian border regions had, still at the beginning of the century, convincingly eclipsed the peripheral districts of the eastern Ukraine and southern Russia, alike, the tables had been turned to a significant degree by the end of the century. The Lithuanian border was seri-

ously weakened, whereas the Ukrainian-Russian border offered a picture of steady growth.

The most important border point to the south of the central Russian core regions was the Volga port of Astrakhan' which over time established itself as the southern equivalent of Arkhangel'sk. While precise data on its commercial weight in frustratingly scarce, the available information unequivocally points to the gradual emergence of the Astrakhan'-Arkhangel'sk axis as a crucially important pillar in Russia's integration into the world economy. Trade via the Volga connected the most densely populated parts of Muscovy with a number of potentially important trade partners even if, with the exception of Persia, the realization of this potential may have been quite limited during the last Muscovite century. Russia's importance as a venue of Eurasian transit trade was enhanced by the conquest of Siberia and the consequent establishment of trade with China. Overall, the eastern expansion of the Muscovite Grand Duchy created the basis for its transformation into a pan-Eurasian commercial power.

CHAPTER THREE

DEMAND-DRIVEN TRADE

Late Muscovy had regular commercial relations with a relatively limited number of countries. Apart from its more or less immediate neighbors along its long land border in Europe and Asia (reviewed in Chapters 6 and 7), Russia's trading partners consisted primarily of the commercial superpowers of the day: the Netherlands and England, as well as the Hanseatic towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen. In fact, the Dutch, English, and Hanseates jointly accounted for the vast majority of Russian export trade and the evolution of their demand for Russian goods thus constituted the defining element of the history of late Muscovite foreign trade.

For Western Europe, Russia became an increasingly important supplier of a number of strategically important goods, most notably naval stores—predominantly flax, hemp, tar, and timber—which were used to build the large and rapidly growing navies of the world's leading maritime powers. In spite of the sporadic nature of grain exports, Russia was of critical importance in alleviating periodic shortages on the Western markets. Russia was, moreover, one of the leading suppliers in the world of several other goods—furs, hides, potash, tallow, etc. The robust economic expansion of Western Europe created a steadily growing market for these Russian products and the activities of Western merchants were instrumental in transmitting this demand into output growth. This chapter will review the evolution of Western demand for Muscovite exports, from the viewpoint of Western economic policy, diplomacy, and business practices alike.

The Dutch: Spreading Their Primacy to the Periphery

The Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands—a confederation of seven regions created by the 1579 Union of Utrecht—for much of the period under review still found itself in the midst of protracted campaign for its independence from Spanish overlordship, the so-called Eighty Years' War which lasted until 1648.

The often bloody conflict did not prevent the development of a vigorous commercial culture, however. By the end of the 16th century, the Dutch had established their position as the pre-eminent commercial power in the world and decisively eclipsed the once-mighty Hanseatic League as the dominant economic force in the Baltic region. The commercial relationship with the Baltic, the famous "mother trade" (*moedervaart, moedernegotie*), in fact became a central foundation of Dutch prosperity and the first substantial market where the merchants of the Low Countries established their supremacy. The total number of Dutch merchant ships increased from 33,000 in 1610 to 46,000 in the 1630s, and 50,000 in 1680. Of them, 4,000 were active in the Baltic in the first half of the century, although this figure was halved in the second half of the century.[1]

The rise of the Dutch was due to a combination of factors which have been discussed in remarkable detail in the large literature on the "Golden Age" of the young republic.[2] The various explanations include geographic, technological, institutional, and various other factors. The position of the Northern Netherlands at a pivotal point between the Atlantic, the North Sea, and the Rhine basin made the country an obvious meeting point for merchants. Dutch shipbuilding benefitted from various design innovations which increased carrying capacity and cut costs, and ship ownership became widespread in the absence of a dominant class of merchants. Moreover, the early focus on trade in bulky goods (grain and naval stores), the basis of the *moedervaart*, gave the Dutch a large fleet of ships with above-average carrying capacity. This prepared them ideally for the needs of the 17th century when the relative importance of the more compact "rich goods" declined.[3]

Financial innovation in the Low Countries gave Dutch merchants a critical advantage on the Russian market where government policy placed such a high premium on maintaining an active trade balance—to be settled in specie—with the outside world. The Dutch—with no restrictions on currency exports—readily used silver *rijksdaalders* and ducats to pay for a quarter to one half of the value of their

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[1] De Vries and Van der Woude, *Nederland*, p. 472.

[2] For recent examples, see: Israel, *Dutch Primacy* and De Vries and Van der Woude, *Nederland*.

[3] Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, pp. 14–25; Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, II, pp. 39–40, 43–4.

purchases in Russia, something that gave them a 10–15 percent reduction in prices. The English, in contrast, were not even allowed to export their own silver coin. Having to rely exclusively on foreign specie seriously hurt their competitiveness and frequently forced them to engage in barter trade. The developed capital market of the Amsterdam Bourse gave the Dutch access to unparalleled financial resources and the creation of mutual insurance policies promoted trade by spreading risk. This financial prowess, in turn, allowed the Dutch to develop extensive supply networks based on credit in Russia. A.V. Demkin's analysis of surviving credit notes reveals that some merchants made total loans exceeding R 10,000.[4] Given that virtually all loans constituted regular, typically annual, trade-credit, it is moreover likely that the surviving documents cover a relatively small proportion of them. The Dutch competitiveness was further boosted by their ability to capitalize on the pivotal position of Amsterdam as a global *entrepôt*, which enabled them to supply Russia with an exceptionally wide array of goods. While English export trade, especially initially, relied very heavily on domestic textile production, Dutch exports ranged from textiles (some of them dyed English cloth) to gold and silver products, jewelry, drugs, mirrors, ivory, etc.[5]

The institutional structure of Dutch trade with Russia differed dramatically from the very beginning from the centralized approach adopted by the English. Dutch merchants tended to operate individually or in small groups, some of them more formally defined than others. Even if the apparent diversity of the field was deceptive, due to numerous kinship relations among the Amsterdam elite, the Dutch States-General at no point endorsed a centralized company.[6] It is likely that this mode of operation carried some short-term costs. The Dutch found it more difficult to formulate and pursue a shared agenda in Moscow than the English. The leading merchants were visible and powerful enough to defend their interests with success. They supplied the government with arms and other valued goods and often enjoyed special privileges. These benefits were, however, never extended to the

[4] There are 94 surviving credit notes issued by Dutch merchants, as compared to 25 notes drawn up by Hamburg merchants, 21 by the English, and two by Lübeckers. Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 122–3, 127; Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," pp. 299–301; De Vries and Van der Woude, *Nederland*, pp. 169–173; Schade, *Die Niederlande*, pp. 68, 74–5; Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, II, pp. 58–9.

[5] Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," pp. 73, 80; Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, pp. 44–5; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 45; Floria, "Torgovlia."

[6] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 172; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 63; Schade, *Die Niederlande*, p. 82.

less influential members of the Dutch merchant community. In fact, Isaac Massa—a Dutch merchant-diplomat in Russia—complained in his letters that his compatriots felt indescribable hostility towards each other, a situation that, he claimed, seriously harmed the community's interests in Russia.[7] In spite of its shortcomings, the balance sheet of the Dutch *modus operandi* must have been very positive. The internecine rivalry undoubtedly fostered ingenuity, promoted efficiency, and created a flexible basis for a variety of business arrangements. It, moreover, made the Dutch remarkably resilient to political pressures. The initial absence of formal Dutch diplomatic involvement in Russia probably made Dutch entrepreneurs less vulnerable to the vagaries of international politics than they otherwise would have been.

The Dutch, like their rivals, initially entered the Muscovite market through the Baltic. They remained the leading economic force in most of the Swedish-controlled Baltic ports, especially Riga and Reval, throughout the century. For instance, the Dutch share of the total value of Reval's exports was typically over two-thirds and as high as 84.4 percent in 1682. The degree of dominance was little different in Riga.[8] In spite of their strong presence in the area, the Baltic never became a primary source of Russian goods for Dutch merchants, however. For instance, Riga and Reval served primarily as grain ports and the Dutch imported fairly limited quantities of goods of Russian origin from either city. The secondary role of the Baltic for Dutch-Muscovite trade is reflected in the relative failure of Dutch merchants to replicate their success in Narva which was the leading center of Russian transit trade in the region. In the 1660s–'90s, for example, Dutch ships typically accounted for just over 10 percent of the number of vessels calling at Narva. Their share of the total value of Narva's exports varied between 5 percent and one-third. Even in Narva, the Dutch did not focus primarily on Russian goods.[9]

An important deterrent on Dutch merchants operating in the Baltic was the customs policy of the Danish Crown which controlled the gates of the Baltic. From the Dutch perspective, this created a dual problem. First of all, shipping Russian wares from the Baltic tended to be more expensive than acquiring them in the Arctic North, since the Danish

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[7] *Vestnik Evropy*, August 1867, pp. 809–10.

[8] LVVA f. 1744; Piirimäe, "Udel'nyi ves," p. 14.

[9] Piirimäe, "Torgovye otnosheniia," p. 45; Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 371–2; Piirimäe, "Udel'nyi ves," p. 11; Piirimäe, "Sostav," pp. 57–8, 61–2, 68; Kotilaine, "The Significance of Russian Transit Trade," pp. 582–7; Åström, "Holländarna," pp. 55–80.

levies created an additional level of taxation. Secondly, especially when the Danes had full control over the Sound in the first half of the century, the king could increase the Sound imposts at will in response to his fiscal requirements, thereby making a key element of future costs potentially uncertain. There was a steady tendency to introduce new good-specific levies and, at times, systematic increases in all the various types of tolls.[10] In general, shipping in the Baltic was vulnerable to changes in diplomatic relations with Denmark and Sweden, even in the second half of the century when regaining the eastern provinces of southern Sweden remained a central goal of Danish policy, as well as a source of recurrent warfare. Under the circumstances, it made eminent sense for the Dutch to focus on grain, fibers, and timber trade in the Baltic, since these goods were in limited supply at Arkhangel'sk. However, most other Russian exports could be bought more cheaply in the White Sea. Largely in response, therefore, the Dutch early on adopted distinct approaches to the Baltic and northern Russian markets.

The Dutch appear to have first rounded the North Cape and visited the arctic coast of the Kola Peninsula as early as 1550. The first known Dutch-English encounter took place at Kigor with Englishman Stephen Borrow. The English immediately appreciated the potential threat posed by the newcomers with their multitude of goods. The first concrete records of Dutch trade in northern Russia date from 1564. Simon von Salingen, who visited Pechenga Bay on the Danish-Russian border in 1566, was the harbinger of regular commercial relations between the two countries. The main trading partner of the Dutch during the first years was the Pechenga Monastery. Fish appears to have been their chief export, although the monastery produced a range of agricultural and other goods, as well.[11] The Dutch finally reached the Dvina estuary in 1578, although there is mention of ships from "Holland and Brabant" visiting the area as early as 1555.[12]

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[10] For instance in 1638, the wartime rates of 1629 (removed in 1632) were reintroduced. The so-call "ship toll" was increased by a third, whereas the "last toll" on particular goods was increase by up to four times. The total toll receipts of Rd 229,000 in 1637 now rose to Rd 483,000 in 1638 and Rd 620,000 a year later. Venge, *Fra åretold til toldetat*, p. 251.

[11] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 91, 94–6; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, pp. 23–7.

[12] Kellenbenz, "La signification," p. 45; Rukhmanova, "Arkhangel'skaia torgovlia," p. 139; Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. XXXIII.

The Dutch early on recognized the potential of Russian trade. A famous attempt to promote Dutch trade with Muscovy was made in 1589 when Lucas Engelstad presented his project to the States-General, stressing the importance of not losing the new market to the English.[13] The English naturally refused to stand idly by and watch the Dutch challenge their monopoly. In 1597, the Muscovy Company managed to obtain a decree from Boris Godunov which forbade Dutch merchants, as well as English interlopers, to trade beyond Arkhangel'sk. However, the new policy was abandoned within two years and some Dutch merchants were given passes for the Russian interior.[14] Starting in 1594, the Dutch even made some attempts to explore the areas to the north-east of Arkhangel'sk with Willem Barentsz as one of their principal navigators. One ship visited Novaia Zemlia in 1594, while another reached the Vaigach Isles and Cape Tabin. Another expedition, under Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, followed a year later.[15]

Manifesting their economic prowess and institutional superiority, the Dutch embarked on the 17th century as the most numerous and active group of foreign merchants in Arkhangel'sk.[16] A number of partnerships for Muscovite trade had been established in the closing decades of the previous century. They were dominated by the De Moucherons, the Van de Walles, the De Vogelaers, and Isaac le Maire, many of whom were religious refugees of Antwep origins, often with previous experience from Narva.[17] The efficiency with which these businessmen built there operations on the Arctic route echoes the earlier Dutch successes in the Baltic. An English account from 1604 claims that close to thirty Dutch ships had come to the

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[13] The project was entitled "*Ein cort begrip ende discours van den handel int Land van Moscovien, ende wat geniet ende proffiten men darvan hebben kan, insonderheit in Onse Nederlanden.*" Kordt, *Ocherk*, pp. LXX–LXXIII.

[14] *Ibidem*, p. LXXV.

[15] Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 221.

[16] By 1604, a number of Dutch merchants were already operating on an impressive scale. Adriaan Lucasz Sybrecht Faes brought R 31,555 worth of goods to Kholmogory, while Gommer Spranger had R 11,368 worth, Nicolaes Adriaensz van Adrichem R 10,879 worth, and Herman Jansz van der Goes R 5,375 worth. "Ivan Karbari" (Jan van de Walle?) carried R 5,127 worth of goods, compared to R 4,687 for "Ivan Borisov," R 3,540 for Thomas Janssen, R 2,326 for "Artemii Goik," and R 2,232 for Lodewijk Marijn. Floria, "Torgovlia," p. 143.

[17] Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, pp. 46–62; Veluwenkamp, "The Company of de Vogelaer en Klenck," pp. 112–3; Hart, "Sion Lus;" Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," p. 309.

White Sea port the previous spring, whereas the English had only managed seven. According to a Russian source, the actual number of ships in 1604 was 17 Dutch, nine English, and three French vessels. An English account of the "Expansion of Trade" in 1615, claimed that the Dutch annually sent 35 ships to Russia. Isaac Massa, writing in March 1618, similarly put the annual average number of Dutch vessels at close to 30.[18] Clearly it was appropriate to claim by the beginning of the century that, as P. Bushkovitch put it, "the story of commerce at Archangel is largely a story of Dutch-Russian trade."[19]

Dutch trade with Russia was, at the time, nearly completely channeled through the main port of Amsterdam, although at least some of the merchants involved were from secondary ports such as Rotterdam, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Middelburg, and Haarlingen.[20] In 1608, there was even an ultimately unsuccessful attempt by a group of 17 merchants from Amsterdam, Zaandam, Middelburg, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, and Haarlingen—among them Marcus de Vogelaer and Balthasar de Moucheron—to create a larger "Northern" company on the model of the English Muscovy Company.[21] The importance of Amsterdam in Russian trade was further enhanced by a number of foreign merchants operating from there. Thus for instance, some of the English interlopers who challenged the monopoly of the Muscovy Company for Russian trade, used Amsterdam as the base of their operations. For instance, John Chadley of Hull leased 10 ships in 1612–9, mainly for the Kola Coast.[22] Northern German

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[18] Wijnroks, "Mezhdunarodnaia konkurentsiia," p. 24; Lipson, *The Economic History*, II, p. 330; RGADA f. 35, op. 1, 1604, No 41; ARA Liassen Moscoviën 7361, 1618.

[19] Buskovitch, *The Merchants of Moscow*, p. 44.

[20] In February 1632, these towns, along with Amsterdam, received a notice from the States General regarding a visit by a Russian ambassador, who had suggested that the Dutch accept silk, rye, and other "Muscovite wares" as payment in-kind for debts owed to them. ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7362, 1632. The Archive of Western Frisian Towns at Enkhuizen has some records involvement by the local merchants in Russian trade. AWFS NA 818/609, 922/273, 823/33–4, 830/50, 846/240, 869/1, 877/23, 919/71. However, for instance N.W. Posthumus' study of Rotterdam's and Dordrecht's trade statistics in 1680 contains only one reference to obviously Muscovite wares. 3,636 *Juften van Muscovien* were exported that year. Posthumus, "Statistiek," p. 536.

[21] Scheltema, *Rusland*, I, p. 61; Baasch, *Holländische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 305–6; Schade, *Die Niederlande*, pp. 90–1.

[22] GAA NA 668/3. Even the Muscovy Company, through Richard Barne and John Havard, chartered two vessels in Amsterdam. Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," p. 284.

merchants were similarly involved in the trade via Amsterdam. In times of war, neutral German ports provided Amsterdam with important Russian goods that Dutch ships were unable to fetch themselves.[23] In fact, even more generally it was relatively common for Dutch ships to be given the option of returning to either Amsterdam or Hamburg.

The Dutch hoped to use the confusion of the Time of Troubles to bolster their position on the Russian market. During the Polish intervention, they sought privileges from the invaders which would have allowed them to operate on the Volga waterway and to establish direct relations with Persia.[24] The *Smuta* brought even more immediate benefits as the Dutch were able to capitalize on the warring parties' need for military supplies. However, the impact of the years of turmoil was not unequivocally positive with several Dutch merchants incurring heavy losses. The De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership in 1606 failed to receive R 484 due on wares delivered to the Kremlin and their houses in Moscow and Vologda were destroyed during a Polish onslaught. In Vologda alone, the losses exceeded R 3,000, in addition to over R 4,000 worth of goods lost in Moscow. At the beginning of 1613, the "Lithuanians" captured Klenck himself in Tot'ma seizing R 15,000 worth of his property. In 1614, over R 1,000 worth of his goods were destroyed in a fire in Arkhangel'sk. Another Dutch merchant, Herman Jansz van der Goes never received payment for a total of R 1,212 worth of wares he had delivered to False Dmitrii and Vasilii Shuiskii. "Lithuanians" further stole of a total of R 1,410 worth of goods belonging to him. François de la Dale, arrested by the Poles, was effectively ruined by the *Smuta*.[25]

The restoration of peace under a new dynasty eager to revive the country's fiscal fortunes augured well for the Dutch who experienced a marked increase in special passes granted to them. De Vogelaer and Klenck had their charters renewed in 1613 and Karel du Moulin

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[23] In 1605–8, Amsterdam merchant Jan Thijsz Vleyshouwer leased ships for Alessandro Rocca and Walraven Hilligers of Hamburg. Other clients included Giovanni Battista Ghinucci in 1605 and Gijsbrecht van Dalen and Caspar Wolf of Hamburg in 1607. Isaac van Eijckt of Lübeck leased a ship in 1606, as did Elias Petit of Stade in 1607, and Jan Clamp and Hermann Müller of Bremen 1608. Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," pp. 74–5.

[24] Bol'shukhin, *Anglo-russkie otnosheniia*, p. 225.

[25] Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. LXXXI; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 36, 58; RGADA f. 50, 1615 g., d. 4; Schade, *Die Niederlande*, p. 97 ff.; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 48.

received his the same year. Herman van der Goes was granted a patent in 1615 and other grants followed as the political situation stabilized: Gerrit van der Heyden gained his in 1619, Jean Bernard, Hendrik van Ringen, Johan Meerman, and Arnoud van Liebergen in 1629, Andries Winius in 1631, and Tielman Akkema in 1633.[26] The most prominent Dutch merchants were singled out for special favors. Klenck successfully petitioned the tsar for compensation for the losses suffered during the *Smuta* and the De Vogelar-Klenck partnership received a total tax exemption for three years and after that, paid only half-duty under an agreement negotiated in 1614. The Du Moulin-Isaac Alin-Jacob van Decker partnership gained the right to built houses in Ustiug, Iaroslavl', Vologda, and Moscow. By 1638, also Du Moulin and Julius Willeken are known to have had houses in Vologda and Iaroslavl'. Peter Marselis and David Ruts similarly owned houses in Moscow and Vologda by then.[27]

At least initially, the Dutch tended to be careful to take sides, however. Russia's western border uncertain, the Dutch elected to protect themselves by seeking closer ties with Sweden. A 15-year alliance between the two countries was signed in April 1614.[28] At the same time, the Dutch merchant community was quick to curry favor with the new tsar. Mikhail Fedorovich, seeking to consolidate his position, was favorably disposed and let it be known that he would be willing to orient Russian foreign policy towards an alliance with the United Provinces. The new government immediately dispatched Stepan Ushakov and State Secretary Semen Zaborovskii as its envoys to Holland, where they put forward—unsuccessfully—the idea of establishing permanent diplomatic relations between the two countries.[29] Isaac Massa was, in turn, sent to Russia by the Dutch States-General in 1614, his main task being to counter aggressive diplomacy on the part of the English, who had seized Gustav Adolf's invitation to send a mediator to negotiate a Swedish-Russian peace treaty. At an audience with Mikhail Fedorovich, Massa promised that the Netherlands

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[26] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 267; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 71.

[27] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 267–8; Schade, *Die Niederlande*, p. 111; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 76; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, d. 5, fol. 3.

[28] Forsten, *Baltiiskii vopros*, I, p. 155; Schade, *Die Niederlande*, pp. 86–7.

[29] *RIB*, XXIV, pp. 168–9; Scheltema, *Rusland*, I, pp. 371–85; Kordt, *Ocherk*, pp. CVI, CXI–CXII; Schade, *Die Niederlande*, pp. 112–4.

would always double any offer of military assistance by King James.[30] Even though the somewhat tentative mission accomplished little by way of new commercial privileges—the right to trade with Persia eluded the Dutch as it did the English—it indicated that Russia desired peace with Sweden and good relations, even an alliance, with the Netherlands.[31]

The growth of Dutch trade after the Time of Troubles benefitted in no small way from the continued ascendancy of the pro-Dutch faction—headed by the tsar's uncle, Ivan Nikitich Romanov—in the court. One Dutch merchant, speaking about the state of Russian foreign trade, concluded in March 1618 that the decline of the English during the *Smuta* had made Arkhangel'sk trade a Dutch monopoly.[32] In 1628, when the government forbade foreign merchants to visit Moscow without special passes, it turned out that 23 Dutch merchants already had such passes. A total of 100 Dutch traders were active in Arkhangel'sk by 1630, some of them on a very large scale. For instance, Ivan Fambek (Jan van Beck?), a relative of Karel du Moulin, in 1634 brought an impressive Rtl 245,000 to Russia for the purpose of buying Muscovite goods.[33] Du Moulin himself in the 1620s operated a ropewalk in Kholmogory with an annual output of more than 1,000 *pud*.[34]

The development of the De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership can serve as a fairly representative example of the general rise of the Dutch merchant community. By 1624, the partnership consisted of the three De Vogelaer brothers—Marcus, Jan, and Daniel, as well as Georg Everhard Klenck and Robbert Engelgraeff. The company traded in a triangular pattern with Amsterdam and Italy. At the Russian end, much like other leading Dutch companies, the partners created a sophisticated institutional setup with houses in Moscow, Vologda, Kholmogory, and Arkhangel'sk, as well as Kola and, since the 1620s,

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[30] A March 1614 resolution of the States-General made a special commitment to support the new Romanov government by selling them weapons and gunpowder. Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. CXXV.

[31] Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor*, I, p. 174; Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. CXXVII.

[32] ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7361, 1617; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 37.

[33] Bogucka, "Zboże rosyjskie," p. 624; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 75; RGADA f. 141, op. 1, 1634 g., d. 31, fol. 52.

[34] He was allowed to buy 200 barrels of tar p.a. for his cordage production. Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 100.

Iaroslavl'. The goods carried consisted mainly of local coastal goods, but also tallow, skins, and caviar. For a while, the company had special permission from the tsar to export grain and tar. Salmon was sold in Leghorn. The continuity of operations was maintained even after Klenck's death in the 1640s, as his share was transferred to his son Coenraet. The composition of the export bundle changed somewhat as train oil, skins, and caviar increasingly gave way to potash and hemp.[35] Even as the scale of the partnership's operations exceeded that of most of its competitors, the scope of operations and flexible structure were quite common.

During the post-*Smuta* years, the Dutch took a leading role in restoring the export trade in Persian silk which had been completely paralyzed during the years of warfare. Massa, during his diplomatic mission in July 1616, wrote home that "the route to Astrakhan' via the River Volga is completely open . . . so that many merchants have arrived in Moscow with a lot of silk merchandise undamaged."[36] With the backing of Stadholder Maurits, a group of merchants consisting of Gerrit Jacobsz, Johan and Jan Witsen, as well as Reinier, Adriaen, and Michiel Pauw sought the tsar's support for a monopoly of silk trade. The Russians remained hesitant, however, and made any treaty conditional on direct military assistance in the war against Sweden and Poland-Lithuania. They further insisted that Dutch soldiers should not fight in the enemy armies.[37] Russian interest in any concessions further waned after peace was restored. In response, the aspiring silk merchants joined 43 others in a special company for Persian trade. In April 1621, they requested that an embassy be sent to Moscow to pursue the matter. While the objective remained a monopoly of silk trade, the merchants noted that they could buy also other wares in Persia, such as hides and leather.[38]

Dutch interest in the northern route was due in large part to supply problems at Aleppo. However, there may have also been more personal reasons. Four of the directors of the Levantine trade—Marcus de Vogelaer, Hillebrant den Otter, Albert Schuyt, and Elias Trip—were also active in Russian trade. Ultimately, however, the

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[35] Veluwenkamp, "The Company," pp. 113–4.

[36] Wijnroks, "Jan van de Walle," p. 54; ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7361, 1616.

[37] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 273–5; Wijnroks, "Jan van de Walle," p. 54; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, No 15, fol. 3; op. 2, d. 3, fols. 2–3.

[38] Wijnroks, "Jan van de Walle," pp. 54–5, 58; ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7361, 1621; Massa, *Histoire des Guerres*, pp. 252–63.

most successful silk merchants on the Russian route were the members of a smaller partnership of Karel du Moulin, Gommer Spranger, Adriaen Wouters, Jacob Teunisz van Straelen, and Gaspar van Wickevoort, who eventually attracted new members from the Group of 43. The members had companies for silk and caviar trade alike and were supplied, under contract, by Russian *gosti*. Massa suggests that at some point there may have been as many as 400 merchants involved in the business.[39] The silk business experienced another temporary decline around 1630 due to instability in the Caucasus and the growing strength of the United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*). In 1629, a group of rebels in the province of Gilan attacked visiting Muscovites and stole 500 bales of silk from them. By the early 1630s, the southern overseas route had re-established its supremacy. In 1633, Nicholas Jacobsz Overschie, the principal VOC agent in Persia, wrote that "the Caspian Sea is full of robbers, so that merchants fear to send their merchandise to Astrakhan'."[40] Under the circumstances, Dutch merchants reacted to the news of the famous 1635 Holsteinian embassy to Moscow with little concern, "because due to the great dangers and expenses involved, the silk which is imported via Muscovy can bring little profit."[41]

Grain emerged to take the place of silk as a focus of Dutch commercial diplomacy in the mid-1620s as a serious supply crisis led to considerable inflationary pressures on the Amsterdam market. Isaac Massa was dispatched again to Russia in 1624 to gain the Muscovite government's backing for grain purchases. Massa's request to the Diplomatic Chancellery in October 1624 states that the Dutch annually sent 1,500–2,000 vessels to Danzig, where the price was too high and additional imports from France had not solved the crisis. The mission met with very limited success: Six Amsterdam merchants were allowed to buy the fairly modest amount of 3,000 *chetvert'* (150 lasts) grain. On his return, the merchant-diplomat persuaded the States-General to appoint a special commission for grain trade with Russia.[42] While the tsar was favorably disposed to exports on

[39] Wijnroks, "Jan van de Walle," p. 55; *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel*, p. 517; ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7361, 1628; Bushkovitch, *The Merchants of Moscow*, p. 97; GAA NA 663/150, May 1, 1629; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, d. 3, 1629 g., No 2.

[40] *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische compagnie in Perzië*, pp. 306, 424; Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, p. 154.

[41] *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische compagnie in Perzië*, pp. 540–1, 597–600, 612.

[42] The States also handed Massa instructions which expected him to once again

a very limited scale, Massa worried about the destructive impact of competition among Dutch merchants. Whether in the state's interest, or—no less likely—his own, Massa proposed a 30-year monopoly for his own company as a solution. Not surprisingly, the project was undermined by the opposition of other Amsterdam merchants.[43] A new venture for Russian trade was formed in December 1628 with grain trade as its primary focus. The nine partners—Elias Trip, Thijman Jacobszoon Hinloopen, Guilliamo Bartolotty, Joost Willemszoon Niewkerck, Adriaen Jacobszoon van Leeuwarden, Lenaert van Sorgen, Pieter Trip, Massa, and Thomas de Swaen—concluded an agreement for three years. Massa and De Swaen were chosen to serve as the company's agents in Russia. However, the States-General was at best lukewarm to the idea of having the nation represented by only one company, and the partners were forced to modify their ambitions. Within a year, most Amsterdam merchants active on the Arkhangel'sk route were involved in grain trade as well.[44]

Dutch interest in Russian grain soon enough grew into a veritable propaganda campaign as the supply situation at home deteriorated. Niewkerck in 1624 published a pamphlet which attributed the impending crisis to the fierce competition among Dutch merchants, harvest failures, and wars. Internal navigation problems were said to be limiting the supply of grain at Danzig and Königsberg. As the solution to the problem, the author advocated a partial or even complete transfer of the trade to the Arkhangel'sk route.[45] The attraction of a more permanent focus on Russia as a grain supplier was in large part explicable by the transportation costs. While higher than on the Danzig route, they became quite reasonable given the savings on customs duties. In addition, trade was not completely controlled by a local merchant class who mediated between a domestic supply network and foreigners, as was the case in Danzig. Partly

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raise the issue of free trade with Persia. Massa, ever the realist, refused to accept the task, however. He claimed that it was too late to raise the issue now that 12 years had passed since Mikhail's coronation and no Dutch embassies had been sent to Russia. Kordt, *Ocherk*, pp. CLXXXII–CLXXXIII, CLXXXIX; *Sbornik IRIO*, CXVI, pp. 147, 149–50.

[43] Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. CXC; Massa, *Histoire des guerres*, pp. 263–7.

[44] Bogucka, "Zboże rosyjskie," p. 621; Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. CCVII.

[45] Niewkerck's pamphlet was entitled "*Klaer Bericht Hoe, ende op wat wijse groote disordre ende confusie in de Negotie sal geprevenieert, ende deselve merckelijk werden gebenficieert, tot groot voordeel von den Start van 't Landt, ende de goede Gemeende von dien.*" It is reproduced in: Van Aitzema, *Saken*, I. Bogucka, "Zboże rosyjskie," pp. 619–20.

as a result, the basic price of grain on the much less developed Russian market was significantly lower. The typical per-last price of grain in Danzig—*f* 180—compared with *f* 50–60 in Arkhangel'sk.[46]

The question of grain trade significantly contributed to the elevation of Dutch-Russian relations to a new level by the early 1630s, when there were serious structural factors favoring such a *rapprochement*. The main impetus was probably given by the dramatic deterioration of Dutch-Swedish relations due to a Swedish blockade of the northern German ports and of the Danish Sound, which seriously threatened Dutch commercial interests in the Baltic.[47] Ultimately, the only way of preventing grain-price inflation without new supply sources was a permanent peace with Sweden which was not in sight. In response, the historic embassy of Albert Coenraadszoon Burgh and Johan van Veltdriel to Moscow in 1630–1 was instructed to seek complete freedom of trade in grain. Failing that, they were to request permission for the exportation of some thousands of lasts. The ambassadors ultimately offered to buy any available quantity of grain and saltpeter, which the Dutch would pay for with military supplies: gunpowder, lead, harquebuses, cannon, etc., an offer that must have been appealing to a regime trying to reverse the territorial losses of the Time of Troubles.[48] In spite of a bad harvest, the Russians were, in principle, willing to sell more grain, but they emphatically rejected one of the central Dutch demands, namely that of a monopoly right for grain exports.[49]

The Province of Holland, in particular, saw Russian grain as a way out of a serious structural problem and in December 1630 proposed

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[46] Bogucka, "Zboże rosyjskie," p. 621.

[47] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 313.

[48] The ambassadors, in fact, made very specific requests regarding grain purchases, stating that Karel du Moulin and his company were hoping to buy 80,000 *chetvert'* (up to 4,000 last) at Rtl 80,000. An envoy of the States General, Dirk van der Koge, arrived in Moscow in January 1631 with a request to buy 20,000 lasts of rye for the United Provinces and 10,000 lasts for the Province of Holland alone. However, an already critical food supply situation in Holland continued to deteriorate rapidly. In January 1631, another envoy was sent to buy an additional 18,000 lasts of grain. *Sbornik IRIO*, CXVI, pp. 8–9, 60–2, 64–5, 69–70; Kordt, *Ocherk*, pp. CCXLII–CCXLV; Van Aitzema, *Saken*, I, p. 1046.

[49] The Russian government permitted the Dutch to begin negotiations with a Russian merchant Ivan Sveteshnikov on the purchase of 10,000 lasts of grain. However, price became serious source of contention. Eventually, the Russians expressed their inability to sell the promised quantity of grain because of promises made to other countries. Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 359; Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. CCL; *Sbornik IRIO*, CXVI, pp. 79–86, 137.

a three-year agreement with the Russian government which would have involved annual grain imports of 10,000 lasts.[50] The Russians again rejected any formal commitment and, in their reply in June 1631, stressed the impossibility of making binding promises, given the difficulty of predicting future harvests and prices. The element of pure politics aside, the reply likely reflected genuine concerns about the ability of Russian agriculture to produce an sufficient surplus to permit sustained trade on a large scale.[51]

With her ambitious designs in the Baltic, Sweden was eager to challenge this Dutch-Russian *rapprochement*. Burgh and Veltdriel wrote to the States-General in September 1630 about rumors that the Swedes had sent an agent, Johan Möller, to Russia with a brief to undermine the Dutch grain trade project. Similarly, the Swedish envoy Anton Monier in 1629–30 had instructions to counteract any Dutch monopoly plans.[52] At the same time, the Swedish government pursued its own plans for a grain monopoly in the Baltic by establishing control over Danzig's trade. The Swedes further imposed limits on grain exports with a view to lowering domestic prices and increasing prices in the Netherlands. Oxenstierna was instructed in 1629 to stop grain exports from Danzig and, if necessary, from Pillau.[53]

Ultimately, however, the Swedish policy involved—and was, indeed, premised on—acting as a middleman between the Russian supply side and the Dutch demand side to the fiscal benefit of the Swedish Treasury. The leading Dutch merchants of the day played an important role in Swedish grain trade. The Swedish Crown in 1629 engaged Julius Willeken and Pieter de la Dale as agents responsible for buying up grain for the king, and Willeken conducted such operations in Vologda, Ustiug, Kholmogory, Iaroslavl', and elsewhere. Even after the Russians in 1631 adopted a system of centralized deliveries at a fixed price through their commissar in Arkhangel'sk, Willeken kept his position until 1633.[54] Karel du Moulin contracted in 1629 to ship the Swedish grain from the White Sea to Amsterdam. He stood for all the costs and agreed to pay the Crown a fixed sum per last.

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[50] Kordt, *Ocherk*, pp. CCXLVI–CCXLVII.

[51] *Sbornik IRIO*, CXVI, pp. 159–60; Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. CCLVII.

[52] Kordt, *Ocherk*, pp. CCLX–CCLXI; Norrman, *Gustav Adolfs politik*, pp. 13–5; Ekholm, "Rysk spannmål," p. 73.

[53] Öhberg, "Russia," p. 151; *AOSB*, I, p. 531; II, p. 479; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 93.

[54] Ekholm, "Rysk spannmål," pp. 74, 76.

The operation earned the Dutch merchant Rd 5–10,000 on a turnover of Rd 25–30,000. Frustrated to receive their money as late as November-December, the Swedes subsequently decided to sell the grain in Russia. However, Du Moulin remained active in the operation by lending R 13,000 (Rd 31,000) for the Swedish purchases. In December 1630, a Hamburg merchant, Johann Adler Salvius, sold 1,500 lasts of Swedish subsidy grain to Gabriel Marselis at Rd 70,500. Another sale, which netted the Swedes Rd 23,000, was made to Elias Trip. Over time, the Swedes became more directly involved in the grain trade. However, even Markus Stenman, who was named a royal agent for managing the grain shipments in 1633, sent 25 shiploads of grain to Amsterdam.[55]

The effect of West European grain inflation was amplified by an evident Muscovite decision to exploit the foreign demand for the purpose of equipping their army for what became the Smolensk War against Poland-Lithuania. As the Burgh-Veltdriel embassy made clear, the Dutch were determined to capitalize on the situation and large-scale weapons and munitions exports to Russia took place between 1626 and 1634. Du Moulin and De Swaen played a particularly prominent role as suppliers.[56] While precise data eludes us, the Russian arms purchases almost certainly totaled at least R 50,000, which would have been at least one-fifth of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's annual imports at the time. Large-scale grain sales made it possibly to finances these purchases without straining the Treasury to the limit. The Dutch recognition of the situation was crucially important in cementing their dominance of Russian trade.

The scale of Dutch shipping inevitably declined once the "grain boom" subsided in the mid-'30s. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, Dutch merchants continued to carefully protect the position of supremacy they enjoyed on the rapidly shrinking Arkhangel'sk market. An extreme case of this came in the 1640s when Iaroslavl' merchant Anton Laptev, together with *Gost'* Nazarii Chistoi, journeyed to Amsterdam with Russian goods. Amsterdam merchants agreed not to buy anything from the Russians who were, consequently, forced to return home with their cargo unsold. The Dutch then bought the goods at an inflated price in order to convince the Russians that

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[55] Ekholm, "Rysk spannmål," pp. 76–81.

[56] Kotilaine, "In Defense of the Realm," pp. 70–3; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, 42–3; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 82.

they would be better off conducting their commercial dealings in Arkhangel'sk.[57] Yet the Dutch position was not unassailable. As the wind began to blow against foreign merchants in the 1640s, even the Dutch were affected. For instance, the De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership was forced to pay full customs duties in 1640/1. Only after a plea by the Prince of Orange were the company's 1614 privileges restored in 1642.[58]

The marked sharpening of Muscovite commercial policy under the new government of Aleksei Mikhailovich greatly worried the Dutch who took it upon themselves to protect the "old order." To this end, they again sent Amsterdam Burgomaster Albert Burgh as an extraordinary ambassador to Moscow in 1647.[59] Burgh was to inform the Russian government of the growing concern with which the States-General viewed recent reports of new measures and abuses which challenged previous conventions. He was instructed to demand a reversal of the recent toll increases and to warn the Russians of the adverse consequences such protectionism would have for trade at Arkhangel'sk by forcing the Dutch to take their business to Sweden instead. The States-General even proposed a formal arrangement, in conjunction with lower transit duties, under which the Dutch could export unlimited quantities of grain and saltpeter in return for supplies of arms and munitions, an offer which the tsar diplomatically promised to consider at some other point.[60] The tensions in relations coincided with what appears to have been the weakest decade on record in terms of Dutch shipping to Arkhangel'sk: the second half of the '30s and the early '40s. According to the Swedish resident Karl Pommerening, writing in October 1648, the tsar had confined Dutch merchants to Arkhangel'sk, Kholmogory, and Vologda. In February 1649, Pommerening spoke of rumors that the Dutch might no longer be allowed past Kholmogory. The Dutch eventually regained their rights some time after the expulsion of the English; however, allegedly only after large bribes were paid.[61]

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[57] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 315; RGADA f. 35, d. 173, fols. 159–60.

[58] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 39.

[59] Burgh died on his way to the Russian capital and his son, Coenraet, assumed the leadership of the embassy which also included Isaac Massa. RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1647 g., No 2.

[60] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 132; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1647 g., No 3, fols. 231, 236, 281–3, 415.

[61] Iakubov, *Rossiia i Shvetsiia*, p. 442.

Relations between the two countries began to improve again in the early 1650s, when the Russians were forced to turn to Dutch merchants in preparation for what was to become the Thirteen Years' War. Andries Winius and Scribe Ivan Marsov were sent to the Hague to buy weapons already in 1653, followed by others in 1654. To pay for the mounting purchases, the Russians in 1655 dispatched a Muscovite foreigner Jacob Westhof (Iakov Vestof) abroad to sell Treasury grain, potash, and train oil in exchange for *matériel*.[62] As in the 1630s, the Muscovite government once again had the good fortune of being faced with a dramatic increase in the Western demand for grain. Prices at the Amsterdam Bourse peaked in 1648–53 and shipping from Arkhangel'sk experienced a protracted boom between 1650 and 1666.[63] Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich willingly authorized growing exports of grain, as well as other goods, in return for the arms and munitions. Much as in the 1630s, we see a remarkable correlation between grain sales and military need. Indeed, this correlation is much stronger than the relationship between grain exports and prices in Amsterdam. For the Dutch, the fiscal and military emergency the war represented for Russia became a way of regaining their stronghold over the Muscovite market. Johan van Sweeden and Hendrick Swellengrebel, especially after 1659, emerged as the leading suppliers of Western weaponry.[64]

The weapons/grain trade was insufficient to sustain the commercial boom of the 1650s and trade began to decline markedly after 1662. Dutch traders were adversely affected by the deep financial crisis of the era. Russian debt repayments were made in deflated copper, if at all, and there were growing complaints of Russian merchants declaring false bankruptcies to evade their liabilities.[65] This naturally posed a seriously challenge to a system that relied very heavily on mutual credit. The 1662 state monopoly of leading export commodities dealt an even more serious blow to the already weakened Dutch community by forcing them to deal with the Russian government which limited Dutch influence on the terms of trade.[66]

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[62] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 135–6; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1655 g., No 2; Kotilaine, "In Defense of the Realm, p. 74."

[63] Posthumus, *Inquiry*, I, 19–20; Kotilaine, "Quantifying Russian Exports, pp. 250, 260; RA Muscovitica, vol. 601.

[64] Kotilaine, "In Defense of the Realm," pp. 75–6.

[65] Witsen, *Moscovische reyse*, pp. XXXII–XXXIII.

[66] Witsen, *Moscovische reyse*, pp. XXXIII–XXXV; Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 143–4; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1663 g., No 3; 1664 g., No 5, fols. 10–4.

A new round of diplomacy in 1663–4 posed an opportunity to seek a way out of the impasse. A visit by B.I. Nashchokin and Duma Secretary A. Koshcheev to the Netherlands was followed within months by the embassy of Jacob Boreel to Moscow. In addition to bringing up complaints of Dutch merchants covering the previous 16 years, the ambassador sought to once again bring about a reduction in the prevailing customs duties. Boreel resorted to the obvious bargaining chip: the generous help provided by the Dutch during the ongoing war.[67] Boreel gained a promise for debt repayments in silver and normal market conditions following the lifting of the 1662 monopolies. However, he seems to have lost a great deal of good will with the Russians by declining Afanasii Ordin-Nashchokin's invitation for Dutch mediation in the war against Poland-Lithuania, although Nashchokin even tempted him with special privileges and a duty-free status for Dutch merchants. The decision seems to have been inspired by the lack of success of an earlier venture by Reinoud van Brederode during the Time of Troubles, but also the rapidly deteriorating security situation of the United Provinces.[68] Boreel's bargaining power was soon enough further challenged by the outbreak of the second Anglo-Dutch war of 1665–6 which found the ambassador still in Moscow where he took pains to turn his hosts against the English. He even proposed—to no avail—that trade with Hamburg and Bremen should be stopped, since, he claimed, the goods they acquired were bound to fall into English hands. The tsar, indeed, annulled an English tar monopoly and forbade all tar exports. However, otherwise, the embassy produced few concrete results.[69]

Ultimately, the lack of success of Boreel's mission paled in comparison with the impact of the protectionist New Commercial Code in 1667 and a heated dispute over the duration of the Arkhangel'sk fair (Chapter 4). The most earnest attempt to date to fundamentally shift the balance of power in favor of Russian merchants, the Code immediately aroused the ire of the Dutch merchant community. Revoking the hated statute became a central diplomatic goal for the Dutch government in the last decades of the century. In order to facilitate their task, the Dutch sought to curry Russian favor, reversing their

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[67] Witsen, *Moscovische reyse*, pp. XXXIII–XXXV; Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 143–4; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1663 g., No 3; 1664 g., No 5, fols. 10–4.

[68] Witsen, *Moscovische reyse*, pp. XXXII–XXXIII, XXXIX–XL.

[69] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 147–9.

earlier position and offering to mediate in the peace talks with the Commonwealth. However, the 1670 mission of Nicolaas Heinsius became a near-total failure as the Russians declined his services and Heinsius apparently showed limited interest in commercial issues.[70]

The pursuit of a purely commercial agenda was becoming more difficult for other reasons, as well. The 1675–6 embassy of Coenraet van Klenck coincided with Louis XIV's invasion of the Netherlands and the immediate aftermath of the third Anglo-Dutch war of 1672–4. Klenck was consequently forced to spend much of his time persuading Russia to attack Sweden, an enemy ally, albeit to little avail. The only concrete success was to gain the tsar's blessing for the exportation of 40,000 *chetvert'* grain, a measure authorized only in February 1678, followed by sales over a couple of years. In addition, the Russians acquiesced to permit free trade in Persian silk, although they used the occasion of Aleksei Mikhailovich's death to backtrack on the promise.[71] Setting the tone for Dutch commercial diplomacy for the rest of the century, Van Klenck proposed the abolition of the New Commercial Code. He claimed, with some justification, that the measure had yielded little in customs receipts to the Treasury, and instead only led to the departure of numerous foreigners. The Muscovite government remained absolutely intransigent, however.[72]

The increasingly hostile business climate, combined with the limited success of diplomacy, prompted the leading Dutch merchants to seek new ways of protecting their profit margins. A special "company" consisting of Dutch and Hamburg merchants was formed by the late 1660s, probably in direct response to the preparation of the Code. In spite of its name, the venture in question appears to have been a relatively loose association of merchants. It did not have its own capital and its members traded at their own risk, something that resulted in constant competition and frequent disputes among its members. However, the company did appoint a permanent

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[70] *Ibidem*, p. 155.

[71] *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii*, VIII, p. 297; *Posol'stvo K. Klenka*, p. LXXXII. Aleksei Mikhailovich evidently did send some troops to the Livonian border. Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 164, 184, 187, 198. A detailed account of the embassy can be found in: B. Raptschinsky, "Het gezantschap van Koenraad van Klenck naar Moskou," pp. 149–99.

[72] The Russian government, in an unusual defense of the free market, claimed laconically that "the fair is free and there is no rule as to whether people should trade in Arkhangel'sk or through Novgorod and Pskov." *Posol'stvo Kunrada fon Klenka*, p. LXXV.

representative to serve its interests in Moscow. The first one of the association's *zaakwaarnemers* (*striapchii*)—"Grigorii Nikolaev" (Eret Klaus) a translator and commercial advisor at the Dutch mission—served from 1667 to 1683. A seven-paragraph appendix of the New Commercial Code, governing foreign trade, was issued to him as the representative of Dutch and Hamburg merchants. His successor "Ivan Iakimov" (possibly Dutch merchant Joan Jacobi) remained in office until the end of the century.[73] A large group of Dutch merchants by 1684 colluded apparently even more formally—they were said to trade by "mutual agreement," but quite possibly under the umbrella of the company.[74] The Dutch-Hamburg company consisted of 25–38 members in 1680s and '90s and was headed by Daniel Hartman and Adolf Houtman. The Russian authorities apparently welcomed the development which made it easier to deal with the foreign merchant community. The company had annual audiences with the tsar.[75]

The company's formation was apparently followed by a marked recovery of Dutch trade in the Russian interior. While the Dutch resident Johan Willem van Keller in 1678 listed 16 merchants active there, the known number doubled by 1684. This achievement was all the more remarkable in light of the fact that there was a remarkable turnover in the Dutch merchant community with several established families, such as the De la Dales, exiting the market. The company appears to have fostered a division of labor among foreign merchants under which an increasing number of them benefitted from the rights granted to certain members to operate in central Russia. That business was relatively good can be seen from a growing number of petitions to the Diplomatic Chancellery for more river vessels between Vologda and Arkhangel'sk in the '80s.[76] Dutch profit margins are likely to have been protected by the relatively price-inelastic Russian demand for many of their goods, the Russian need of specie, and the extensive supply networks of Russian merchants the Dutch had built up over the years. Many smaller-scale and middling Russian merchants depended heavily on Dutch credit and could in turn help circumvent the protectionist provisions of the New Commercial Code by serving as agents in the Russian interior.

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[73] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 174, 176; Man'kov, *Zakonodatel'stvo*, pp. 146, 150.
[74] RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1684 g., No 10.
[75] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 175–6.
[76] *Ibidem*, pp. 176–9.

The relative success of the Dutch merchants in defending their market share stands in a marked contrast with a further sharp deterioration of the business climate due to the ascendancy of an anti-Dutch group of boyars following the coronation of Fedor Alekseevich. In 1677, Keller informed The Hague that, apparently in connection with a deal with John Hebdon, the Russians were barring all German and Dutch merchants from the Russian interior and telling them to conduct their business exclusively at Arkhangel'sk. Dutch merchants evidently had no advocates to plead their interests at the court.[77] It was apparently this state of affairs that prompted the States-General to name Keller as the first permanent Dutch representative in Moscow. His best efforts notwithstanding, Keller was unable to persuade the Muscovite authorities to relent on their position. Referring in part to the refusal of the States-General to sell silver to the Muscovite envoys Thomas Kellerman and Vladimir Voronin, the tsar's representative Larion Ivanov refused to extend Dutch travel in the interior beyond the existing group of privilege-holders.[78] By the summer of 1678, Keller already threatened with the possibility of Dutch merchants ceasing their trade at Arkhangel'sk altogether. Ivanov countered by accusing the Dutch of supplying low-quality goods to Moscow. The Russians further claimed, somewhat inaccurately, that there were no longer any foreigners holding passports to visit Moscow.[79] The effects of the Russian protectionism on foreign trade were palpable. A particular slump was observed in 1678/9 with the exclusion of Dutch and Hamburg merchants from the Russian interior. M. Belov even goes as far as to claim that the northern river route lay still for two years and the importation of gold and silver from the Netherlands ceased.[80]

Renewed negotiations in March 1679 were marked by growing Dutch desperation. Keller accused the Muscovites of having sent all their goods to the Swedish-held Baltic ports. This was putting

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[77] *Ibidem*, pp. 182–3.

[78] *Ibidem*, pp. 185–6, 191.

[79] *Ibidem*, pp. 195–6; RGADA f. 50, 1678 g., d. 1, fols. 247, 332; 1679 g., d. 1, fol. 25.

[80] While a downturn of trade was evident, specie imports in fact increased somewhat between 1677 and 1678, from 32,000 to 33,300 *Reichsthaler* pieces. And even in 1679 and 1680, the Dutch accounted for 46.2 and 43.6 percent, respectively, of the duties collected from foreign merchants. Belov, "Rossiia," p. 66; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 302; RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, dd. 11, 13–5.

Dutch merchants at a decided disadvantage, since none of them—he claimed—possessed letters of privilege granting them access to Novgorod and Pskov.[81] While Keller's claim included a major element of exaggeration (at least 21 Dutch ships visited Arkhangel'sk that year), it is clear that Dutch shipping dropped markedly from preceding years and the envoy's position, moreover, reveals how dependent the Amsterdam market had become on the White Sea port as its source of Russian goods.[82] By all accounts, the Russians were upping the ante in an attempt to force the Dutch to special concessions. Keller was led to believe in no uncertain terms that the tsar was expecting a letter from the States-General in defense of Dutch merchants. The boyars' intransigence was striking in light of the setbacks experienced by the Russian army on the southern front where the loss of Chyhyryn in the autumn of 1678 had exposed Kiev and military expenditures were draining the Treasury. The anti-Dutch position of the court and the stagnation of the Arkhangel'sk market became even more untenable with a deterioration in Russian-Swedish relations, unless the Russian goal was quite simply to use Dutch military assistance as a quid pro quo for a friendlier commercial policy.[83]

The dispute escalated to a serious diplomatic crisis. The Russians argued that the Dutch failure to supply weapons and silver, as they had in the past, did not justify leniency. More specifically, they said, grants of privilege were issued in response to services rendered and there were "no" Dutch merchants who met the criteria.[84] Subsequent discussions with Keller revealed that Western merchants, trying to defend their margins, had indeed begun to bring lower-quality wares to Arkhangel'sk. Relations came to be further strained by an incident of counterfeit currency. Dutch merchants Daniel Hartman, Andries Boetman, and Werner Muller had promised to supply the tsar's Treasury with Rd 32,000 in return for grain and a loan of R 15,000 in 1675. An inspection of the timely repayment revealed Rd 16,745 debased with lead. The tsar decided in 1677 to punish the three. The States-General intervened, protesting the innocence of the accused. By February 1679, the crisis was finally diffused with Muller

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[81] RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1679 g., fol. 30.
[82] Kotilaine, "Quantifying Russian exports," p. 250.
[83] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 203–4.
[84] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 197–8; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1678 g., No 1, fol. 324.

merely required to reimburse the cost of smelting the coins. In spite of the tsar's expressed desire to live in friendship with the States-General, the damage caused by the incident at a delicate time in Dutch-Russian relations must have been considerable.[85]

As late as 1679, Keller again insisted on ending the Arkhangel'sk fair by September 1, a reduction in customs duties, permission for foreign merchants to travel in the Russian interior, and the Russians authorizing the grain exports promised to him four years earlier. Perhaps reinvigorated by the restoration of peace between France and the Netherlands in the winter of 1679, the States-General adopted a new commercial statute which required Dutch ships to leave the Arkhangel'sk fair by September 1 at the pain of a *f*6,000 fine.[86] The Russian government now finally moved to a somewhat more conciliatory position with two important decrees issued in June 1679. One of them permitted foreign merchants to travel to the interior with passports but without goods. The foreigners, complaining of the pernicious effect of the higher customs duties under the New Commercial Code, agreed to pay the higher duties if they could be allowed to receive passports for free travel and trade in the interior. Soon thereafter, the government permitted the issuance of passes of the kind that had been used by foreigners in the decade following the New Commercial Code. Thus foreigners residing in Russia were once again in principle permitted to trade in the Russian interior.[87]

Another Kellerian offensive followed in 1684–5, this time with renewed ammunition as also the Swedes were seeking lower duties in Russia.[88] Perhaps in connection with the change of government in Moscow, as well as the fiscal pressure caused by a planned war against the Ottomans, Keller was suddenly received with unprecedented pomp and his key demands were met. The tsars' patent, still couched in conservative language, allowed Dutch convoys free access to Arkhangel'sk, decreed that duties were to be levied based on the sale price of goods, forbade the local administration to interfere with the Arkhangel'sk fair, established a standard for weighing imported specie, etc.[89]

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[85] RGADA f. 50, 1679 g., d. 1, fols. 34–41.
[86] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 207.
[87] RGADA f. 50, 1683 g., d. 2, fols. 66–7; 1679 g., d. 1, fol. 54.
[88] Keller corresponded with the Dutch ambassador to Stockholm, Rumpf, in order to coordinate the two countries' demands. ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7365, 1685.
[89] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 215–6; ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7365, 1685.

Even though the Russian charter made no formal concession in the key area of customs duties, it marked the beginning of a crucial policy U-turn. In particular, the Russians began once again to issue letters of privilege to Dutch merchants, most notably Hartman and Houtman in 1687, as well as Coenraet Cannegieter in 1694. The letters typically authorized free access by merchants to Arkhangel'sk, Moscow, Novgorod, and Pskov. Hartman's pass specifically refers to his services to the Russian government, noting among other things the fact the he had, since 1655, paid R 60,000 in customs duties and imported "thousands of *efimki*" in specie. He had further supplied Russia with 7,500 *chetvert'* of urgently needed grain in 1671 at the overseas prices and helped with the sale of Treasury goods. Dutch and Russian merchants were now as a rule further exempted from the 8-percent transit duty levied in the interior of the country and one of Keller's key demands was thereby satisfied.[90] Capitalizing on the authorities' good will, Keller was able in 1687 to negotiate a special timber concession for the Dutch. At the time, the Netherlands and Denmark were engaged in a major dispute on the exportation of Norwegian timber which, for a while, prompted the States-General to forbid Dutch merchants to visit Norway.[91]

Following the overthrow of Sofia's clique, Dutch merchants sensed new opportunities, encouraged by the new government's obvious interest in economic development. In January 1690, Keller wrote to the Hague about Peter's grandiose plans for the development of commerce. A month later, he reported that Peter was favorably disposed to the Dutch, not least because they had not interrupted their trade during the Ottoman war.[92] Encouraged by the news, Amsterdam Burgomaster Nicolaes Witsen in 1690 proposed an ambitious project for the development of trade through Russia with Persia and China which would have created a route from Batavia to Holland through Russia. Peter I took an active interest in Witsen's project and rewarded the burgomaster with a special charter recognizing his service.[93] Even though it ultimately remained on the drawing board,

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[90] RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1687 g., No 3. For additional grants of privilege, see: *ibidem*, 1689 g., No 1. Duty exemptions: *ibidem*, fol. 66. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 341, 364; M. Belov, "Rossiia i Gollandiia v poslednei chetverti XVII v.," pp. 70–1.

[91] ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7365, 1688.

[92] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 221; ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7365, 1690.

[93] Witsen claimed that the Batavia-Smyrna-Aleppo-Amsterdam route was longer and more dangerous than an alternative through India, Astrakhan', and Arkhangel'sk. RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1691 g., No 2; Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 222–5.

Witsen's vision was historically significant in recognizing Russia's potential for Eurasian transit trade. Peter's active interest in improving relations with the Dutch was stoked by the four-month "Merry Embassy" of 1693 to Arkhangel'sk where he stayed in the house of Nicolaas Romswinkel of the Ruts company. Given his knowledge of the Dutch language, the young tsar was able to make the acquaintance of several Dutch merchants. Another similar trip followed less than a year later with Peter now staying at the house of Jean Lups who emerged as one of the leading weapons suppliers to Russia around the turn of the century.[94]

In spite of the more hostile business climate in the second half of the century, the Dutch maintained their leadership role in Russian trade until the end of the century. Duty payments made by Dutch merchants in Arkhangel'sk shed light on the impressive scale of their operations. Adolf Houtman, for example, paid a total of R 53,711 in 1659–88. Coenraet Canegieter remitted R 55,145 in 1669–94, while Daniel Hartman made payments of R 61,051 in 1656–86.[95] Other important merchants during the rest of the century were Jean le Brun, Jan and Daniel Bernard, Arend Schuyt, Jean Andrea and Ottavio Tensini, and Thomas de Swaen. Particularly prominent was the Thesingh family (father Hendrick and sons Egbert and Jan) who account for at least 166 Amsterdam shipping contracts in 1663–1700.[96] Hendrick Thesingh, among other things, became in 1668 a partner in a monopoly venture, led by Peter Marselis, to export Russian masts (Chapter 4), and involvement continued by his widow Anna in 1680 and by their son Egbert in 1690.[97]

At the close of the century, the Dutch could once again depend on Russian military needs as a way of increasing their presence in Russia. Dutch and Russian strategic interests coincided around the beginning of the 1690s as damage suffered by Dutch ships in the Mediterranean prompted Amsterdam merchants to support Russia in her war against the Ottoman Empire.[98] Cooperation in this area was further intensified when, in preparation for the Great Northern War, the Russian government once again turned to the West to acquire weapons and

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[94] Kloetstra, *Christoffel Brants*, pp. 20, 22; Kotilaine, "In Defense," p. 80.
[95] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 77.
[96] Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," pp. 70–2; Veluwenkamp, "'n huis op Archangel'."
[97] Kloetstra, *Christoffel Brants*, pp. 16–7.
[98] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 220; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1690 g., No 4, ll. 1–2.

munitions on an impressive scale. The iron industry created primarily by Dutch entrepreneurs was still too small to equip the country's armed forces. During his Great Embassy, Peter sought a formal offensive alliance with the Netherlands and, although his plans were not realized, he did gain commitments from several Dutch merchants to supply arms to Russia. For example, Jan Thesingh and Christoffel Brants, whom the tsar had apparently met in Arkhangel'sk, agreed in April 1698 to supply Russia with 5,000 muskets.[99] Daniel Hartman and Egidius Tabbert were the most prominent Dutch suppliers of military *matériel* starting in the late '80s. Others included Brants, Andries Brest, Rudolf Meijer, and Zacharias Dix.[100] In spite of the remarkable staying power of the Dutch merchant elite, the relative dominance of the Dutch could no longer be taken for granted. The number of Dutch merchants residing in Russia stagnated at best towards the end of the century and may, in fact, have declined somewhat. The failure to keep the tobacco monopoly from the English in 1698 was a particularly bitter blow and led to exaggerated worries about a possible loss of the Russian market to the English.[101]

Given the Dutch strength on the Russian market, the country not surprisingly provided more of the so-called Muscovite foreigners (*moskovskie inozemtsy*) than any other of Russia's trading partners. These merchants represented an intermediate category between foreigners and Russians, a special group created by Boris Godunov in January 1599, initially for 13 Narva and Dorpat merchants residing in Russia. On the one hand, they enjoyed special rights granted to foreign merchants, on the other, however, they were expected to perform special—usually economic or diplomatic—services to the Russian government for which they did not receive compensation. In some cases, these "Muscovite foreigners" were appointed *gosti*. Although they did not join the Russian corporation of privileged merchants, their grants of appointment did not markedly differ from those of their Muscovite counterparts.[102] Examples include the Kellermans and the Westhofs. Andreas Kellerman served as a diplomat on sev-

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[99] Kloetstra, *Christoffel Brants*, p. 36.

[100] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 272; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, pp. 44–45; Belov, "Rossiia i Gollandiia," p. 72; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1687 g., No 3, fol. 66.

[101] Price, *The Tobacco Adventure*, p. 27.

[102] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 32–3, 55.

eral missions under the first Romanovs. His son Thomas was an agent of the Russian government starting in the late 1640s. In the 1650s and '60s, he regularly bought goods for the Russian Treasury in Arkhangel'sk and overseas. During the last three decades of the century, he played an active role in tar, potash, and white ash trade.[103]

An important element of Dutch commerce with Russia was trade with the Mediterranean region, which built primarily on the well-established Dutch commercial operations in the Italian ports of Leghorn, Venice, and Genoa. This trade was vulnerable to blockades periodically imposed by the Spanish with whom the Dutch were at war for much of the period under review. Such embargoes were particularly common during the Thirty Years' War.[104] A pioneer of Dutch-Mediterranean trade was Sion Lus, himself of Florentine descent. His son Abraam visited Tsar Boris Godunov in 1602 as an envoy of the Florentine Duke Ferdinand I and gained the right to free trade.[105] Over time, the Italians made efforts to become more active in this trade themselves. Another episode of Russian-Tuscan diplomatic activity took place in the 1650s. Russian envoys visited Florence in 1656 and heard Ferdinand II's petition for the right to engage in free trade. Such a right was indeed granted and renewed by a 1663 embassy. In 1658–60, two to three Florentine merchants were allowed to visit the Russian interior, although apparently only Francesco Guasconi was at all active in this trade. Between 1671 and 1691, some Florentine merchants operated at the Arkhangel'sk fair. The Russian government also sought to establish direct commercial relations with Venice, starting as early as 1653.[106] It is unfortunately not known on what scale these Italian merchants operated. Moreover, there is no surviving evidence of a single Italian vessels traveling to Arkhangel'sk in the 17th century. The Dutch continued to account for the vast majority of Russian trade with the Mediterranean. The well-armed ships that vied between Amsterdam, Arkhangel'sk, and Italy were commonly referred to as *kaviaarschepen* (caviar ships) whose contracts typically required them to buy a certain amount

[103] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 375.
[104] Israel, *Empires*, pp. 139, 144–7.
[105] Sharkova, *Rossiia i Italiia*, p. 49; Hart, "Sion Lus."
[106] N.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii mentions the Russian operations of Francesco Guasconi as early as 1668. Guasconi claimed to have operated in Russia for 18 years. Sharkova, *Rossiia i Italiia*, pp. 56–8; *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii*, X, pp. 578, 733; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 308–9; Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor*, II, pp. 207–8, 247.

of caviar in Russia. In addition, Russian salmon was a good frequently exported to Italy. At least 20 Dutch ships traveled directly from Muscovy arrived in Leghorn in 1600–30. In 1674–7, this route was exclusively the responsibility of English ships which frequently took on some of their provisions at Yarmouth before proceeding to Arkhangel'sk and then on to Leghorn.[107]

There was at least some Dutch trade also with Spain, in spite of the hostility between the two countries. The Iberian Peninsula, and southern France (St. Huves) supplied salt, a sought-after commodity on the Russian market. Circuitous routes were often adopted to gain access to what had, after all, been one of the leading markets for the Netherlands in the 16th century. Thus in 1624, for instance, two Dutch merchants hired a vessel in the Holsteinian port of Glückstadt for trade between Arkhangel'sk and southern Spain. The ship set off from Hamburg. Lambert van Tweenhuysen was among the more prominent Dutch merchants to have conducted commercial operations with Spain. He initially used Dutch vessels, but after Spanish controls were tightened in 1605, he instructed his captain to hire English, German, and French seamen in Arkhangel'sk for the return journey. In the event that he failed to find them, he was told to go and hire people on the Irish coast. Evidently, Van Tweenhuysen eventually began to use ships from neutral states.[108]

The Dutch also became the almost exclusive intermediaries of French trade with Russia, a state of affairs lamented by the contemporary commentator J. Savary. The only available concrete evidence on French shipping involves three vessels on the Dieppe-Arkhangel'sk axis in 1604. The combined value of the goods carried was a relatively modest R 7,667–5.09 percent of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's imports during the year. However, two of the French merchants sent more things aboard Dutch vessels.[109] Given the near-total absence of evidence on direct Franco-Russian trade, it seems likely that Dutch

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[107] Wijnroks, "Mezhdunarodnaia konkurentsiia," p. 22; Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," pp. 288, 290.

[108] In 1668, the Spanish government issued permission for Russian merchants to trade freely in Spanish ports, though it obviously resulted in no Russian activity. In 1680, the Russians asked the Spanish authorities to establish mutual trade relations ("*vzaimnoe kupechestvo*") using Spanish vessels. However, concrete evidence of such commerce only consists of a Spanish request for ship-building timber and, finally, a visit by a Spanish vessel in 1709. GAA NA 99/226^{v}, 99/230, 100/223, 697/129, 636/176, 784: December 21, 1628; Wijnroks, "Mezhdunarodnaia konkurentsiia," p. 26; Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor*, 1, pp. 162–4.

[109] Floria, "Torgovlia Rossii," pp. 173–4.

intermediation undermined independent French shipping already during the beginning years of the century. The French exported many of the most desirable luxury goods available in Russia such as wine, distilled liquor, vinegar, syrups, jam, prunes, dried pears, saffron, tobacco, paper, textiles such as fustians, Canadian beavers, jewelry, processed gold and silver, indigo, medicine, spices, instruments of various kinds, as well as salt. A contemporary observer, Jacques Savary, accusing the French of undue timidity, argued that the importance and desirability of French exports gave the country a natural edge over its competitors, although he admitted that problems could be caused by the fact that the Russians tended to recognize only Dutch currency.[110] In 1668, Aleksei Mikhailovich sent a mission (headed by Petr Potemkin) to Louis XIV for the purpose of establishing direct relations. Among other things, Potemkin sought to interest Louis in transit trade with Persia, which was to take place through Königsberg.[111] Primarily at Jean-Baptiste Colbert's instigation, a number of attempts were made to establish more direct commercial ties with Russia in the 1660s. These culminated in the formation of the *Compagnie du Nord* in 1669. Colbert was fascinated by rather exaggerated notions of Russia's wealth and sent a Dutch emissary, Jan Goosens, to study the Russian market. In his report of 1669, Goosens indicates that the French would be able to acquire 25,000 *pud* of ox leather (*vaches de Russie*), probably *iufti* (valued at R 125,000), 1,000 barrels of potash (R 25,000) 10 (–20,000) *pud* of tallow (R 10,000), R 10,000 worth of furs and pelts and R 10,000 worth of goat hides and train oil p.a.[112] Ultimately, however, direct Franco-Russia trade remained little short of a pipe dream in the 17th century.

English Trade with Russia: A Tale of Decline and Recovery

The English were the first Western European power to establish regular ties with the White Sea coast. The privileges issued by Ivan IV to the Muscovy Company are of great significance not only because of their pivotal role in Russian economic history, but also because

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[110] Kellenbenz, "La signification économique," p. 61; Savary, *Le Parfait Negociant*, p. 182.

[111] Troebst, "*Isfahan*," p. 193.

[112] Delavaud, "Un projet," p. 318; Kraatz, *La Compagnie française*, p. 20 ff. For Goosens' estimates, see: BN Mélanges Colbert 153.

they became the yardstick by which the English came to measure their status on the Russian market. The charter was generous indeed: The English were given a right to duty-free trade throughout Russia and free export and importation of goods. Russian authorities pledged to ensure the safety of the Company's agents in Russia and the Company was even given a house in Moscow. Moreover, the English were granted the right to free trade with Persia through Russia.[113] The standing of the Muscovy Company further improved with the privileges of 1567 which placed the newly acquired Kazan', Astrakhan', Narva, and Dorpat in the Company's sphere of operations. A new grant in 1569 allowed transit trade also with Bukhara, Qazvin, and "other states," gave the English the right to retail trade, allowed them to build bases in Vologda, Kholmogory, and "on the coast," as well as Ivangorod, Korela, and other towns, "as necessary." The Company was allowed to prospect iron along the Vychegda, and perhaps most importantly, was given a monopoly on the northern sea passage.[114]

The Muscovy Company, a milestone in the history of Anglo-Russian relations, also represented a new departure in English corporate history. It was the first English joint-stock company; in other words, its members traded as a unified body. It had 191 members in 1555 and the figure appears to have risen to 400 within the ensuing decade. A perhaps incomplete figure of 80 is recorded for 1595, since the total at the turn of the century was 160. The starting capital of the company—£6,000 provided by 240 share-holders—rose to £48,000 by 1564.[115] The English were fully established in Russia within a couple of years and they operated, among other things, ropewalks, first in Kholmogory and, by the late 1560s, also in Vologda.[116] Following their success in the north, the English also became participants of some importance in trade with Narva within

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[113] Gamel', *Anglichane v Rossii*, I, pp. 254–5; Liubimenko, *Istoriia torgovykh snoshenii*, I, p. 37.

[114] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 83–4.

[115] Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, pp. 79, 86, 88; Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants*, pp. 6, 41–7.

[116] The Vologda mill was almost certainly later transferred to Arkhangel'sk. Together, the two operations employed some 100 men. The hemp was brought in from the Smolensk region and the English used northern Russian tar form the thread. In 1588, at least £3,000 worth of ropes were ordered from the ropewalks in Russia, a figure that attained £13,500 in 1594. Gamel', *Anglichane v Rossii*, I, pp. 38, 40; Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, pp. 102–3; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 396, 404–5.

five years after the Muscovite conquest of 1558, although the scale of shipping remained quite modest as compared to that observed on the North Sea route.[117]

As trade in the north became established, the generous privileges enjoyed by the English began to appear less necessary and desirable from the Muscovite perspective. Following the English rejection in 1572 of a proposed alliance with Russia, the tsar revoked the Muscovy Company's rights and confiscated their wares. Normal relations were restored within months, of course, but no longer on the same basis. The new charter stipulated that commercial expeditions to Kazan' and Astrakhan', as well as to Persia, required special permission each time. In addition, wares brought by the English were to be subject to half the regular customs duties.[118] Privileges issued in 1584 by Fedor Ivanovich put an end to retail trade, although two years later the right to duty-free trade was fully restored. However, the northern sea route was no longer considered an English monopoly. The 1598 charter, issued by Boris Godunov, continued in the same vein and permitted the English to construct bases in Arkhangel'sk, Iaroslavl', Vologda, Novgorod, and Pskov.[119] As a new century dawned, the English thus had a strong position on the Russian market, even if the Russians had shown that many things could not be taken for granted. The legacy of these charters was of great importance, however. Firstly, the centralized nature of English trade and its dependence on government privileges made diplomacy a key facet of Anglo-Russian commercial relations. The English sought to guarantee their position primarily by juridical, rather than economic, means. Secondly, it created a dialectic between the English—seeking to regain and retain the maximum benefits granted to them by Ivan—and the Russians—hoping to protect their national interests in the face of a much more powerful commercial partner. In essence, this dialectic continued throughout the 17th century.

If the dawn of the 17th century found the Company on the defensive in Russia, another battle—the free-trade debate of 1604—erupted at home to add to its worries. Its opponents—led by outport merchants angered by Company efforts to take over Spitsbergen whaling—described the fellowship as a "Strong and shamefull monopoly,

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[117] Haklyut, *The Principal Navigations*, II, p. 268.
[118] Liubimenko, *Istoriia torgovykh snoshenii*, I, p. 47.
[119] *Ibidem*, pp. 50–1, 53.

a monopoly in a monopoly." In their defense, the fellows claimed that a minimum of £30,000, as well as many lives, had been spent on establishing regular trade with Muscovy, while the various embassies and trips to Russia had demanded another £30,000. The Muscovy merchants further pleaded that the Company's operations required an organizational structure based on several agents. Liberalizing this trade, the argument went, would jeopardize its profitability, since the terms of trade would inevitable shift markedly against the English. Moreover, the small scale of the export trade to Russia promised limited gains from such a move. In the end, the impact of the free-trade debate on the Company is likely to have been small. While the entry fees ("fines") may have been cut, there is no evidence of any significant organizational changes.[120]

As its position eroded, the Company embarked on some new ventures to improve profits. An expedition to Cherry Island was undertaken in 1603. Two years later, a new expedition devoted itself to walrus hunting and discovered a lead mine. These operations attracted the interest of the Hull Company and prompted the Muscovy merchants in 1609 to take formal control of the island. The Company also sponsored a longer expedition to Novaia Zemlia and the Vaigach Isles in 1608 but apparently decided against continuing further afield.[121]

In March 1605, Boris Godunov reaffirmed the privileges of the Muscovy Company, again with no concessions regarding trade with Persia.[122] This, naturally, became a minor concern when the Time of Troubles undermined the established order in Muscovy. True to their established practice, the English sent envoys to each new ruler seeking more generous privileges. However, the new rights no longer restored the comparative advantage of the English, since the Dutch successfully pursued a similar strategy.[123] The English, moreover,

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[120] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 26, 30–1, 33–4; *JHC*, I, pp. 218–20; PRO SPD 14/8, fol. 59.

[121] Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, pp. 49, 53; Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, XIII, pp. 260, 270, 276, 293; Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 223.

[122] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 108.

[123] However, relations with the Russians may have suffered from an intervention by Zygmunt III. The king, in February 1611, wrote to James I asking him to ensure that English merchants would not get involved in the political developments ongoing in Russia and, in particular, that they would not support the opposing side. Jasnowski, *England and Poland*, p. 29; Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 108–9; Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. LXXIX; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 44.

resorted to imaginative ways to impose order on the escalating chaos. An especially peculiar episode involved James I's efforts in 1612 to establish a protectorate over the north of Russia, the territory consisting of the present-day Arkhangel'sk and Vologda *oblasti*, as well as part of the Volga basin. The measure was evidently an attempt to protect English interests on the Russian market at a time of great uncertainty.[124] After all, the proposed protectorate comprised essentially the entire sphere of activity of the Muscovy Company. Even without the protectorate, however, English merchants experienced a string of golden years in Russia, primarily because of the high demand for weapons. The dividends of the Muscovy Company rose to 90 percent in 1611–2 and the annual sale of English wares in Russia has been estimated at £40,000.[125]

The end of the *Smuta* naturally provided the English with a new opening and the Russian government was eager to exploit Anglo-Dutch rivalry. An ambassador, Aleksei Ziuzin, was dispatched to London with instructions to gain monetary support, as well as various military supplies for the army. Even though the mission met with very limited success, the new Russian government in 1613 renewed the Company's rights on the pre-*Smuta* basis. The only new condition stipulated that, when necessary, the English would be expected to sell or exchange Russian Treasury goods abroad.[126]

Under the circumstances of lingering uncertainty, James I sent John Merrick as an mediator to the Swedish-Russian peace negotiations in an attempt to gain Russian goodwill.[127] In July 1617, Mikhail Fedorovich granted a letter of privilege—identical to that received in 158—to 23 members of the Muscovy Company. The privileges were subsequently renewed in 1621, 1625, 1628, and 1645.[128] The Russian government, contrary to its own commercial interests, even lent its support to the Muscovy Company's efforts to prevent English interlopers from undercutting their monopoly. If the Dutch had the backing of several high-ranking members of the Russian government,

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[124] Liubimenko, "Torgovye snosheniia," p. 8; *idem*, "Angliiskii proekt;" *idem*, "A Project;" Virginskii, "Proekty."

[125] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 120–1.

[126] Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, V/9, p. 69; Martens, "Rossiia i Angliia," II, pp. 18–9; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 45.

[127] Liubimenko, "Angliia i Rossiia," p. 95. A detailed examination of Merrick's mission can be found in: Phipps, *Sir John Merrick*.

[128] Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, pp. 176–7.

the English were not without supporters either. Duma Secretary Petr Tretiakov headed a pro-English faction in the Muscovite court.[129]

The situation of the Company was far from secure, however. Following the collapse of arms trade, the Russia merchants had trouble attracting new capital. The total at the time of £64,687 marked an increase of merely £17,000 on the 1564 level. In 1618, the Company was forced to borrow £1,000 which it had difficulty repaying two years later.[130] This precarious financial situation forced the Company to continue with its search for new ventures. The focus of operations shifted in 1610 to Spitsbergen, another important source of walruses and whales. However, success remained elusive as the English, in repeated sea battles with the Dutch in 1611–6, were unable to overwhelm their rivals. Also competition by English interlopers, most notably the Hull Company, intensified. The House of Commons eventually, in 1672, deregulated whaling in the northern waters altogether, 27 years after a similar move by the Dutch.[131]

The English also sought to pre-empt the Dutch by seeking more direct access to the Siberian fur markets. The first attempts to establish contact with areas to the east of Arkhangel'sk had been made by Stephen Borrow who, in 1556, reached the Vaigach Isles, Novaia Zemlia, and the Pechora estuary, the center of an important fur producing area, as part of his efforts to chart a North-East passage. However, further interaction was prevented by the Russian government in the 1580s.[132] A new attempt to establish direct trade with Siberia was made in 1611 when the "Amitie" was sent on an expedition to the Ob' delta. Josias Logan, William Pursglove, and Marmaduke Wilson chose to spend the winter in the area, while the "Amitie" took on bird feathers and fox skins for its return trip to England. In the spring of 1612, Logan sailed up the Pechora to Ust'-Tsil'ma, while Pursglove had some months earlier gone west

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[129] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 36–7.

[130] Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, pp. 89, 183.

[131] In spite of some success the Company in 1645 petitioned the Parliament to order other English ports to provide help with guarding Spitsbergen from foreigners in return for annual catch quotas for the outports. The Naval Committee, instead, authorized all those arming vessels to whale around the islands. Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, pp. 226–8; Scott, *The Constitution*, II, p. 54; Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 224. For a survey of the activities of the Dutch, see: Muller, *Geschiedenis der Noordsche Compagnie*.

[132] Lubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 220; Dalgård, *Det Petsoriske Kompagni*, pp. 13–4.

to the Mezen, where the Lampozhnia Island fair took place twice every winter. It appears that local tribal warfare and opposition by Russian merchants made any serious fur purchases impossible, however, and the Englishmen spent their money mainly on salted fish and whale oil. Wilson, along with William Gordon, returned to Pechora in the winter of 1614–5 and there is evidence to suggest that similar expeditions were undertaken in the intervening period. The results of the 1614–5 expedition far exceeded those of the of the first trip and several boat trips were required to load Wilson's purchases aboard a Dutch ship that came to fetch the English in 1615 to take them to Dordrecht.[133] Ultimately, however, operations in Pechora appear not to have lasted beyond these rather tentative expeditions.

Neither Spitsbergen nor Pechora were sufficient to restore the Company's fiscal health, however, and the fellows instead decided to seek a merger with the East India Company in 1618. This was in many ways a logical step, given an overlap in the membership of the two companies. EIC was an important buyer of Muscovy Company cordage and obviously shared the latter's interest in finding the north-east passage. Moreover, EIC saw the merge as an opportunity to revive trade with Persia via the Volga route. The merger grew out of the two companies' involvement in Spitsbergen whaling which they appear to have conducted in a loose alliance in the 1610s.[134] Another important development may well have played a role in prompting the merger. After Sir John Merrick's success as a peace mediator in Stolbovo, the Russian government, anxious to get back on its feet militarily, requested a loan of R 40–200,000 from the English government. The Muscovy Company was eagerly in favor of such financial support. The Privy Council, appreciative of the strategic importance of Russia as a supplier of naval stores, lent its support to the project. However, the government lacked the requisite financial resources, whereas the Company itself was severely weakened by combined losses of £72,000.[135] The merger provided a way out. The Company stock, which had varied between £11,000 and £27,400

[133] Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumus*, I, pp. 200, 231, 241, 244–6; Platonov, *Proshloe russkogo severa*, pp. 70–1; Bol'shukhin, *Anglo-russkie otnosheniia*, pp. 211–2; Dalgård, *Det Petsoriske Kompagni*, pp. 14–8.

[134] Lubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 224; Rabb, *Enterprise*, p. 108; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 79; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 78–9.

[135] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 37–8; 42–4; PRO SPF 91/2, fol 58; SPD 15/42, fol 69.

for various adventures in 1607–16, now rose to £60,000. With the increased resources, Sir Dudley Digges was entrusted to deliver a £50,000 (possibly only £16,500) loan—£27,000 in bullion and the rest in cloth and other goods—to Russia. In the end, however, the loan—eventually only £10,000 in cash—was only delivered in March 1619, by which time the fiscal emergency had passed with the conclusion of peace with Poland-Lithuania.[136]

The MC-EIC merger, intended to last until 1626, was ultimately dissolved after only two years of unforeseen losses. These apparently included a hefty sum due to an alleged Dutch attack on Arkhangel'sk in 1619 which was supposed to have resulted, among other things, in the destruction of the customs house and the foreign merchants' yard (*gostinyi dvor*). EIC put the total losses at £33,000 and the Russians still owed the full £10,000 they had received. The association of the two companies seems to have ended in 1620, at which point Ralph Freeman is said to have bought the stock of the Muscovy Company for £12,000.[137] The legacy of the disassociation was so devastating that the Privy Council ordered the Company to produce a memorandum indicating "1. whether it planned to continued its trade, and 2. how it planned to do so given its financial woes."[138] Threatening to "desert" its trade and claiming debts of £20,000, the Company sought government support for the continuation of its operations. In addition to demanding an embassy to Russia to discuss the losses incurred there, the Company sought to reorganize and to ensure that its members should not be responsible for old debts. The government in March 1620 did agree to exempt new members, thereby likely permitting the Company's continued operation in the early '20s.[139] A 1621 report into the Company's affairs found that outstanding debts since 1607 amounted to £24,502. In 1622, the Privy Council once again agreed to delay the payment of the Company's debts "in reason of State and for the publicke good of the kingdome." After repeatedly revising its position, the government in July 1623 exempted the Company from all interest payments.[140]

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[136] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 49–50; Phipps, *Britons*, pp. 113–5; PRO SPD 15/42: 69.

[137] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 44, 51–4; Konovalov, "Anglo-Russian Relations," p. 131.

[138] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 54; PRO SPD 15/42: 69.

[139] *APC, 1621–1623*, pp. 159, 328; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 55–9.

[140] The order was repeated the following year. Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 60, 62–3; PRO SPD 14/124: 50; *APC 1621–23*, pp. 159, 258, 327, 345–6.

The ultimately unsuccessful efforts by Merrick at the time (during his 1620–1 embassy) to pay for the restoration of the right to trade in Persia must be viewed against this background of a Company increasingly desperate for new sources of revenue. On the other hand, however, Merrick did manage to negotiate the Muscovite merchants a right to buy tar directly from Russian suppliers. The Russians' further appointed Ivan Taras'evich Gramotin—head of the Diplomatic Chancellery in 1618–26—as a special "protector" of the Company.[141]

The proposed reorganization of the Muscovy Company was to involve a change in its status from a joint-stock to a regulated company, which would allow its members to operate independently at their own risk ("every man for himself"). The Privy Council accepted this proposal and, in April 1623, selected one of the main advocates of the restructuring, Christopher Cocks, as the English diplomatic envoy to Russia.[142] The Company itself, however, was deeply divided on the way forward. A faction headed by Merrick rejected the regulated-company approach and dismissed Cocks as "a new man unexperienced in those affaires and unknown to the now State of Russia."[143] Not lacking foresight, Merrick was further concerned that the reorganization might jeopardize the key privilege of the company, i.e. its duty-free status. He feared that formed interlopers would be drawn to join the Company which would make it difficult to justify the Company's continued exemption from customs duties.[144]

The Russians refused to endorse the English plans. They were particularly alarmed by the opportunities for abusing the new arrangement: non-English merchants—as well as English interlopers, of course—would pose as Muscovy Company members and deprive the government of customs receipts.[145] Just as importantly, the Russians felt that the English had not honored their end of the previous bargain. The Company had been expected to reciprocate their favored status by effectively serving as the tsar's agents. Instead, they were said to be selling goods dearly and failing to uphold quality standards.

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[141] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 159–63.

[142] *APC*, p. 435; Turner, *The Privy Council*, I, pp. 152–3; PRO SP 14/214; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 63–4.

[143] PRO SP 91/3, fol. 66.

[144] *Ibidem*; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 66.

[145] The 11 clauses of the project treaty on a "Perpetuall League of Amity and Alliance, Entercourse and Commerce" reaffirmed all existing previous privileges of the Company. *Foedera*, XVII, pp. 504–7; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 45.

Nor did the English supply arms, gunpowder, or saltpeter in any significant quantities or at reasonable prices, as had once been the case.[146] To make matters worse, the English engaged in retail trade and sold wares belonging to other foreigners. An ominous comparison was drawn: "other straingers which the Emperor Majestie doth allowe to traffique in his Cuntrye doe bringe many more commodities then the English, and uppon those their commodities there is Custom taken according to the Emperors Rates, whereby the Emperors Treasury is much replenished. . . ."[147] In I.I. Liubimenko's words, "the greatest advantage of the English—their duty-free status—had turned into its opposite—the greatest ill afflicting their trade."[148] The relative failure of Cocks' mission marked the end of an era for English traders in Russia, even if it still took some time for the Russians to take their stance to its logical conclusion.

While the Russian government reluctantly tolerated the Company's machinations, the restructuring resulted in considerable confusion. In particular, the Russians were unclear on the number of Englishmen permitted to trade free of duty. The 1621 grant of privilege had enumerated 21 members but the 1623 shipping season saw the arrival of a number of newcomers who claimed Company membership. In a sign of things to come, the tsar demanded an explanation from James I, threatening that, otherwise, the issues of customs duties would be settled "as it shall please out great Lord his Imperiall Majestie to determine."[149] James died before being able to reply and the Russians seized the opportunity capitalize on the confusion. A 1625 decree ordered that customs duties should be levied at half their regular rate on English merchants not listed on the 1621 charter. This position was modified during negotiations with Fabian Smith and the dispute was resolved following the arrival of a letter from Charles I in the summer of 1625. The Muscovy Company's privileges were renewed in 1626 and 22 listed members entitled to the duty-free status, even though the extensive use of agents naturally made the *de facto* number much greater.[150] Nonetheless, the Russian

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[146] PRO SP 91/2; RGADA f. 35, 1616 g., No 2.

[147] PRO SP 91/2, fol. 98^{v}.

[148] Liubimenko, "Torgovye snosheniia Rossii s Angliei i Gollandiei s 1553 po 1649 god," pp. 747–8.

[149] PRO SP 102/49 (reproduced in: Konovalov, "Anglo-Russian Relations, 1620–4," p. 127); Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 67–8.

[150] The only restriction in the new letter of privilege was the English could not

government's position clearly reflected Moscow's determination not to throw duty-free trade open to all claiming to be members of the Company. The letter of privilege issued to the Company in 1628 put the number of authorized merchants at 23.[151]

Having weathered the storms of the 1620s, the English merchant community experienced renewed consolidation and growth in the 1630s. There was a clear increase in the number of English merchants operating in Russia between 1625 and 1635, although the size of the Company's board of directors was reduced from at least 11 in 1620 to seven in 1630–1.[152] There was no lull in the bitter rivalry between the two factions, however. The renewed privileges of the Muscovy Company were issued in 1628 to 23 Company members belonging to the original Merrick faction. Matters were further complicated by the increasingly high-handed ways of the Company agent Fabian Smith. Smith and his associates had a habit of bribing Russian customs officials in order to obtain information about the movement of goods.[153] Another instance of internal dissension was a seizure by John Osborne and his nephew of Thomas Wych's houses in Vologda and Moscow in September 1634.[154]

Even as the Company experienced a period of renewed growth, dark clouds were appearing on horizon. In 1630, the Russians turned down a request by Charles I for a new boyar protector and the English repeatedly complained of unfair searches and embezzlement that they were subjected to by Russian officials, probably due to illicit tobacco sales. The Company claimed that customs collectors refused to recognize the documents issued to the Company and exacted various duties. Goods belonging to English merchants were often detained

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directly trade with Oriental merchants. Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 68–9; *AAĖ*, IV, No 13; Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor vneshnikh snoshenii Rossii*, I, pp. 106–7; Telegina, "K voprosu o torgovo-predprinimatel'skoi deiatel'nosti anglichan," pp. 211–9. A 1646 petition in fact claims that the English claimed their grant of privileged by bribing State Secretary Petr Tret'iakov. *Chteniia v istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-letopisetsa*, XXIII (1912) 1, p. 5.

[151] The charter is reproduced in: Muliukin, *Ocherki po istorii iuridicheskago polozheniia inostrannykh kuptsov*, pp. 361–9.

[152] Telegina, "K voprosu o torgovo-predprinimatel'skoi deiatel'nosti anglichan," pp. 222–3; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 93.

[153] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 247; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 72–3; RGADA f. 35, 1628 g., No 2, fol. 1.

[154] The actions appear to have been part of a large power struggle which had resulted in Wych's removal from the position of agent in July 1634. Phipps, *Britons in Seventeenth Century Russia*, pp. 208–10; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 275–6.

on the road if the prescribed customs duties were not paid. Recourse to higher level officials was made difficult because of bribery by customs officials. The problem was exacerbated by Russian frustration at the English practice of sometimes writing their own travel passes. In 1639, Russian officials were ordered to disregard passes not issued by the government. Apparently, the new practice failed to fully solve the problem, however. Nor was the matter laid to rest after the English tax-exempt status was revoked in 1646. A year later, the Company complained of being charged 2–3 times the prevailing rate of customs duty. Further tensions were created by the English insistence that duties should be leveled on the market price of their cargoes, rather than the official valuations of the customs administration.[155]

The English, like their Western rivals, developed a keen interest in Russia as a potential new supplier of grain. Rapid grain price inflation since 1628 was exacerbated by a string of bad harvests in 1630–9.[156] Charles I first approached the Russian government in 1628–9 and in February 1630, Thomas Wych, was sent to Russia for the purpose of buying 100,000 *chetvert'* grain. His efforts were reinforced by more royal letters in August-September. Another envoy, John Scroop, was sent in October with a royal letter requesting grain sales of 30,000 *chetvert'*. Three more English envoys came to Moscow by April 1630 as the Dutch ambassadors Burgh and Veltdriel were conducting their negotiations. One of the Englishmen, Alexander Stuart made a concrete offer of English weapons in return for Russian grain. He further sought to establish an English-Swedish-Russian axis to counter the Dutch plans.[157] Two more envoys, Edward Johnson and John Livingston, who arrived in February 1631, may have complicated matters further by raising the issue of an alleged R 9,000 debt for the participation of three English officers in the Swedish army during the Time of Troubles. The envoys proposed that the

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[155] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 246, 250–2, 263–6, 269, 271–2; Smirnov, "Novoe chelobit'e moskovskikh torgovykh liudei o vysylke inozemtsev v 1627 g.," pp. 19–20; PRO SP 91/2, fols. 240–1.

[156] Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices*, V.

[157] Apparently, the Dutch had tried to convince the Russians that any grain sold to the English would be used for speculative purposes instead of feeding the hungry. Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, pp. 107–8; Liubimenko, "Torgovye snosheniia Rossii s Angliei pri pervykh Romanovykh," p. 96; Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 338–9; RGADA f. 35, op. 2, d. 40, 44, d. 47–9, 52–3; op. 1, d. 104, fols. 1–14; 1630 g., d. 103, fols. 59, 67–8.

debt could be settled with 100,000 *chetvert'* of wheat. Livingston further hoped to be allowed to buy 14 shiploads of rye.[158]

In spite of these persistent diplomatic efforts, the Russian government agreed to sell only 30,000 *chetvert'* of grain, which was allotted to Wych, a long-standing member of the Muscovy Company. The tsar's reply emphasized his desire to maintain friendly relations with the English, however, and justified the decision by a bad harvest. Moreover, he permitted the grain to be exported free of duty and at cost. The English reciprocated by giving the Russians 2,000 muskets. Chamberlain was further authorized to buy 100,000 *chetvert'* free of duty, although it is now known if any of this amount was actually exported.[159] As G.M. Phipps has demonstrated, there were a number of reasons that might have caused the Russian government to be this lukewarm towards the English requests.[160] However, it is difficult not to view this decision against the general deterioration of English-Russian relations.

The friction of the 1630s escalated dramatically with Aleksei Mikhailovich's ascent to the throne. At first, the new tsar promised to renew the Muscovy Company's privileges and in 1645, even suggested that they might be broadened. In May 1646, a pass was issued to the Company for the Arkhangel'sk-Moscow route in accordance with the old privileges.[161] An abrupt turnaround ensued less than a month later, however. A June 1646 decree forced the Company, along with all other foreigners, to pay full duty. In essence, the Muscovy Company lost the one institutional comparative advantage it had enjoyed over its rivals. The decision put the English on a collision course with the Russian authorities. The Company refused to pay duties and, their agent, Spenser Bretton—in addition to verbally abusing customs officials—offered a mere promissory note in lieu of cash. The fellows apparently locked up their wares

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[158] The English officers claimed to have been in Russian service, since Shuiskii had used the Swedish troops against the Polish intervention. However, the Russians claimed that their agreement had been with the Swedish king, not with any English officers. Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, pp. 341–2; RGADA f. 35, 1630 g., d. 103, fols. 176–8, 191–2.

[159] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 343; Liubimenko, "Torgovye snosheniia Rossii s Angliei pri pervykh Romanovykh," p. 96; *idem*, "Letters Illustrating the Relations of England and Russia," p. 101; RGADA f. 35, 1630 g., d. 103, fols. 220–2; PRO SP 102/49–25, 26; Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 108.

[160] Phipps, *Britons in Seventeenth-Century Russia*, pp. 129–34.

[161] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 438–9.

at their Kholmogory base and refused to resume their operations. Bretton twice appealed to the tsar, threatening in February 1647 that "if the services of our nation are no longer required by Your Imperial Highness," the English were prepared to quit Russia altogether. Osborne finally conceded defeat in July 1647 but petitioned that Breton's promissory notes be canceled, since the change of status had caught the English unawares. Two new petitions were made in 1648, but to no avail as the Russians stood their ground.[162]

Anglo-Russian trade, and the status of the Company, were considerably complicated by the ongoing civil war in England. Not lacking political acumen, Russian merchants responsible for penning an anti-foreigner petition in 1646 pointed out that the Company's original rights had been issued in response to a request by the king of England. Now, however, "all the English traders, are not loyal to Him, but have been at war with him for four years."[163] A particularly striking example of the confusion caused by the troubles in Britain was the so-called Nightingale Affair. Luke Nightingale, a member of the Company, arrived in Russia in June 1648 as an envoy of Charles I who requested permission for grain purchases of 300,000 *chetvert'* in response to shortages at home. Nightingale further claimed to be on a secret mission to convince the tsar of the disloyalty of the Muscovy Company and to suggests that "the Russia trade be thrown open to all English merchants on equal terms."[164]

As agreeable as Nightingale's agenda may in some ways have appeared to the tsar, there were serious questions as to the envoy's authenticity and credibility. Matters were further complicated by the arrival of Thomas Bond, an English physician seeking employment in the court. He brought a letter, allegedly from Charles but almost certainly from the Parliament, which "expressed 'wonderment and grief' at the imposition of customs on the Muscovy Company, and at its harsh treatment by officials at Archangel."[165] The Russians

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[162] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 46; Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor vneshnikh snoshenii Rossii*, I, pp. 46, 113; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 437, 440, 443–4, 465, 467; RGADA f. 35, op. 2, 1647 g., d. 24.

[163] Quoted in: Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 442.

[164] Charles was said to distrust the Muscovy Company and, according to Nightingale, "consider[ed] those merchants to be his enemies." Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 446, 456, 458–9; Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, p. 32; PRO SP 22/60, fol. 70.

[165] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 461; Phipps, "The Russian Embassy," p. 274.

apparently distrusted Bond, whereas Nightingale initially made a very good impression and gained the tsar's trust.[166] Nightingale returned to Russia in September 1648, apparently for the main purpose to trying to buy the 270,000 *chetverti* grain outstanding from his previous request. A month into his stay, he was denounced as an impostor by one of his servants. A subsequent investigation ruined Nightingale's credibility but, in a bid to regain his stature, the disgraced envoy launched a renewed attack on the Company. He alleged that a group of Russia merchants were preparing a military raid on Arkhangel'sk in revenge for the loss of old privileges. The Russians, in response, set Nightingale free.[167]

The position of the Company was further threatened by a 1648 collective petition by Russian merchants and government officials to the Diplomatic Chancellery and the Assembly of the Land. Several charges were made specifically against the English who allegedly:

> (i) came to Russia in much larger numbers than established by the privilege grant of 1628; (ii) bought and built themselves many houses in Russia and established themselves there permanently; (iii) employed indebted Russians as factors who bought up Russian goods for them in towns and in the countryside, and so they had no need to trade with Russian merchants; (iv) sold Russian goods to Dutch and German merchants at Archangel, thus robbing the Treasury of customs and seizing the trade of Russian merchants; (v) colored the goods of Dutch and German merchants, to the harm of the Treasury.[168]

The fourth allegation was particularly serious because it posed a major challenge to the government's customs revenues. Other evidence suggests that the Russian claim may have been fully accurate. While the scale of Muscovy Company shipping declined sharply during the first half of the century, the English were able to sustain large commercial operations in Russia with the combined number of their merchants and agents at least comparable to that of the Dutch. The Company also owned some forty large river barges for transportation on the Dvina. Clearly not all English goods were exported on English ships and the Company must have made a large share of their profits by selling goods free of duty to Dutch and

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[166] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 449, 463.

[167] Lubimenko, "Anglo-Russian Relations," p. 45; Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, p. 32; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 449, 494–504.

[168] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 481.

German merchants who otherwise would have incurred higher transaction costs. Apparently in response to the letter, the tsar in December 1648 ordered a review of all letters of privilege issued to foreign merchants and a survey of the services provided by them.[169]

The Company was finally expelled from the Russian interior on June 1, 1649, officially since "the English people committed great evil in killing their king."[170] However, this move ultimately merely capped a steady deterioration in Anglo-Russian relations. Even as John Osborne, as the *de facto* agent of the Company, accepted the Russian decision, he challenged the Russians' excuse for the move by claiming that the Company had not betrayed the king. Bowing to the inevitable, however, the Company presented the first inventory of its assets and outstanding debts to the Investigations Chancellery just over a month later. At the time, the Company's debtors in Russia owed it a total of R 21,487.[171]

A highly disagreeable task awaited the fellows of the Muscovy Company as the 17th century passed its midpoint. Perhaps the greatest loss involved the forced sale of 16 houses along the Moscow-Arkhangel'sk axis. The Company jointly owned a total of six houses: two in Arkhangel'sk and Moscow each, and one each in Kholmogory, Vologda, and Iaroslavl'. The total value of these properties, as assessed by the Company in 1649, was R 9,407. Individual members of the Company owned a total of 10 houses. John Osborne had a house in Arkhangel'sk and two in Vologda. Thomas Wych, John White, Richard Duncombe, John Dee, Robert Cocks, and Thomas Steistet owned one house each in Vologda. Anthony Tivery had a house in Iaroslavl.' The total value of the Kholmogory, Vologda, and Iaroslavl' houses was estimated by the Company to be R 3,110 in 1649.[172]

To make matters worse, the Russians did not hesitate to exploit the English merchants' weakness. The process of disposing of the real estate was slow and only three houses belonging to individual merchants were sold within a year of the expulsion. New appraisals were conducted by the Russians and typically sharply reduced the value of

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[169] Arkhangel'skii, "Anglo-gollandskaia torgovlia s Moskvoi," p. 13; Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 192; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 215, 471, 475; Hellie, "The Stratification of Muscovite Society," pp. 165–8.

[170] *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, III, p. 456.

[171] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 508, 511; Bazilevich, "Kollektivye chelobit'ia," p. 107.

[172] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 280–1, 283, 293, 295–6.

the buildings, in some cases to as little as one-tenth of the original estimate. The task of recovering outstanding debts, similarly, proved daunting. By August 1651, the Company had managed to recover only R 13,667 of the total R 26,857 owed to it. The Investigations Chancellery reported that R 4,816 of the remainder was, in fact, irretrievable due to death, old age of debtors, clerical errors, etc. By the end of 1653, due to considerable resistance by Russian elite merchants, the total outstanding loans still amounted to R 7,959.[173]

Even as they bowed to the inevitable in 1649, the English almost immediately launched a diplomatic offensive to regain the rights they had lost. However, Sir Peter Wyche in 1649 was told that a decision was to be expected only once "His Imperiall Majesty shall have concluded the war with the King of Poland and with the Crimean Khan."[174] The Company, nonetheless, hoped for some sympathy from the arrival in Russia in May 1650 of Lord John Culpepper, a royalist ambassador who requested a R 100,000 loan on behalf of Crown Prince Charles. Culpepper acknowledged the political divisions within the Company but claimed that there were staunch royalists among its membership and that the restored privileges should be granted exclusively to them. In a gesture of considerable symbolism and significance, the Russians subsidized the future Charles II with R 20,000 worth of furs and grain.[175]

The Parliament was for obvious reasons no less eager to normalize relations with the Romanovs than the Stuarts. A special envoy, William Prideaux, was sent to Russia in 1654, along with two ships contracted by the Muscovy Company. The envoy was closely associated with Company and selected to deliver letters in the name of the fellowship.[176] Prideaux clearly recognized the fundamental change in the Company's status since 1646–9 and enquired with the *voevoda* of Arkhangel'sk, Boris Ivanovich Porkin, about the duties English merchants would have to pay. Porkin merely reiterated the government's position and gave a negative answer to Prideaux's question about the possibility of trading past the White Sea port. Also Prideaux's

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[173] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 515, 517–8, 520; 522–6, 539–40.

[174] PRO SP 91/3, fols. 184–5; Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, p. 161.

[175] Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, p. 36; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 508–9; Roginskii, "Missiia Lorda Kolpeppera v Moskvu," p. 92; Bantysh-Kamenskii, I, p. 115; PRO SP 22/60, fol. 76; *CSPD*, 1653–1654, p. 340.

[176] Arkhangel'skii, "Diplomaticheskie agenty Kromvelia," pp. 121–2.

enquiries about restoring the Muscovy Company's privileges received a reply that was to become familiar to English merchants and diplomats in the second half of the century: the ongoing war prevented immediate action on the issue but a satisfactory solution would be worked out thereafter.[177]

The steep deterioration of political ties between England and Russia inevitably affected trade which was the core of the relationship. Downcast reports by Prideaux suggest that both shipping and operations in Arkhangel'sk were minimal. Writing in September 1654, the envoy lamented over the limited time to conduct trade, a problem amplified by the narrow geographic area now open to the English. Both factors, as well as Dutch competition, had enabled the Russians to shift the terms of trade in their favor. The lack of specie on both sides further limited mutually advantageous exchange. Lastly, the ongoing war and a plague epidemic in central Russia prevented some merchants from coming to the Arctic coast. At the same time, the Company's revived its interest in trade to Greenland, undoubtedly in response to diminished opportunities in Muscovy.[178]

The evident collapse of Anglo-Russian trade after 1649 did not go unnoticed by the Swedes with their ambitious schemes for diverting Russian trade to the Baltic. In fact, Philip Crusius von Krusenstiern had proposed already in 1648 that the English move their operations to Reval.[179] The Swedish residents in Russia, Karl Pommerening and Johan de Rodes both advocated for the government's agenda with English merchants. Pommerening conducted negotiations with them in 1650 and found considerable willingness to move, provided that Sweden could offer them comparable privileges to those lost a year earlier. De Rodes met with Prideaux during the latter's visit to Russia. The atmosphere in Stockholm became ever more favorable to a *rapprochement* with England after April 1651 when the government—at first unofficially—came to accept the puritan republic as the legitimate government of England.[180] Krister Bonde conducted talks with the Commonwealth in 1655–6 and made concrete promises of a

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[177] Arkhangel'skii, "Diplomaticheskie agenty Kromvelia," pp. 122, 129.

[178] *Thurloe Papers*, II, pp. 597, 605; Arkhangel'skii, "Diplomaticheskie agenty Kromvelia," p. 123; Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, pp. 36–7; *CSPD, 1653–1654*, pp. 362, 379–80, 392–3, 421.

[179] Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, pp. 331–2, 334 ff.

[180] Arkhangel'skii, "Diplomaticheskie agenty Kromvelia," pp. 123–4; Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, pp. 341–2.

right of emporium for both the Muscovy and the Eastland Companies in Narva/Nyen and Riga, respectively. He was, however, forced to concede the Muscovy merchants reluctance to move to Narva, in sharp contrast to the Eastland Company. Ultimately, however, the outbreak of the Swedish-Russian war in 1656 and Cromwell's death in 1658 put an end to this round of Swedish *Derivation* politics.[181]

Following the coronation of Charles II in 1661, regular diplomatic relations with Russia were quickly restored. In fact, John Hebdon, serving as the tsar's commercial agent in the Netherlands, arrived in London the same year for the purpose of recruiting 3,000 men for the Russian army. He managed to persuade the Privy Council to recognize him as the tsar's legitimate representative. Charles II allowed him to recruit any number of soldiers, in an evident attempt to curry favor with Aleksei. The Muscovy Company petitioned Hebdon to push their case with Aleksei, while Hebdon urged Charles II to send an envoy to Russia in a bid to revive the Company's fortunes.[182]

In 1662, a Muscovite embassy was sent to London. However, the mission headed by Prince Petr Semenovich Prozorovskii and Ivan Zheliabuzhskii proved a major disappointment. The Russians managed to obtain repayment of the R 20,000 loan they had made in 1650. Yet both the English government and the Muscovy Company refused to extend additional credit which the Russians offered to repay in hemp and potash, something that would have provided an opportunity to revive Anglo-Russian trade. Prozorovskii claimed not to be authorized to negotiate on the question of commercial privileges but did leave the English hopeful that progress would be made by the next English embassy sent to Moscow.[183] The Russians were apparently disappointed by the rejection of the loan and brought it up in subsequent negotiations. The primary responsibility for the decision lay with the Company which was determined not to show flexibility until their old rights had been restored. To be sure, the Company men had legitimate cause for concern, given that the years of the Commonwealth had been little short of a financial catastrophe.[184]

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[181] Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, pp. 421–30.

[182] Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, pp. 40–1; Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, pp. 165–6; PRO SP 91/3, fols. 81–2, 84–8.

[183] Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662–5," pp. 60, 62–3; Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, pp. 43–4; Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, pp. 166–7.

[184] Financial concerns are likely to have been a major factor behind the Company's

The British struggle for the lost privileges continued through the efforts of the Earl of Carlisle, whose 1664 embassy to Russia came to count as one of the darker moments in the history of Anglo-Russian diplomacy. The Carlisle mission has been dismissed by contemporaries and subsequent commentators as a total fiasco. The Russians were appalled by the envoy's arrogant conduct and further incensed by his interpretation of Prozorovskii's request for a loan: "he had deliberately asked for an impossibly large loan, so as to have later on a justification for the refusal of custom-free privileges to the English."[185] Even the envoy himself was led to question effectiveness of his intransigence but in the end remained adamant "to have the Privileges first granted before I receive or make any further overture."[186] At the end of the embassy, Carlisle, incensed by his failure, in a major breach with diplomatic protocol refused to accept the Russian gifts which, in turn, prompted the Kremlin to return the gifts brought by the English.[187] Carlisle eloquently defended his new position in special memorandum on trade with Russia. In it he conjures up a vision that would have met the fondest dreams of Swedish *Derivation* politicians. Among other things, he complained of the poor quality of goods sold at the White Sea as opposed to those bought in the Baltic.[188]

In spite of the bad blood generated by the envoy's actions, some concrete gains were made. According to a Russian resolution ten "men of good behavior and proven honesty" would be allowed to operate on the Arkhangel'sk-Moscow axis:

> These ten persons may buy premises; they are to pay duty on their goods on the same footing as other foreigners, so long as his Majesty the Tsar remains at war with the King of Poland and the Crimean Khan. But when the war is over, then the Tsar will order . . . that a decree be drawn up, after due consideration of how matters can be arranged.[189]

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highly unusual decision to refuse to contribute to the cost of the Prozorovskii embassy. *CSPV*, 1661–1664, p. 167; Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662–5," p. 63.

[185] Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662–5," p. 81.

[186] Bodleian Library, MSS. Clarendon, vol. 81, fol. 123, reproduced in: Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662–5," p. 89.

[187] Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, p. 169.

[188] Bodleian Library, MSS. Clarendon, vol. 92, fols. 261–2, reproduced in: Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662–5," pp. 93–4.

[189] Bodleian Library, MS. Barlow 52, reproduced in: Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662–5," p. 101; translation by Konovalov.

In light of this, the widespread pessimism on the outcome of the embassy may be somewhat misplaced. After all, Carlisle did accomplish something very significant: a *de facto* restoration of the Company's status to that prevailing in 1646–9. Not only was this more than was managed by any other British envoy in the second half of the century, but in fact is eliminated any *de iure* disadvantage of the English *vis-à-vis* Dutch and German merchants. The fact that the number of Englishmen was smaller than the figure authorized in 1628 was likely simply a reflection of the reduced scale of operations of the Company in Russia.

Nonetheless, the English were not to be placated and, moreover, appeared quite willing to play *va-banque* on the issue of trade privileges. After Carlisle's failure, Lord Clarendon in the autumn of 1664 "was instructing his envoy in Sweden to do all he could 'to engage and dispose' the Swedes *to make war* in Russia, and was promising Sweden 'all assistance and support' that could reasonable be expected in the even of such a war."[190] Clarendon was eventually forced to conclude that this avenue would not necessarily solve all the problems. He recognized that English Muscovy merchants, "who having allwayes driven their Trade by Archangell, will never be willing to change that course, wee do not yet know what number of ships will be required for the stopping that Trade, not what Preivileges and benefitt wee shall receive by putting it into the other channel. . . ."[191] Such hesitations grew with the English need to seek the tsar's support in the Anglo-Dutch war of 1665–7. In October 1666, Patrick Gordon—serving as the Russian envoy—was able to relay to James II the tsar's decision to forbid the Dutch to buy any naval supplies from Russia whereas the English would gain such a right once the plague was over. Gordon's mission in fact did a fair bit to improve the atmosphere in the previously charged relationship.[192]

The news of the Andrusovo truce was greeted with eager anticipation in England. After all, the standard Russian argument for delaying action of the question of privileges had been the costs imposed by

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[190] Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, p. 46; Liubimenko, "Les relations diplomatiques," p. 33; Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662–5," p. 64.

[191] RGADA f. 35, op. 2, No 97, quoted in: Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, p. 53; Åström, *From Stockholm to St. Petersburg*, pp. 13–23.

[192] Konovalov, "England and Russia," p. 49; Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, p. 171; Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, pp. 53, 58, 62–3.

the Polish-Lithuanian war. *Ipso facto*, peace was expected to bring resolution to the main point of contention. Immediately following the unofficial confirmation of the truce, Hebdon departed for Russia as an "Envoy Extraordinary."[193] Such impatience was understandable, given the continuing ill health of the Muscovy Company. Gordon reported in October 1667 that "Our trade by reason of the impost and these Marine Warres is greatly decayed."[194] As ambitious as Hebdon's agenda was, it was far less obvious that he was the right man to deliver the message. It appears that his position was compromised by the betrayal felt by the Russians in response to his abrupt resignation from government service. In the end, the Russians dismissed the restoration of English privileges as incompatible with the New Commercial Code.[195]

In spite of the at times fervent diplomatic activity, little changed in the stagnant commercial relationship, even as the Company made some progress in restoring its operations. John and Thomas Hebdon were admitted into the Russian interior already in the 1650s. In 1658, Samuel Meverall and John Dombel were given a five-year permission to visit Moscow in return for services rendered to the Crown. The grant was renewed in 1663 and 1668. In 1659, two English merchants were allowed to journey with their wares to Moscow. By 1664, the number of such individuals had reached four to five p.a. In 1669, however, there were only two English merchants present in Moscow. The English were thus clearly having trouble fully exploiting the privileges secured by Carlisle's mission.[196]

The Company's ever more desperate efforts to regain their lost glory received a new lease of life from a change of guard in Moscow following Aleksei Mikhailovich's death in 1676. Hebdon once again seized the opportunity and gained Charles II's political and economic

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[193] Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, pp. 64–5. Having returned to England after a 15–year stay in Russia, Hebdon was an important member of the London merchant community and a member of the Court of Governors of the Muscovy Company. Konovalov, "England and Russia: Two Missions, 1666–8," p. 51; *CSPD*, 1665–1666, pp. 392–3. On Hebdon's activities in Russia, see Gurliand, *Ivan Gebdon*.

[194] PRO SP 91/3, fol. 133.

[195] Konovalov, "England and Russia: Two Missions, 1666–8," p. 58; Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, p. 172.

[196] Gurliand, *Ivan Gebdon*; RGADA f. 35, 1678 g., d. 241; PRO E 190. The numbers of interlopers from ports other than London seldom exceeded two in any given year; Martens, "Rossiia i Angliia," p. 35; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo v Rossii*, I, p. 47.

backing for a new embassy. However, as a sign of growing realism in London, he was instructed to seek specific concessions for the Company in the event that it turned out to be impossible to restore the old privileges. The English requested privileges for a group of 26 merchants, although Hebdon's instructions required him to omit the less prominent merchants from his list, if necessary.[197] The Russian position was little changed: "the resumption of war was expected in the Crimea and only a temporary truce, as opposed to a permanent peace, had been signed with the Poles." Fedor, moreover, professed awareness of the loss of revenues that restoring the privileges would cause to the Muscovite Treasury.[198] Hebdon, disappointed and incensed by the Russian intransigence, was now ready to resort to extreme measures. He suggested that English merchants should leave Russia within six months and proposed that those resisting should be declared rebels and have their goods confiscated. He advocated an Anglo-Polish attack on Russia and a blockade of Arkhangel'sk. Charles, with a better sense of *realpolitik* and less of a personal stake dismissed the proposal as a "wild notion," however.[199] Muscovy merchants and veteran diplomats did not entirely abandon hope even later. In connection with the 1687 embassy of Vasilii Timofeevich Postnikov to London Patrick Gordon offered a realistic assessment of the status of Anglo-Russian trade but advocated keeping the issue of the privileges alive as a diplomatic bargaining chip.[200]

The Muscovy Company was having trouble outside of Russia, as well. By 1667, the Company had "desisted from setting forth shipps for the Whale fishing in Greenland" and agreed to permit London soap makers to effectively take over the business.[201] At the same time, at least some Russian goods came to England from Hamburg and Narva. Indeed, the status of Narva's trade was a source of great

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[197] Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, pp. 72–3; Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, pp. 177–8; Phipps, *Britons in Russia*, p. 181; PRO SP 91/3, fols. 210–3, 235 ff, 261 ff.; *CSPD*, 1673–1675, p. 599.

[198] Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, pp. 178–9; Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, p. 73.

[199] Paeffgen, *Englisch-russische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, p. 179; Herd, *General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, p. 73; PRO SP 91/3, fols. 235–6.

[200] BL Add. MS 41842, fol. 154, reproduced in: Konovalov, "Sixteen further letters," pp. 87–8.

[201] However, in 1670, one 140-ton ship was sent to Greenland and the Company agreed to "incourage to inlarge this fishing." There is little evidence of sustained success, even though another ship followed in 1671. GHL Ms. 11,741/1, pp. 16–7, 34, 43, 48, 57.

controversy for the Muscovy Company which, *de iure*, still had the right to levy duties on it. However, many of the ships returned to Hull, Newcastle, York, etc., which made control more difficult and forced the Company to send special supervisors to the leading outports. Moreover, many of the ships claimed to have departed from Reval, which belonged to the Eastland Company's sphere.[202] By 1675, English trade with Russia was described as being in a state of total decay. A plan was developed to secure a contract for the Company to export 400 barrels of caviar p.a., which was deemed sufficient for equipping two vessels.[203]

A new era of "*détente*" gradually set in the second half of the 1670s and the tsar in 1676 informed the Muscovy Company of 200 bales of silk brought by Armenians to Moscow.[204] In 1681, Joseph "Osip" Woolfe requested a pass for Moscow where he wished to collect outstanding debts. By 1684, Woolfe, along with his brother John, journeyed to the capital for an entire year. Joseph Woolfe eventually, in January 1687, received a generous letter of privilege in recognition of the profits he had generated for the Treasury by selling caviar and potash and the nearly R 12,000 he had paid in customs duties in 1682–7. The charter allowed him to trade freely in the Russian interior, although duties were to be paid in accordance with the New Commercial Code. He was also given the right to keep houses in Moscow, Arkhangel'sk, and "on the Dvina."[205] In 1690, a group of English merchants—Andrew and Jeremy Styles, "Nicholas Cohn" (perhaps George Caren), and William Light—who all traded in Arkhangel'sk on a permanent basis were similarly granted permission to return to the interior.[206] In total, some 10 English merchants a year

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[202] GHL Ms. 11,741/1, p. 9 and ff., 57–8.

[203] Liubimenko, *Les relations commerciales et politiques*, p. 271; *CSPD*, 1675–6, p. 241.

[204] GHL Ms. 11,741/1, p. 125. See also Fedor's April 1676 letter to Charles II, informing of future Armenian silk trade at the Arkhangel'sk fair: PRO SP 91/3, fols. 208–9.

[205] Woolfe became a large-scale operator, repeatedly sending early ships to Arkhangel'sk, for example two vessels in 1684 and even more in 1686. He sent at least one early ship also in 1687 and two (some 400 tons) in 1688. RGADA f. 35, 1681 g., d. 2, fols. 1, 35, 42–3; f. 159, op. 2, d. 3825, fols. 1–2; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo v Rossii*, I, p. 47; GHL Ms. 11,741/2, pp. 51, 57, 68, 83, 92, 114.

[206] Even they, however, had been visiting Moscow for several years: Andrew Styles and James Pindecke since 1683, "Cohn" and Light since 1688. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia cherez Arkhangel'sk*, pp. 333–5; RGADA f. 35, 1690–1691 gg., d. 258, fols. 1, 13–14, 24.

visited the Russian interior in the late 1680s and early '90s.[207] In the 1680s, the Company even made some attempts to revive its trade in Persia. Thomas Sandes in 1683 was allowed to organize a mission there with a 440 tn ship and another mission followed in 1691.[208]

The Muscovy Company's recovery at the end of the century was due to a number of factors, chief among them a marked increase in tobacco sales to Russia. The issue of customs rates on tobacco was raised by the Company as early as 1676–7 in connection with the Hebdon mission. In 1686, the Company discussed the idea of sending an envoy to Russian to discuss the legalization of tobacco trade.[209] The key turning point was Peter I's decision in 1697 to permit the open sale and consumption of tobacco, evidently in response to the fact that illegal tobacco trade was rampant throughout his dominions. The English were galvanized to make tobacco the central plank of their Russian diplomacy when the government granted an exclusive tobacco contract to a Dutchman Thomas Fadomrecht. In April 1698, Peter—who was touring Western Europe at the time—agreed to grant the monopoly to Peregrine Osborne, Marquess of Carmarthen. Carmarthen, in fact, acted as the front figure for a group of a dozen merchants who subsequently admitted some sixty colleagues to their ranks and formed a partnership called "the Contractors with the Czar of Muscovy for the Sole Importation of Tobacco into his Dominions" or "the Adventurers in the Russia Tobacco Trade." The Tobacco Contract guaranteed everyone associated with the company " 'full liberty and protection' to live in any part of the Czar's dominions . . . and to trade with anyone or to employ anyone Czar's subject or alien," terms much more generous than those enjoyed by the Muscovy Company.[210]

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[207] The right was explicitly granted to Jeremy and Andrew Styles, James and Philip Woolfe, John and James Pindecke, John Edwards, Gabriel Ward, George Caren (?), and William Lock. RGADA f. 35, 1681 g., d. 2; 1688 g., d. 257; 1690 g., d. 258.

[208] GHL Ms. 11,741/2, pp. 14–5, 152. In spite of the recovery, the English remained far behind the Dutch. Johan Willem van Keller as late as 1689 offered a negative assessment of Anglo-Russian trade: "At this court there is not a single English minister. And the number of English traffickers here is not very considerable either; there are no more than six, four of whom live ordinarily here in town, and two others in Archangel." Eekman, "Muscovy's International Relations," p. 51.

[209] GHL Ms. 11,741/1, pp. 151; Ms. 11,741/2, p. 77; PRO CO 388/1, fols. 156–7; CO 391/1, pp. 200–1.

[210] Price, *The Tobacco Adventure to Russia*, pp. 20, 23, 26–7, 38; PRO CO 391/10, pp. 181–3.

The rise of the tobacco question was accompanied by a broader debate concerning the nature of the Muscovy Company, which many now saw as a failure, especially since much of England's Russian trade remained in foreign hands. A debate on the restrictive membership criteria erupted by the mid-1690s and one pamphlet attributed the decline of Russian trade squarely on the myopic policies of the Company: "The Trade of Russia . . . will require great Industry and Charges, to recover it to this Nation; and there those Merchants who are to come into the Company for that end, humbly hope the Terms of Admission will be moderate."[211] Perhaps the main structural factor limiting the Company's resources was, indeed, its dwindling membership. The number of merchants involved had been steadily declining from 400 in 1565 to 60–70 at the beginning of the century and further to 39 in 1633, 31 in 1681, and 20 in 1698. Samuel Heathcote claimed in 1697 that there were only 12–14 active trading members of the Company.[212]

In spite of its decline, the Company retained its conservatism until the end of the century. In 1691, it had made its membership criteria even stricter "That there shall be noe more admissions of Members for ffines . . . but . . . only to admit such as Claime by Service and Patrimony."[213] It repeatedly pleaded against the adoption of a proposed law to enlarge its membership.[214] The Company also opposed measures in 1689 to liberalize woollens trade, which, it claimed, violated its privileges. Ultimately, special provisions were made for Muscovite trade.[215] The fellows further persisted in their efforts to regain the

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[211] HU BBL GKLEL 3081.18: Reasons for an Easie Admission into the Russia Company, 1695.

[212] Kellenbenz "La signification économique," pp. 44, 58; Price, *The Tobacco Adventure to Russia*, p. 39.

[213] GHL Ms. 11,741/2, p. 147. In response, one pamphlet denounced the virtual impossibility of joining the Company: "Heretofore the [Russia] Company did permit Persons to Buy their Freedom for 60 l. But several Years since they made a By-Law, to Admit none into their Company, on any terms whatever, unless by Service. Whereas the Admissions into other Companies, may be had for 40 s. as aforesaid." HU BBL GKLEL 3081.15: Reasons for Enlarging and Regulating the Trade To Russia and the Narve, 1695.

[214] GHL Ms. 11,741/2, pp. 248, 251, 258. The Muscovy Company's position is described, among other things, in a 1697 pamphlet. HU BBL GKLEL 3409.13: An answer ro some mistakes offer'd to the honourable House of Commons by way of objection against the continuance of the Russia-Company.

[215] GHL Ms. 11,741/2, pp. 118, 127.

lost privileges; a last plea was made to the king in August 1697.[216]

Under the circumstances, tobacco came to be seen by a number of other groups of merchants as a means to breaking the stronghold of the old Muscovy merchants at a time of general liberalization of the membership criteria of English companies.[217] The earliest pioneers of this movement were North American tobacco merchants who claimed that:

> If the [tobacco] Trade be restrained to so few hands as at present it is, 'tis not reasonable to expect that a Liberty will be granted by the Czar to Import Tobacco into his Dominions; because He will see that His People cannot be supplyed but at such Rates as those Merchants please to set upon it, the Monopoly being in so few hands . . .[218]

The tobacco merchants anticipated annual exports of 20,000 hogsheads to Russia, enough to fill 40 ships of 200 tons each.[219] Several other merchants—not least those of the Eastland Company—joined this movement, recognizing Russia's extraordinary potential as a supplier of naval stores and the advantages this offered to English shipping on a number of levels:

> . . . Masts, Timber and Firr-Plank, Hemp, Pitch and Tar may be imported from Russia, at cheaper Rates that they can be had from Prussia, Denmark, Sweden or Norway. . . . The Russes having no Ships of their own, all such Masts, Timber and Plank, and all other Commodities brought thence for England, will be Imported in English Ships; and so the Freight of them (which oft times is double or treble to the first Costs of the Goods) will be gained to this Nation. . . . As a farther Consequence of the Russes having no Shipping, they will thereby be rendered uncapable of Entring into a Sea-War; and so we shall have the greater likelyhood of always enjoying a free and open Trade with them . . .[220]

The "Act to Enlarge the Trade to Russia" finally passed in 1699 and the Company immediately saw a dramatic increase in its membership. At the April 14, 1699 meeting alone, 73 new members were admitted,

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[216] In fact, the Company's Moscow "factory" had gone R 250 above its R 400-budget in entertaining the tsar. GHL Ms. 11,741/2, pp. 212, 214.

[217] Price, *The Tobacco Adventure to Russia*, p. 38.

[218] HU BBL GKLEL 3081.6: Further reasons for inlarging the trade to Russia.

[219] *Ibidem*.

[220] HU BBL GKLEL 3081.15: Reasons for Enlarging and Regulating the Trade To Russia and the Narve, 1695.

followed by another 15 on April 26 and seven in May-June. Admissions of three to four new members at a time remained a regular feature of meetings in 1699–1700.[221] In the simplest terms, this amounted to a takeover of the old Muscovy Company by Eastland and tobacco merchants. As controversial as the measure was, it greatly expanded the Company's resources. In 1701, the main fleet sailing for Arkhangel'sk already consisted of 30 vessels.[222] It is patently obvious that the reforms of the turn of the century turned the Muscovy Company from a small coterie of merchants into a strong and dynamic operation determined to conquer new markets. It is impossible to say whether a reorganization earlier would have made a recovery of English-Russian trade possible. On the one hand, tobacco only became legal in 1697 and the surge of the early 18th century was also connected with the Great Northern War. However, the impressive results of the reforms make it difficult not to characterize the strategy of the old company as a failure.

The incipient recovery in Anglo-Russian trade becomes more impressive when simultaneous developments in the Baltic are taken into consideration. While the English interest in Narva had a great deal to do with their setbacks in Arkhangel'sk, their position was strengthened by legislative reforms. The English Navigation Acts especially allowed them to gain market share from the Dutch much more dramatically than on the White Sea route.[223] English trade further benefitted from a political *rapprochement* with Sweden. A treaty of friendship and commerce was signed in 1661 and further supplemented by the friendship, defense, commerce, and navigation treaty of March 1665. English merchants were authorized to buy wholesale goods in Sweden and to establish commercial partnerships and guesthouses there.[224] The numbers of English ships passing the Danish

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[221] GHL Ms. 11,741/3, pp. 2, 5–7.

[222] GHL Ms. 11,741/3, p. 37.

[223] S.-E. Åström's analysis of the Hull Port Books for 1633 and 1685 shows that the Netherlands and Hamburg entirely lost their position as intermediaries of the Baltic naval stores. In London, the situation was not essentially different, with very small quantities of flax continuing to be imported from Hamburg. PRO E 190/317/6, E 190/328/1; Åström, "The English navigation laws," pp. 3, 7–10.

[224] Stade, Landskrona, and Narva were singled out as possible sites in Sweden. These rights were reaffirmed in 1672. Moreover, the government issued a plea for the English to come to the Baltic and Narva. Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva zu schwedischer Zeit," p. 484; Fahlborg, *Sveriges yttre politik 1664–68*, I, pp. 87–91; Küng, "Inglise kaubandus Narvas," p. 12; Åström, *From Stockholm to St. Petersburg*, p. 24; Piirimäe, *Kaubanduse küsimused Vene-Rootsi suhetes*, p. 91.

Sound increased dramatically. The annual average in 1661–74 was below 10, which rose to 20–30 by the late 1670s. In 1683 and 1700, 51 and 71 ships, respectively, passed the Sound.[225]

A sizeable and influential English colony soon emerged in Narva and lent an important stimulus to Russian trade in the area. In addition to enjoying moderate customs duties, the English were allowed to maintain their own warehouses and, since 1684, to practice their own religion and bring in a preacher. In 1688, the English—who enjoyed the warm support of the Ingrian Governor General Göran Sperling—gained a permanent seat on the City Council.[226] By 1679, at least seven people of Anglo-Saxon descent were active as merchants in Narva: William Johnson Kettlewell, Richard Bacon, George Pierson, Willian Linch (Lint) of the Eastland Company, Thomas Leffers (Loftus), William Ramsay, and Alexander Gilbert. The two leading members of the community—Kettlewell and Loftus—became full burghers and Kettlewell was even granted a monopoly of a tobacco mill. At least Kettlewell, Pierson, Gilbert, and Bacon got married in Narva, as did William Walker who came to Narva in the 1680s.[227]

Not all English residents of Narva became citizens, and not always voluntarily. The Crown tended to ignore pleas by non-citizens in order to increase the ranks of the tax-paying population of Narva.[228] E. Küng has found records of nine Englishmen taking the citizenship oath in Narva. They were rope master John Langerwood of Nottingham (1681), William Kettlewell (1682), Captain John Küssell (1682), Thomas Loftus (1687), Alexander Gilbert (1689), Captain Johan Noting on Newcastle (1692), Captain Philip Wuddus (Woodhouse ?) of Hull (1692), Captain Georg Buorges of Hull (1692), and William Walcker, originally from Yorkshire (1693). Apparently there were

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[225] *Tabeller* I.

[226] Åström, *From Stockholm to St. Petersburg*, p. 75; *idem*, *From Cloth to Iron*, pp. 125, 131. As of 1688, the English were allowed to stay in Narva beyond the previous limit of two months a year. Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva," p. 488; Küng, "Inglise kaubandus Narvas," p. 14.

[227] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 34; Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, p. 130; Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva," pp. 487–8, 491; Erpenbeck, "Die Bürgermeister Narvas," p. 39 ff.

[228] Loftus complained to the king in 1678 that Narva wanted to force him to become a citizen. Gilbert was fined in 1689 for refusing to become a burgher. Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, p. 130; RA Livonica II: 210; KARA Narva, Rådsturättens dombok 1689, fols. 164, 182, 193, 206; Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva," p. 488.

also some "fake naturalizations." Merchants could minimize their costs by passing the Danish Sound as Swedish citizens, thus free of duty, yet arriving in England as Englishmen. This type of behavior of questionable legality represented an attempt to circumvent Reval in Narva's export trade. By the end of the century, there were 12 English agents working in Narva. Most of these people were not citizens or even permanent residents of Narva.[229]

By the mid-1670s, the English became the main suppliers of colonial tobacco to Narva and were soon exporting little else to the Gulf of Finland.[230] Such extensive tobacco trade resulted in a protracted conflict with Narva burghers. Although Karl XI had liberalized Narva's tobacco trade in 1669, he had in October 1675—after intensive lobbying—granted Narva burghers a monopoly in tobacco. All foreigners now had to sell their tobacco to Narva merchants before proceeding to Russia. As of 1678, foreigners could sell their tobacco to Narva merchants at the prevailing market price for two months. After this, the local prosecutor was authorized to force a sale.[231] The English—understandably reluctant to surrender an attractive business opportunity—complained in October 1677 that the Narva authorities were violating the commercial treaty between England and Sweden which supposedly authorized them to freely trade in any commodity. The following spring, the Council repeated its position and called on the English to offer not only their tobacco, but also their wine and herring to local merchants for the standard two-week period. While a resolution to the conflict had to await the late '90s when the king authorized English tobacco trade with Russia, the English community was often able to circumvent any restrictions quite legally, since many of its members were Narva citizens.[232]

Overall, the English emerged as the second leading commercial power in Narva, eclipsed only the Lübeckers. A total of 23 ships departed for England in 1689, compared to a mere two in 1672. In

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[229] Küng, "Inglise kaubandus Narvas 17. sajandi II poolel," p. 15; Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva," pp. 492–5; Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, pp. 128, 131.

[230] Indeed, many of the vessels coming from Danzig, France, and Amsterdam were English. For instance in 1694, the English ships coming from Danzig carried 2,725 # tobacco. Küng, "Tubakakaubanduse riiklik reguleerimine Narvas," pp. 4–5.

[231] Piirimäe, "Torgovye otnosheniia Rossii so Shvetsiei," pp. 65–81; Küng, "Inglise kaubandus Narvas," p. 13; Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva," pp. 484–5.

[232] EAA 1646–2–176, fol. 63; Küng, "Inglise kaubandus Narvas," p. 13; Price, *The Tobacco Adventure to Russia*, p. 39; Åström, *From Stockholm to St. Petersburg*, p. 79.

1696, a total of 34 ships cleared for English ports, carrying, among other things, over 77 percent of Narva's total flax exports and just over 73 percent of the hemp. The English share of Narva's exports varied between 6.0 percent in 1668 and 28.4 percent of the total value in 1679. However, for instance the 20.4 percent figure in 1696 must have been quite typical for the end of the century. By the 1670s, the English were the leading exporters of flax, hemp, potash, and tar, and additionally, played an important role in timber trade.[233]

The Great Northern War put an end to the existence of the English community in Narva. Protected through their neutral status, the English sent ships to Narva as late as 1700. John Cary of London in 1701 requested permission to sail to the war zone. It is not known whether such permission was granted or not, although he may have been a "Herr Kovie" who arrived there to arrange to move his business records to Reval.[234] At least Henry Bland and Samuel Holden fled the advancing Russians to Reval, and the remaining members had their warehouses plundered by Swedish soldiers after the Russian siege was lifted. When the Russians returned in 1704, they did the same and foreign shipping was completely paralyzed in 1704–17. In 1708, the entire population of Narva was moved to Vologda. Those resettling there included Kettlewell, Gilbert, and the widows of Bacon, Browne, and Pierson. They were allowed to return only after 1722, by which time St Petersburg had established itself.[235]

The Hanseatic Towns: Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen

The Hanseatic League had commercial ties with Russia that significantly predated either English and Dutch involvement there. In the Middle Ages, the Hanseates dominated Baltic trade and had an important base in Novgorod.[236] The legacy of this commercial exchange

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[233] EAA 1646–1–1073, 1646–2–345, 1646–2–348; Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, pp. 127–8, 131. Piirimäe, "Udel'nyi ves," pp. 10–3; *idem*, "Sostav," pp. 46–53, 73, 75.

[234] Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva," p. 496.

[235] Åström, *From Cloth to Iron*, p. 132; Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva," pp. 496–7; Hansen, "Narvas Handel 1690–1722," p. 207 ff.

[236] Goetz, *Deutsch-Russische Handelsgeschichte*; Khoroshkevich, *Torgovlia*; Rybina, *Inozemnye dvory*; von der Osten-Sacken, "Der Hansehandel;" Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," pp. 227–9; Schubert, "Hansische Kaufleute;" Angermann, "Deutsche Kaufleute;" Harder-Gersdorff, "Hansische Handelsgüter."

lived on in the 17th century, albeit in dramatically changed circumstances. In spite of the general decline of Hanse, especially in relative terms, the Lübeck-based *Compagnie der Novgorodfahrer* continued their operations and kept guesthouses in Novgorod and Pskov nearly throughout the period under review. Other Hanseatic cities, by contrast, largely withdrew from Russian transit trade in the Baltic area. However, both Hamburg and Bremen established relations with Arkhangel'sk during the first decade of the century and came to play a relatively important role in Russian trade.

The 16th century did a great deal to shake the *Novgorodfahrer*s' position in Russia. The famous *St. Petershof* in Novgorod had admittedly at its peak been a bustling center of activity for as many as 200 Hanseates p.a. following its reopening after an 18-year hiatus in 1514. However, other evidence suggests that the such figures were highly exceptional and that the Hanseatic base was in fact in the midst of a secular decline for much of the century. At the same time, Narva came to be established as the main focus of Hanseatic operations on the Baltic coast. The Livonian War and the Russian loss of Narva dealt a blow to this trade and the Novgorod *Hof* was apparently destroyed in 1572. Temporary letters of privilege were again granted as of 1586 and the Hanseates received a house in Rogatitse Street. The new facility seems to have served until 1603.[237]

An attempt to revive the Lübeckers' operations in Novgorod was made by the "Great Hanseatic Embassy" of 1603 which was headed by Lübeck Burgomaster Cord Germers, City Councillor Heinrick Kerkringk, and City Secretary Johannes Brambach. Boris Godunov's generous grant of privilege singled out Arkhangel'sk, Kholmogory, and Moscow among the cities Lübeck merchants were allowed to trade in, even retail. They were permitted to build houses in Novgorod, Pskov, Ivangorod, and Arkhangel'sk. Unlike the Dutch, the Lübeckers were also granted a duty-free status, with the exception of scales duties. Their goods would, moreover, not be inspected by customs officials. Thomas Freese stayed behind the Hanseatic embassy of 1603 to oversee the establishment of the Novgorod house and to manage its operations for the first five years.[238]

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[237] Angermann,"Der Lübecker Hof in Novgorod," p. 81; *idem*, "Deutsche Kaufleute," pp. 101–9; Olechnowitz, *Handel*, p. 155.

[238] Forsten, *Baltiiskii vopros*, II, pp. 61–4; Shaskol'skii, "Zhalovannaia gramota," p. 361; Schlüter, *Die Nowgoroder Schra*, pp. 199–216; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Novgorod," pp. 82–3; Neubauer, "Das Moskauer Privileg für Lübeck 1603," pp. 75–81.

N. Angermann suggests that the German guesthouse in Pskov was built in 1586 and its location—across the river from the fortified city center—was due to a desire to control information flows to potential spies as well as the greater ability to supervise commercial transactions. After the 1603 mission to Moscow, the Lübeckers were put in charge of the ruined Zavelich'e establishment.[239] However, a separate Lübeck house was built almost immediately next to the German House. The Lübeck Council adopted a charter for the new base in 1608. The privileges granted by Godunov appear to have quickly revived Lübeck's trade in the city. The house was used by as many as 50–60 Lübeckers at any one time. However, it was again completely destroyed in 1609 in connection with the Time of Troubles. Lübeckers were forced back to the German House and, moreover, deprived of their old privileges.[240]

In spite of devastating losses during the Time of Troubles, which included both their houses in Russia, the *Novgorodfahrer* lost little time in seeking to revive their operations after the restoration of peace. This was widely viewed as a matter of principle, to be pursued regardless of costs and a possible lack of immediate benefits.[241] Adrian von Erpen, who served as the Lübeck commercial agent in Russia, bribed the local authorities to find a Russian administrator for a new house in Novgorod already in 1618 and construction began a year later. Similar efforts were made in Pskov: von Erpen wrote in 1620 that the lot of the former guesthouse was free and proposed its restoration. In spite of a number of pleas, it was only in 1636 that Mikhail Fedorovich returned the lot of the Lübeck guesthouse. The cost of construction of the new guesthouse in 1636–7 attained R 1,239.18. Also the Novgorod house was substantially renovated in 1634.[242]

Lübeckers gradually regained a legal basis for their operations. A charter issued to Lübeck merchant Denis Brandes in June 1620 included, among other things, the right to trade in Arkhangel'sk,

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[239] Angermann, "Zum Handel," pp. 15–6; AHL Alte Bürgerschaft G, fol. 1; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," pp. 229–31.

[240] *Pskov i ego prigorody*, II, pp. 23–31; Angermann, "Zu den deutschen Handelsniederlassungen," p. 81; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," p. 231; Graßmann, "Der Lübecker Hof," pp. 269–70.

[241] Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübecker Novgorodfahrer," pp. 104–5.

[242] AHL Alte Bürgerschaft D, Nr. 62, fols. 713–4; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Novgorod," pp. 82–3; Melander, "Die Beziehungen," pp. 84, 90, 113–6, 184–7; Graßmann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," pp. 270–3; Shaskol'skii, "Zhalovannaia gramota," pp. 360–2; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," pp. 232–3; Olechnowitz, *Handel*, p. 159.

Vologda, Ustiug Velikii, Iaroslavl', and Moscow. Following a mission by Anton von Erpen, Adrian's son, a new grant was issued collectively to all Lübeck merchants in 1636 but departed from Godunov's charter in removing the qualified duty-free status and the right to remint specie into Russian coin. 5–6 Lübeckers were permitted to travel to Moscow with their wares. A member of the Russian nobility was to be appointed to oversee the operations of the bases. However, pleas in 1638 and 1652 were both equally unsuccessful in restoring the Godunov era privileges.[243] Lübeck merchants further bolstered their position by means of a sustained campaign against Swedish protectionism in the Baltic provinces. A 1643 treaty signed with the Stockholm government (see below) was of crucial importance in normalizing trade in Narva after decades of tension.[244] In spite of some progress on the diplomatic front, however, the financial situation of the company appears to have been quite precarious. The Council offered a loan and a certain Mrs Rodde a Rtl 3,600 credit. In 1637, the Company introduced a ¼% import and export levy, the *Contoirgeld*, for the purpose of repaying the debt. It remained an important revenue source even thereafter and effectively freed the company of financial dependence on the city. An agreement with the *Rigafahrer* subjected also their goods on Muscovite origin—a fairly modest proportion of the total—to the *Contoirgeld*.[245]

Diplomatic efforts to regain the lost duty-free status continued until the final letter of privilege was issued to Lübeck merchants in 1652 leaving the provisions of the 1636 grant unchanged.[246] Again, a small number of Lübeck merchants were permitted into the Russian interior. Johann von Horn was actively involved in this trade and, in 1656, attained the status of a *gost'* with a right to trade in R 10,000 worth of goods p.a. free of duty for a ten-year period. He was allowed to trade in Arkhangel'sk, although he evidently operated only in the northwest. According to A.V. Demkin's estimates, the largest number of Lübeck merchants active in Russia was observed in the 1650s–'70s: 8–14.[247] The leading ones operated on a large scale; for instance, Johann Rodde in 1668–71 sent R 2,452.7 worth of hemp (450 S#),

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[243] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 54–5; Shaskol'skii, "Zhalovannaia gramota," pp. 360–2; Olechnowitz, *Handel*, p. 160.
[244] Melander, "Die Beziehungen und Unterhandlungen."
[245] Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübecker Novgorodfahrer," pp. 106–7.
[246] *PSZ*, I, No 80.
[247] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 27, 41, 55.

R 2,138.24 worth of *iufti*, leather for R 1,168.75, furs for R 627.98, and tallow for R 118.25.[248]

Extensive repairs were done on the Pskov *Hof* after fires in 1655 and 1662, as well as in 1663. The 1662–3 restoration budget amounted to R 1,260.14, a sum justified in the opinion of the agent S. Ritter by the growth of trade. Soon enough, however, there appeared signs that not all was well with the Company. The Lübeck Council financed the *Hof* with growing reluctance in the 1670s and even rejected a proposal to finance a new and better cellar. In spite of the downturn in trade, a round of construction took place in 1679–85, buildings were repaired and two new houses, a stone cellar, and even a brewery were built. At the time, the merchants described the condition of the guesthouse as clearly superior to that in Novgorod, which was subordinate to the Pskov *Kontor*. Also the Novgorod house burned down at least a couple of times during the century. The last serious fire took placed in May 1696. The Lübeck House was located on the "Commercial Side" of Novgorod, in the immediate vicinity of the market and across the street from the Swedish guesthouse.[249]

The importance of the northwestern bases of the Lübeck merchants was less in the 17th century than in the heyday of Russian Narva. Kaspar Rodde wrote to the City Council in 1636 that he was the only Lübecker in Pskov at the time. In spite of repeated efforts, the Lübeck community failed to gain the right to trade in the city of Pskov itself. According to one source in 1637, only 6–7, and sometimes only two or three, merchants stayed at the Novgorod and Pskov houses at any one time. On the other hand, however, some Lübeck merchants were apparently making other arrangements, lodging at other guesthouses or with local Russian merchants. Disciplinary action was taken in 1640, but some violations of the *Schra* rules appear to have continue.[250] Even accounting for these irregularities, Lübeckers appear to have become a less frequent occurance on the streets of Novgorod and Pskov. The 1670/1 Pskov customs register includes references to only three Lübeck merchants. Philip Vinhagen, who appears to have run both houses after 1671,

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[248] Olechnowitz, *Handel*, p. 167.

[249] Graßmann, "Der Lübecker Hof," pp. 274–5, 277; *DAI*, XII, p. 387; Ianin, *Plany*, Illiustratsii, Ris. 4.

[250] Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübecker Novgorodfahrer," p. 128, AHL NoF, Schr. v. 4, Aug. 1640.

described the Novgorod house in 1674 as being in a state of decline, not least because of a mean-spirited Russian supervisor of the house (*dvornik*, *Hofwirk*). The *dvornik* in 1683 even proposed turning the Novgorod *Hof* into a tavern. A Saxon visitor, Georg Adam Schleussing, in 1684 encountered only two Lübeckers at the Novgorod guesthouse. The situation nonetheless improved markedly towards the end of the century and Jacob Meyer in 1691 described the renovated house as a solid building with 20 rooms and 50 windows, built at the expense of R 170.[251] This mixed date suggests the Lübeck was relatively slow in capitalizing on the economic upswing of the post-Kardis era, a hypothesis supported by surviving quantitative evidence on trade. The problems may have been due in part to an official ban on credit under the 1603 *Schra*. The available evidence, as fragmentary as it is, suggests that use of loans between *Novgorodfahrer* and their Russian counterparts was, indeed, quite minimal, something that many Lübeckers viewed as a serious threat on their competitiveness.[252]

In spite of the relative decline in their position, Lübeckers remained important players in Russian foreign trade throughout the 17th century. Between the late 1630s and 1700, the *Novgorodfahrer* typically sent at least 20 ships a year to the Swedish Baltic ports of Reval, Narva, and Nyen. There was no obvious trend, in spite of considerable variation year to year. The peak figure of 51 was recorded in 1652 and a trough of 6 was observed in 1657, clearly due to the Swedish-Russian war.[253] The *Novgorodfahrer*s' imports from the Eastern Baltic were dominated by fibers and hides. In addition, there were considerable amounts of rye—especially from Reval—which, however, undoubtedly originated from the Swedish Baltic provinces, rather than Muscovy. The combined share of flax and hemp in Lübeck's imports by the *Novgorodfahrer* was 36 percent in 1638 and 10.5 percent in 1690. The share of hides, skins, and leather was 7 percent in 1638 and 40 percent in 1690, nine-tenths of them *iufti*. Moreover, Lübeck was absolutely dominant among *iuft*' and hide importers

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[251] AHL Alte Bürgerschaft D, Nr. 77, fol. 864; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Novgorod," p. 86; Angermann, "Der Lübecker Hof in Pleskau," p. 232; Graßmann, "Der Lübecker Hof," p. 271; Melander, "Die Beziehungen," pp. 137ff., 184; lurasov, *Vneshniaia* torgovlia, p. 93; Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübecker Novgorodfahrer," pp. 131, 136; AHL NoF 162, Schr. v. 1, Jan. 1674, v. 15, Dez. 1691.

[252] Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübecker Novgorodfahrer," pp. 113–22, Schlüter, *Schra*, p. 210ff.

[253] Harder, "Seehandel," I, pp. 103–5.

from the Eastern Baltic, significantly challenged only by Russians on the Nyen-Stockholm route. The *Novgorodfahrer* typically accounted for over 90 percent of all the *iufti* passing through Narva and at least 50 percent of other types of hides and leather.[254] While fibers thus declined over time, the rise of the *iufti* mirrored the trend observed also in Arkhangel'sk. In 1700, the Lübeck merchant Adam Brand who was in Danish service, even imported 11 bales of raw silk via Copenhagen. The combined value of the goods imported by the *Novgorodfahrer* after the late '40s typically varied between Mk 300,000 and Mk 800,000 with remarkable consistency, the main exceptions being the peaks of the early '50s and the '90s. The one-million mark was passed in 1696 and 1699–1700, having been very nearly attained already in 1652–3. Mk 1,000,000 translated to roughly R 167,000, of which the share of goods of Russian origin was perhaps 130,000.[255] This would have been equal to nearly 20 percent of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports during typical years in the 1680s, making Lübeck an important player in Russian foreign trade throughout the period under review. Trade with Russia accounted for 7.8–16.6 percent of Lübeck's total exports at the end of the century.[256]

Very occasionally, Lübeck merchants also sent ships to Arkhangel'sk. A Lübeck vessel is first mentioned in the Danish Sound toll records in 1628. It carried, among other things, 1,291 hides. Lübeck customs records from 1635 mention a ship steered by Hinrich Sander as arriving from Arkhangel'sk on December 3. The ship carried train oil, elk hides, and *iufti*. Another Lübeck ship left for the White Sea port in 1655 and one arrived from there in 1657.[257] A Lübeck ship coming from Arkhangel'sk to an unspecified destination in 1663 carried 30 lasts of oats. The *Zulage* book for 1672 lists one arrival by a Lübeck ship from Arkhangel'sk, its cargo consisting of 800 barrels of train oil, 10,000 mats, and 150 hides of "Russian leather," probably *iufti*.[258] A Lübeck ship in 1690 had her entire cargo confiscated by the Sound customs authorities for tax evasion. The captain had produced a

[254] Harder, "Seehandel," I, pp. 108–9; Piirimäe, "Sostav," pp. 57–8.

[255] Harder, "Seehandel," I, p. 113; Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübecker Novgorodfahrer," p. 141.

[256] Harder, "Seehandel," II, p. 29.

[257] AHL Nof Prahmbücher 1635–1639, 1641, fol. 302; Kellenbenz, "La signification," p. 63.

[258] *Tabeller*, II/1, p. 20; AHL 48[1] Ältere Finanz-, Steuer- und Zollbehörden (bis 1811): Zulage 12 (1672), fol. 283.

false pass which gave Swedish ports as his point of origin and destination. The cargo consisted of four lasts of fish, 90 pieces of linen cloth, 14,400 lbs of miscellaneous piece goods, 1,880 dried hides, 7,450 *iufti*, and D 4,080 worth of furs and pelts. At times, Danish ships appear to have mediated between the White Sea and the Trave delta. Thus, a Danish vessel in 1672 took 200 dried hides to Lübeck.[259]

Hamburg emerged as a player in Russian trade at the beginning of the century. The city's burghers lost no time in making use of the Muscovite invitation issued to the Hanseatic embassy in 1603 to trade at Arkhangel'sk. Regular ties were established in 1604. Previously, Russian goods had reached the city from Baltic, through direct trade with Russian-held Narva, as well as through the mediation of Lübeck's *Novgorodfahrer*.[260] Throughout the 17th century, Hamburg was consistently the second or third most important West European commercial power present in Arkhangel'sk. By 1613, at least three Hamburg firms had a permanent presence in Moscow. This figure rose marginally to 4–5 by the middle of the century but then more dramatically to 10–15 in the 1660s. The merchants active in 1666 included Heinrich Butenant, Hans Pluß, Peter Hassenius, Philip Verpoorten, Arnold Beltgen Jr., Paul Pell, Johann Sievers, Martin Wewitzer (?), Dietrich Rotenburg, Magnus Glück, and Dietrich Hasenkroegh. 9–12 Hamburg merchants operated in the Russian capital in 1670–1700. New names included Peter Sievers, Johann Gerdes, Franz Prall, Gerd Gortsen, Heinrich Kenkel, and Konrad Nordermann.[261]

Hamburg shipping further benefitted established ties with Dutch and English merchants specializing in Russia, not least because of a significant influx of new citizens from these countries. The Dutch connection was particularly significant, since the Netherlands was—both in volume and value terms—the most important direction of Hamburg's foreign trade accounting for some one-third of the total number of lasts in 1625. Relations with Amsterdam were instrumental in the genesis of Hamburg's White Sea trade. For instance, Jolle Jansen, specified as returning *van Sunderen uth Rußland* on October 3, 1604, was the captain of an Amsterdam ship. In 1606, there were already four

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[259] *Tabeller*, pp. 115, 450.

[260] There appear to have been occasional Hamburg ships to the Russian north already in the 1580s. Schleker, "Reisebericht;" von Witzendorff, "Bremens Handel;" Angermann, *Hamburg und Rußland*, pp. 4, 7.

[261] Martens, *Hamburger Kaufleute*, pp. 8, 23–4; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 27; Angermann, *Hamburg und Rußland*, p. 8.

such ships, out of a total of 10 vessels coming from Russia; 1607 saw eight such contracts out of a total of 12 arrivals.[262] M. Reißmann points out that, of the people involved in Hamburg's trade with Arkhangel'sk in 1644–6, 47 were Hamburg citizens, 30 Dutch, and six Portuguese subjects. In 1616, perhaps worried by the repercussions of the approaching end of the truce with Spain, the Dutch appealed to the tsar on behalf of their German partners with the hope that the latter would be granted full rights to free trade.[263] After the resumption of warfare between the Netherlands and Spain, Dutch merchants began to lease Hamburg vessels for the northern route. Thus for instance in 1638, Amsterdammer Hieronymus Tradel hired four Hamburg ships, a number which just a couple of years earlier would have represented the city's entire trade with Russia. Close involvement with the Dutch characterized Hamburg's trade with Russia until the end of the century. For instance Hans-Mathias Poppe operated annually on the White Sea route in 1671–81 as a partner of his Dutch "uncle" Stefan Elout. Heinrich Butenant in 1666 assumed the Kola salmon monopoly together with his Dutch father-in-law Herman Tradel.[264] The total number of Hamburg merchants involved in the trade with Russia in 1644–6 was 95, a figure belied by the comparatively small total of nine ships that undertook the arduous trip to the White Sea during those three years. The majority of Hamburg merchants trading with Russia belonged to the group of large-scale merchants. Most of them were rather insignificant participants in Russia trade, with interests elsewhere. The leading participants included David Vermöhlen (Vermeulen), Paul Roosen, Pelegrim Milder, Hans Pluß, Heinrich de la Camp, and Tobias Hanmann, with annual stakes sometimes in excess of Mk 40,000. The largest merchants specializing exclusively in trade with Russia were de la Camp, Lübbert Nuth, and Jakob de Kramer.[265]

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[262] Baasch, "Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt," pp. 296, 309–10; SAH Cl. VII Lit. E[a] Pars No. 3[b], Vol. 2, Fasc. 2; GAA NA 97/21, 102/212[v], 104/43, 104/124[v], 260/97, 107/42[v], 107/47, 107/49, 107/50[v], 108/30, 108/39[v], 108/50, 108/55[v] (or 107/12); Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," p. 307; ARA SG De "liassen Moscoviën" 7361, 1618.

[263] Kotilaine, "Quantifying Arkhangel'sk Exports," pp. 278–9; ARA SG De "liassen Moscoviën" 7361, 1618.

[264] GAA NA 418/3; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 42; Martens, *Hamburger Kaufleute*, pp. 12, 16.

[265] Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, pp. 62–3.

Evidently the first Russian grant of privilege issued to Hamburg merchants was given to Isaac Alin and the Dutchman Jacques van der Keer (Jakob Vanderker) as representatives of the Marselis company in 1614/5. Alin's English partner Richard Williams, registered by the Russians as a Hamburger, received a charter in 1629. In 1624, Alin received a permission to trade free of duty for three years. Alin's initial grant was in recognition of his services in taking Russian ambassadors to the Habsburg Empire to Hamburg in 1613 and bringing a physician to Russia. The 1616 grant appears to have been based on his taking a Russian ambassador to the Emperor, L. Miasnoi, to Hamburg. In June 1633, a patent was issued to David Vermöhlen, along with his son Gilles and relative Elias Burmann. The grant seems to have been used subsequently by Heinrich Butenant von Rosenbusch. Perhaps the most famous of these patents was given in March 1638 to Peter Marselis. Marselis' petition explains that he had taken over the family's Russian trade in 1629 from his father Gabriel, who had operated with Alin. Marselis claimed to pay duties totaling R 1,000–1,500 a year. Apparently the last Hamburger to receive a special letter of privilege was Hans Pluß in May 1663. Pluß claimed to pay customs duties annual in excess of R 2,000. He provided luxuries for the Treasury and helped Russian diplomats in Hamburg. He was given the right to free trade in Arkhangel'sk, on the Dvina, in Ustiug Velikii, Vologda, Iaroslavl', and Moscow.[266]

The importance of Hamburg for Russia's trade is reflected in the success of its merchants in acquiring the caviar monopoly twice in the course of the century. In 1653, a group of merchants consisting of the Beltgens, Verpoorten, Tobias Homait (?), Peter Pot, Johann Hasse, and Franz De la Calle, took over all caviar trade for a two-year period. Philipp Verpoorten and Arnold Beltgens leased the Muscovite government's caviar monopoly around 1670, a position they held until 1678. Verpoorten also leased the salmon monopoly with Butenant who, in addition, took part in a mast monopoly.[267] The involvement in caviar and salmon trade reflects the importance of Hamburg shipping between Russia and the Mediterranean. Hamburg merchants naturally enjoyed a comparative advantage over the Dutch in trade with Spain. Judging by the surviving Stade sea passes, sev-

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[266] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 53–4; Martens, *Hamburger Kaufleute*, pp. 10–1.

[267] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 203; Angermann, *Hamburg und Rußland*, p. 9; RGADA f. 50, 1653–1654 gg., d. 1, fol. 198.

eral ships from the Elbe estuary operated also between Arkhangel'sk and the Italian ports of Leghorn and Genoa.[268] In addition to salmon, caviar, and masts, Hamburg merchants were also involved in several other monopolies: for examples Peter Marselis in tar in the 1636–41 and in train oil in 1646, Heinrich Butenant (with Adolf Houtmann) and Hans-Mathias Poppe in rhubarb in 1680–6 and 1695–100 respectively.[269] Some Hamburg entrepreneurs were involved in proto-industrial ventures. Arnold Paulsen in 1681 proposed the creation of a silk manufacturer in Moscow and petitioned for a loan of R 2,000 from the tsar. Paulsen quickly set up his mill on the Iauza but financial difficulties resulted in nationalization in 1685, after which Paulsen stayed on for another three years.[270]

Starting in 1675, Hamburg merchants began to form convoys to protect their ships. Fees of 1–1.5 percent *ad valorem* were paid for the service. Deterred by the problems brought on by the Great Northern War, about 30 of Hamburg's leading Arkhangel'sk merchants formed their own association—*Gesellschaft der auf Archangel (on nach Moscowien) handelnden Kaufleute*—in 1704 dominated by Claes Wildt, Jürgen Greve, Frans von Some, Lucas Beckmann, Johann Hinning, and Arnold Verpoorten. These Arkhangel'sk merchants seem to have been active also in trade with Greenland.[271]

The first Bremen ships to Arkhangel'sk appear to have been sent in 1609. However, the surviving evidence suggests the Russian route may have got off to a rather shaky start, more regular relations taking some years to establish. In the meantime, Bremen would have received Russian wares from both Amsterdam and Hamburg with which the city had close relations. A Bremen merchant Coenrad Poppens was an active participant in a major partnership with Selio and Peter Marselis in the early 1630s. Between May 18 and June 25, 1633 alone, the three men had 32 shipping contracts notarized in Amsterdam, for vessels with a total capacity of 3,837 lasts. Amsterdam merchants in general probably diverted significant amounts of Bremen's trade with Russia.[272] The scale of Bremen's shipping

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[268] There are at least 21surviving passes issued by the Swedish authorities in Stade from the years 1691–1700. Most of them specify Italy as a destination. Tiedemann, *Die Schiffahrt*, pp. 128–9, 134–7, 140–1, 148–9, 156–65.

[269] Martens, *Hamburger Kaufleute*, p. 28.

[270] Martens, *Hamburger Kaufleute*, pp. 31–2.

[271] Kellenbenz, "La signification," pp. 61–2; Kellenbenz, "The Economic Significance," pp. 569–70.

[272] Witzendorff, "Bremens Handel," pp. 145, 150; Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," p. 68; Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," p. 272; GAA NA.

remained quite modest, however, and seldom departed from the range of 1–3 ships a year. A new impetus to Bremen's Russian trade came from closer ties with Hamburg merchants specializing in Muscovite trade. By the 1670s and '80s, there was a growing number of Bremen ships whose cargoes belonged at least in part to Hamburg merchants. In 1672, for instance, there were three of them carrying a typical array of Muscovite wares.[273] Towards the end of the century, the Bremers spoke of *Grönland und Moscowienfahrer* when referring to their northern merchants, although these were apparently never joined in a particular corporation.[274]

There is occasional evidence of ties between Arkhangel'sk and other northern German cities, albeit never on any regular basis. With the exception of Stade, which was tied into Hamburg's trade, the lesser northern German ports sent ships to Russia only extremely occasionally: once or twice during the whole century. Thus, Danish toll records indicate that two Wismar ships made the journey in 1663 and 1665. Our information on the cargoes of these occasional vessels is confined to two Danzig ships from the closing years of the century. The first one of them in 1699 carried three lasts and 50 S# of fish from Arkhangel'sk to its home port. Another Danzig ship made the journey in 1700 with 7.5 lasts of fish and two lasts of train oil. In addition, a Dutch ship took 7.5 lasts of herring, 1.5 lasts of other fish, and 40 dried hides to Danzig.[275] The surviving sea passes of Stade and Buxtehude suggest that Emden ships were occasionally hired by northern German merchants for the White Sea route. However, no data on shipping survives in the Emden records and the nature of this trade is therefore impossible to establish clearly.[276] However, it evidently constituted an auxiliary component to Hamburg's, and possibly Bremen's, trade and thus probably did not deviate much from the broader picture of northern German trade.

The Failed Promise: Danish Economic Relations with Late Muscovy

Denmark had a long history of economic relations with Russia, not least because of the proximity of northern Norway to the Russian

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[273] RA Bremen-Verden. Reviderade tull- och licenträkenskaper 2, vol. 1672:2.
[274] Kellenbenz, "La signification," p. 61.
[275] *Ibidem*, pp. 475, 490.
[276] See, for instance: Kappelhoff, *Geschichte*.

settlements of the Kola Peninsula. Indeed, the northwestern periphery of Russia lived on in the Danish consciousness as "Bjarmeland" of the Vikings and remained, into the 17th century, an area where the Danes claimed sovereignty and sought to levy taxes. The lack of clear borders in Lapland—for all intents and purposes all of Russia and Scandinavia to the north of the Arctic Circle and even some more southern areas—meant that jurisdictional disputes remained a constant source of contention between the two countries, with Danish claims going beyond the Kola Peninsula and the Russian demands as far as Tromsø.[277] Politics did not prevent commercial interaction between the Kola coast and Finnmark, however, and trade appears to have become more regular with the establishment of the Pechenga Monastery in the Russian-Norwegian borderlands. The monks conducted trade, among other things, via Vardøhus, the most important and effectively the easternmost bulwark of Danish control in northern Norway. When the Englishman Stephen Borrow in 1557 visited Pechenga, he met merchants from Bergen and Trondheim, whose fish trade he characterized as particularly profitable.[278] As has been discussed above, a new dimension was added to the disputes in the north when Western trade with Arkhangel'sk took off in the second half of the 16th century. O.A. Johnsen argues, with some documentary evidence, that concern over the Sound toll caused Christian III to seek to prevent not only foreign but even Danish shipping on the White Sea route. Such trade was, indeed, subsequently explicitly fordibbden by Fredrik II.[279]

Danish trade with Russia was oddly dichotomous. On the one hand, several cities of Denmark proper and Schleswig-Holstein were interested in the northern trade. On the other hand, however, you had the northern Norwegian coastal trade which acquired an added dimension with the establishment of trade between the commercial ports of Bergen and Trondheim and northern Russia. The main Danish cities that participated in this exchange were the Sound towns Copenhagen, Helsingør (Elsinore), Køge, and Flensburg, as well as Malmø (Sw. Malmö), Landskrone (Sw. Landskrona) which were conquered by Sweden in the 1640s and annexed under the Treaty of

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[277] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, pp. 7–19, 128 ff.; Christensen, "Die dänisch-russischen Verbindungen;" Selnes, "Les conflits diplomatiques dano-russes."

[278] Johnsen, "Et træk af den dansk-norske regjeringens handelspolitik," p. 3; Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 129.

[279] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 126 ff.; Johnsen, "Et træk af den dansk-norske regjeringens handelspolitik," pp. 10–2; *idem*, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 88.

Brömsebro. The Flensburgers enjoyed a particularly prominent position. There are a number of surviving sea passes for the northern waters issued to Flensburg ships—an average of just over three p.a. in 1598–1617 and as many as eight in 1614, although these ships did not necessarily all visit Russia. Hermann Hoë of Flensburg received passes for a total of 12 ships in 1602–17. An important Copenhagen merchant in the early part of the century was Albert Baltzer Berns, a partner and son-in-law of Gabriel Marselis, who participated in the importation of Russian grain subsidies to Denmark since 1627. In 1631, he settled in Hamburg to cooperate more closely with Marselis.[280]

While the initial focus of Danish operations was the Kola coast, the Danes were also granted permission to trade in the interior of Russia. Moreover, there probably were at least periodic visits to Arkhangel'sk. Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich's 1619 grant of privilege on trade along the Dvina likely acknowledged an extant state of affairs.[281] The main focus of Danish interest was further to the east, however, most notably the key fur-producing areas of the Ob' valley and the Mangazeia district. Danish skipper Jens Munk sailed in 1609 and 1611 to the Kara Sea and Novaia Zemlia.[282] A company established for the purpose of trading in the Pechora region is named in historical records for the first time in April 1619 as a joint venture of prominent Copenhagen merchants and King Christian IV. It was a relatively small partnership with the initial capital put at Rd 1,200 and one small vessel ("St. Michael (Engel)") of 35 lasts.[283] The ship was expected to carry only specie to Russia and then load on furs and pelts. The king, assuming that foreign coin might be unacceptable in the area, ordered Rd 1,500 of Russian *den'gi* to be minted for the expedition. In addition, the ship took on Rd 1,635½ in Danish

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[280] Dalgård, *Det Petsoriske Kompagni*, pp. 18–9, 41, 48; Kellenbenz, "La signification," p. 54; Supphellen, *Trondheims historie*, II, p. 80.

[281] Shaskol'skii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 29; *Tabeller*, II/1, p. 100.

[282] This combined with a continuing obsession with finding a new and shorter northern passage to Asia. Jens Munk had been dispatched to discover the Passage in 1619–20 and William Gordon and Marmaduke Wilson were hired in 1619 to assist in the process. Gordon claimed that he could "buy for half the money the wares that are bought in St Nicholas." Dalgård, *Det Petsoriske Kompagni*, pp. 12–3.

[283] The king's share was Rd 600 and the rest was shared between Mikkel Vibe, Johan de Willem, Johan Post, Herman Hegerfeldt, Boldewin Blanckefort, Jacob Mikkelsen, and Thomas Lorck. Dalgård, *Det Petsoriske Kompagni*, pp. 12–3, 20, 25–6, 30, 32, 46.

money and Rd 1,050 were used to buy goods for exchange at Lübeck. A Flensburg sea captain, Clemendt Blom(me) (Clemens Jørgensen Bluhme), was chosen to be the commercial leader of the expedition.[284]

The Danish government used diplomatic channels to lay the groundwork for the new operation. While concerned about earlier English and Dutch setbacks, the Danes expected full freedom of trade throughout Russia under a 1562 treaty. The king sent a letter to the tsar in May 1619 explaining that the partners intended to establish a permanent year-round presence in Pechora. Christian also requested Russian protection for the merchants as well as total exemption from export and import duties. The tsar's reply tried to portray the proposed project as unreasonable and misguided, referring to the difficult climatic and geographic circumstances of the area. Claiming that no other West European ship had ever attempted to visit the area, he warned that the Russian merchants operating in the area did not trade with foreigners and advised the Danes to trade at Arkhangel'sk instead. In his reply in October, the king insisted that the Danes on their way to Pechora were experienced sailors and traveling at their own risk. He expressed thanks for the invitation to trade in Arkhangel'sk and extended a rather meaningless invitation for Russian merchants to come and trade in Denmark. The tsar's reply of February 1620 stated in no uncertain terms that the Russians in the area did not have a right to trade with foreigners, who would have to accept personal responsibility for any damage they experienced.[285]

The "St. Michael" only reached Kil'din Island by September 1, 1619, and the crew gained permission to spend the winter in Kola where they entered into credit relations with Russian merchants. One surviving IOU reveals a R 40 loan, granted with fur coats and jewelry as a security, to three Russians in anticipation of future deliveries. The ship returned to Copenhagen in November. During the winter, the merchants bought at least 3,000 dried cod (valued in Denmark at Rd 122) and some furs, including at least 480 sable furs (Rd 600). Consternation over the intended destination of the ship, as well as tensions in connection with Danish-Russian border conflicts in the area, led to the arrest of Blomme and his crew. They were freed in June after 18 weeks' imprisonment in Arkhangel'sk.[286]

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[284] *Ibidem*, pp. 40–42–4, 48–9.
[285] *Ibidem*, pp. 52–5, 59–62.
[286] *Ibidem*, pp. 63, 65, 84–5; Johnsen,"Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 92.

Following the arrival of "St. Michael" (in ballast) in Arkhangel'sk in 1620, the captain of the ship, Lars Andersen Bagge, was arrested and the crew forbidden to trade pending a decision by Moscow in the matter. Only in late July did the Russian authorities free Blomme and Bagge and return the confiscated wares. Loaded with furs and other goods, the ship set sail for Copenhagen on August 8. The tsar, in a letter given to Marmaduke Wilson in Moscow in the autumn of 1621, reiterated his ban on foreign trade in Pechora. Christian IV, in contrast, continued to insist on full freedom of trade and also demanded compensation for the confiscated goods, the imprisonment of his merchants, and the restrictions placed on "St. Michael."[287] The partners in the company lodged an unsuccessful claim for combined losses of Rd 9,359 which was handed to a Russian embassy in the spring of 1622. The Danes eventually sent a flotilla of four men-of-war to Russia where, in late July 1623, they attacked Kil'din Island and the Kola fjord. Local toll stations were raided and the ships loaded with some Rd 4,500 worth of rye, dried cod, and train oil—at least some of which was sold to foreign merchants in the area. Christian IV countered the tsar's protest by asserting that the gains from the expedition were still insufficient to make up for the Danish losses. The Pechora Company had closed down by 1623. Its only major asset, the "St. Michael," was taken over by the king.[288]

The failure of the Pechora Company did not put an end to Danish interest in the Russian market. Indeed, the basis for better relations was created in 1623 when Christian IV finally gave up his claims on Bjarmeland, only to briefly revive them in 1642 with a plan to occupy Pechenga, evidently at least in part in hopes to boost his tax revenues in the north.[289] Trade soon received a new lease of life from Russian grain subsidies following Danish entry into the Thirty Years' War in 1625. The Danish government in November 1626 requested permission for the royal agents Marselis and Berns to export 10 shiploads—30,000 *chetvert'*—grain from Russia. Moscow met the Danish request the following March. Since the Danes were unable to export the whole consignment in 1627, they were permitted to ship the rest during the following season. However, any longer-term commitment was rejected as the tsar reserved the right

[287] Dalgård, *Det Petsoriske Kompagni*, pp. 66–9.
[288] *Ibidem*, pp. 70–5.
[289] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, pp. 166–7.

to consider any requests on an annual basis.[290] Such requests became quite common in subsequent years. In January 1628, Christian asked that a Flensburg merchant, Bartold Ratke, be granted permission to export 150 lasts of rye for domestic needs. In December, the king once again proposed a longer-term contract: 3–40,000 *chetvert'* in the course of a decade. In January, an additional request was made for 1,400 lasts for the needs of the army. The royal agents were authorized to export a further 4,000 *chetvert'* in 1629 and trade reached unprecedented levels the a year later when Christian's agent David Ruts signed a contract for over 75,000 *chetvert'*.[291]

In January 1630, the king requested help to cover grain shortages in Norway and asked that Crijn Crijnsz Hooft (Chrin Chrinssen Hofft) of Bergen be permitted to export 25,000 *chetvert'* of grain p.a. for three years. In February, the same request was made on behalf of two other Bergeners: Nils Matzen and Christen Sørenssen (Ebeltoft?). In January 1631, Christian again intervened on behalf of Bergen merchants asking for the right to export 1,500 lasts of rye, 600 lasts of barley, 100 lasts of peas, 100 lasts of grouts, 200 lasts of tar, and 400 S# cordage and ropes. The same year, Ruts was indeed able to ship barley, tar, and cordage to Bergen. Another plea on behalf of Hooft, Rasmus Lauritsen (Laurittssøn Stud/Lauritzen), and Sander Jansen (Janssøn) followed in 1633. While grain was, indeed, sold, the tsar again declined long-term commitments and Danish pleas to be allowed to trade in other northern Russian ports.[292] Unlike the Swedes, the Danes appear to have used a significant proportion of their Russian grain purposes for domestic needs which, indeed, was typically the condition of sale. However, there were at least some instances of sales to third parties. Due to the Smolensk War, the tsar forbade all further grain shipments in March 1634.[293]

In connection with this revival in Danish-Russian trade, Christian IV in 1631 sent an embassy headed by Malthe Juel for the purpose of negotiating a broad commercial treaty with the Russians. Under its provisions, the Danes were hoping for the right to establish bases with

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[290] Amburger, *Die Familie Marselis*, p. 72; Johnsen, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 93; *Datskii arkhiv*, No 716.

[291] Amburger, *Die Familie Marselis*, p. 72; Johnsen, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," pp. 93–4.

[292] Amburger, *Die Familie Marselis*, p. 72; Johnsen, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 94; Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, pp. 171–2.

[293] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 169; Johnsen, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 95.

permanent agents throughout the country, as well as exemption from customs duties. Juel's mission was a diplomatic fiasco, however, and he appears to have succeeded only in irritating his Russian hosts through repeated violations of protocol.[294] In spite of this, there was a steady improvement in Danish-Russian relations in the closing years of Christian's reign. In 1636, the king chartered a so-called Baltic Company for trade in Poland, Russia, and "other eastern towns." Peter Marselis served as the company's representative in Russia as of 1640. In 1638, Christian asked Nickel Kock and Hans Tregård to be allowed to build ropewalks in Arkhangel'sk and elsewhere and to buy tar for them. The year after, Kock was, in fact, authorized to build a ropewalk in Pskov. In 1638, the tsar agreed to make partial compensation for losses of Rd 9,225 a Danish merchant David Bacharacht had incurred in Arkhangel'sk. In 1640, the Danes bought 3,000 *pud* salpeter in Russia and the following year, Christian IV sent his envoys Valdemar Christian and Gregor Krabbe to Moscow for the establishment of a "close alliance" and instructed them to gain the tsar's assent for a Danish company specializing in *iufti* and other hides, as well as for ropewalks. Christian further tried to set up a company for caviar trade.[295] 5–6 Danish merchants were granted the right to visit the Russian interior in 1641, and Peder Hasenius apparently maintained fairly regular ties with Russia.[296] In 1642, a new opportunity dawned on the horizon as the Russians sent an embassy to Copenhagen to discuss the possibility of a royal marriage between his daughter Irina and Christian's son Valdemar Christian, a plan which ultimately failed, however and with it quite possibly any hope of creating regular commercial relations on a (more) substantial scale.[297]

King Fredrik III sponsored a Copenhagen company which, in 1647, sent three ships to northern Russia, once again with the mission of charting the route to the fur areas of the Urals and northwestern Siberia. The merchants acquired furs on the Kola peninsula and eventually reached the Pechora estuary from whence they proceeded on sledges across the Urals to Liapin in the Ob' valley acquiring

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[294] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 170.

[295] Johnsen, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 95; Shaskol'skii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 40; Rukhmanova, "Arkhangel'skaia torgovlia," p. 146; Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 172.

[296] Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, V/9, p. 317.

[297] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, pp. 173–4.

furs from the local population. A trip to Novaia Zemlia was fruitless, however. This adventure may have caused the Russians to confiscate a ship belonging to Gabriel Marselis in Arkhangel'sk the same year.[298] Apparently undeterred, Danish merchants in 1653 still bought 200 black sables from the tsar's warehouses in Pechora. In addition, they purchased 200 sables, 2,000 squirrels, 48 ermine, 500 fox, 120 wolves, and 200 marten in Pustozersk.[299] Attempts to negotiate a commercial treaty in the the context of a broader alliance in the mid-1650s were unsuccessful. However, renewed alliance plans in 1660 lead to the authorization of grain purchases of 5,000 *chetvert'*. These were converted to hemp and exported via Arkhangel'sk in 1663. Further grain purchases ensued in 1676 (10,000 *chet'*) and 1684.[300] Heinrich Butenant, serving as the king's commercial agent, operated on a rather substantial scale. The customs payments he made totaled R 1,929 in 1679 and R 2,510 in 1680. However, one can naturally not assume that this necessarily represented only Danish trade, and it was certainly not as a rule carried on Danish bottoms. At the very end of the century, the diplomatic *rapprochement* between Denmark and Russia resulted in a treaty which, among other things, stipulated the urgency of concluding a mutually beneficial commercial treaty without delay.[301]

As was suggested above, more or less regular commercial interaction trade between Norway and northern Russia was established by the second half of the 16th century. Bergen and Trondheim burghers appear to have effectively taken over this trade very early on, but there is little evidence of them seeking to play an active role as rivals to the English and Dutch.[302] In 1629, a company for Muscovite trade—the "Russian Rye Company"—was set up in Bergen in response to the aforementioned agreement between Christian IV and Aleksei Mikhailovich. The enterprise—involving the aforementioned Hooft,

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[298] Shaskol'skii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 31.

[299] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 471.

[300] Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 179; Shaskol'skii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 40; *Datskii arkhiv*, No. 1015; Shaskol'skii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," pp. 32–7.

[301] RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, dd. 14–5; Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor*, II, pp. 236–7.

[302] One surviving document from the 1550s speaks of a 5-year contract for Russian trade between "Etmundus Robertus" from London and "Antonius Nilssøn" (probably Thønnes Claussøn) of Bergen. However, it is likely that hostile government policy prevented its realization. Johnsen, "Et træk af den dansk-norske regjeringens handelspolitik," pp. 5–9; Selnes, *Norge-Russland*, p. 129.

Lauritsen, and Jansen, as well as Arendt Nagel, and the local castellan Jens Juel—was founded principally for the purpose of grain and fish trade. Among other things, it hoped to provision Vardøhus and re-export Russian goods to Western Europe. David Ruts served as the agent of the company and the merchants further cooperated closely with the Marselis and Berns. Purchases included a total of 75,000 *chetvert'* rye by Bergen merchants in 1631–33. After a while, re-export of the rye was authorized and some was indeed shipped to Copenhagen and Hamburg to pay Christian IV's creditors. After a lengthy respite in Russian grain trade, the burghers of Bergen in 1649 launched an effort to revive this commerce and to sign a new treaty with the tsar. In the first instance, the company was to import 25,000 *chetvert'* to relieve acute shortages in Norway. However, the efforts do not appear to have born fruit and Bergen's trade with Russia once again declined to insignificance.[303] Hooft was not the only prominent Dutchman to establish himself on the Norwegian coast. Jan de Nocquer of Amsterdam set up operations in Trondheim. In the second half of the 17th century, Trondheim merchants such as Lorents Moternsen Angell, Albert Angell, Jens Hansen Collin, and "Burgomaster" Hagerup, sent ships to Arkhangel'sk and, in 1714, an *Arkhangelsk Handels-Compagnie* was set up in the city. The Swedish Crown also expressed interest in trade with Arkhangel'sk. Karl IX granted Dutch immigrants the privilege of trade with Lapland, including Vardø and Arkhangel'sk in order to help along the new foundation of Gothenburg in the Göta estuary.[304]

There is sporadic evidence of shipping between northern Norway and Russia as well, at least by the end of the 17th century. The local administrators of the eastern Finnmark border region in the 1680s complained of Russians trading regularly in the Varanger Fiord. Russian flour was particularly well-known and valued by the local population. By the beginning of the 1690s, Russian vessels were said to be sailing to the Norwegian border settlements of Vardøhus and Vadsø twice a year. The small vessels used were reminiscent of Muscovite shipping in the Baltic, although the scale of commerce was probably much more modest, given the low population densities

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[303] Kellenbenz, "La signification," pp. 54–6, 63; Johnsen, "Norsk-dansk handelsforbindelse," p. 95; Jørgensen, "Cryn Crynsz. Hooft," pp. 227–8; Fossen, *Bergen bys historie*, II, pp. 192–3.

[304] Kellenbenz, "La signification," pp. 54–6.

and the fact the such trade violated Bergen's monopoly over the northern waters. The Russian export bundle consisted of flour, grouts, cloth, hides, tallow, etc. Over time, this commerce grew into a phenomenon of great importance for the local economy, the famous "Pomor trade."[305]

Swedish Ambitions: "Derivation" and the Great Eastern Program

Sweden's role in Russian trade grew out of geography rather than economic prowess, where the country fell far short of the Netherlands, England, and the Hanseatic towns. Even the country's leading commercial centers—Stockholm and the main Baltic ports—were relatively modest compared to the busiest North Sea and Baltic ports. As the direct involvement of Swedish subjects in Russian trade was fairly limited, the main policy goal became to use economic policy to facilitate the encounter between Russian and western European merchants on Swedish territory, the famous "Eastern Program," which was premised on enriching Sweden through such transit trade.

The evolution of Swedish commercial policy was far from linear, however. This was in large part because of the existence, right from the very beginning, of two potentially conflicting objectives. On the one hand, the Swedish government sought various means to promote the Baltic provinces as a center of Russian trade. On the other hand, however, in line with the contemporary ideals of mercantilism, Sweden hoped to establish a degree of economic independence that would match its great power ambitions. In practical terms, the Swedish government was interested in creating a strong bourgeoisie in the country's leading cities and one of the ways of doing this was to use legal measures to discriminate against foreign merchants. These objectives resulted in perennial tensions in Swedish policy. Economic liberalism was a central instrument of the Eastern Program, yet antithetical to fostering a strong domestic merchant class, since Swedish merchants lacked the economic resources to effectively compete with their Dutch, English, and German counterparts.

The inconsistencies of government policy were amplified by the gradual and drawn-out imposition of Swedish control over the eastern Baltic littoral. The takeover in 1561 of Reval and the Estonian coast

[305] Niemi, "Naboer," p. 12 and ff.

was followed by the conquest of Narva two decades later. The process was completed with the takeover of Ingria during the Time of Troubles. These gains were ratified at Stolbovo in 1617 and Riga—gained from Poland-Lithuania—was added to the list in 1621. The imposition of Swedish control in the region never reached the stage of full incorporation of Estonia and Livonia in a unified and centralized state. Rather, the Eastern Baltic port cities were left free to pursue their own political agendas, albeit subject to a steadily growing number of constraints from the center. The existence of different levels of governmental authority often deepened the internal contradictions of policy and resulted in serious distributional conflicts among the Baltic cities.

In a foretaste of the trouble to follow, Reval's acquiescence to Swedish overlordship was primarily motivated by the City Council's desire to regain lost ground from Narva as an *entrepôt* for Russian trade. Reval had in 1553 negotiated a commercial treaty with its neighbor, gaining unlimited access to Russia through Narva.[306] The Muscovite conquest in 1558 seriously upset the balance of power between the two cities, however, and allowed Narva to emerge as an important international port in its own right. The Swedish government's territorial ambitions consonant with Reval's goals, Erik XIV already in 1562 ordered government-sponsored pirates to place themselves in waters between Estonia and the southern coast of Finland in order to paralyze Narva's shipping.[307] While their exact impact is impossible to measure, Sweden's actions undoubtedly contributed to Narva's renewed decline within years of the Russian conquest. Reval's calculations were, however, upset by the Swedish takeover of Narva in 1581, which marked the beginning of a new era for the whole Gulf of Finland area. Stockholm was aware of Narva's potential for Russian trade and moved to capitalize on it by making the city a port of emporium. This rational measure was, however, watered down by measures favoring the local burghers. Already in 1583, foreign merchants were told not to proceed to Russia through Narva so that Russian merchants be drawn to the port. Not surprisingly, lack of capital in the poor city made it impossible to follow through

[306] Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," p. 183; TLA 230–1–B.h. 62 II.

[307] In 1575, Swedes seized 18 Lübeck vessels in the Baltic and even burnt the Lübeck warehouses in Narva. Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 97; Forsten, *Baltiiskii vopros*, I, pp. 419, 469, 592, 656–7; Köhler, *Die Narvafahrt*, pp. 58–62.

this policy and a number of foreigners set up representations in Pskov. Further trouble ensued because of the ultimately unsuccessful policy of resettling Narva with Swedes and systematic discrimination against Lübeckers who were viewed as the greatest threat to Narva's Swedishness. But the most devastating blow to Narva's aspirations came from home, as a diplomatic offensive by Reval in 1584 resulted in Narva losing its emporium status, even if this failed to significantly curb the city's trade with Russia.[308]

The rivalry between the two Gulf of Finland ports placed the Swedish government in a lasting quandary. On the one hand, it was impossible to ignore the geographic advantages enjoyed by Narva, on the other, Reval was a larger and more prosperous city to which the Swedes felt beholden because it had been the first Eastern Baltic city to join the kingdom. Moreover, Revalers were masters in the game of political and judicial maneuvering which they constantly played in a bid to undermine Narva's status. Reval's position as the central place of emporium for Muscovite goods was reaffirmed in the 1595 Treaty of Tiavzino and further amplified by the 1614 Sailing Ordinance, which relegated Narva to a second-rank home port which only a limited number of foreigners were allowed to visit with special permission. Further measures sought to prevent foreign ships from visiting the Russian-controlled eastern tip of the Gulf of Finland.[309]

The Stolbovo peace treaty of 1617 marked the dawn of a new era in the Swedish-Russian commercial relationship. The "maximalist" agenda of Swedish policy-makers, which, among other things, would have involved the conquest of Arkhangel'sk in order to ensure full control of Russian export trade, was now formally abandoned. While it thus involved important concessions on the part of Sweden, the treaty also presented considerable new opportunities. In particular, Sweden succeeded in erecting an effective barrier between Russia and Western Europe in the Baltic. By depriving Muscovy of direct access to the Baltic Sea, Sweden could focus on the goal of "*derivation*," of diverting Russian export trade to the Baltic provinces, which in turn allowed Sweden to tax and control Russia's commercial interaction with the West.

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[308] Soom, "Jakob Fougdti tegevus," I, pp. 18–9; Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, pp. 297–8, 301, 305, 308–9, 313–4, 318–9.

[309] Somewhat problematically, however, the Russians ratified the Tiavzino Treaty only in 1609. Melander,"Ruotsin hallituksen ja Tallinnalaisten kauppatuumat," p. 29; Shaskol'skii, *Stolbovskii mir*, pp. 25–6; Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, pp. 367, 372–4.

The main territorial gain of the Stolbovo deal was the province of Ingria which enveloped the eastern tip of the Gulf of Finland. Gustav II Adolf showed considerable interest in the economic potential of the new region, which seemed to offer an ideal venue for the *Derivation* policy. After all, the Neva estuary had served since the days of the Varangians as a point of entry into the Russian market, whereas the conquest of Ivangorod promised to settle a long-standing rivalry with Narva. Following the conclusion of peace, Gustav Adolf told the *Riksdag* that Sweden would experience an enormous increase in her customs receipts "when the trade of all of Russia will have to pass through this province." The Swedes had built a new fortress of Nyenskans at the confluence of the Okhta and Neva in 1611, soon after their incursion to the Novgorod region. War Commissar for Livonia and Ingria, Erik Andersson Trana, suggested in 1626 that Nyenskans would allow Sweden to gain control of the transit trade with Persia, another goal of Swedish trade policy.[310]

The high expectations aside, the newly conquered territories were far from being a land of plenty. The most immediate challenge was posed by the low population density of the province which had only four cities—Nöteborg (Oreshek), Jamburg (Iam), Koporje (Kopor'e), and Ivangorod, the first of which lost virtually its entire population to Russia in 1617 as the local residents emigrated *en masse*. In order to prevent further de-population, the government chose to bestow significant rights on its new Russian subjects. Even if the concessions grew out of sheer necessity, the Swedes evidently had a very high opinion of the Russian merchants of the area. Jakob De la Gardie even suggested that the burghers of Ivangorod and other Ingrian towns could be of more use and value to the Swedish Crown than those of Narva. He expressed certainty that Ivangorod's customs receipts would in the future exceed Narva's.[311] Gustav Adolf's good intentions were insufficient to prevent a large-scale exodus of Russian Ingrians, especially peasants, to Muscovy. However, De la Gardie did sign a formal contract with the burghers of Ivangorod with guarantees a temporary tax exemption, freedom from extra taxes, as well as the preservation of their old rights and privileges, including a protected status for the Russian Orthodox church. In addition, Ivangorod was given the same rights in foreign trade as Narva. These promises

[310] Rukhmanova, "Russko-shvedskaia torgovlia," p. 141; Liljedahl, *Svensk förvaltning*, p. 474; Soom, "Ivangorod," p. 266.
[311] Soom, "De ingermanländska städerna," pp. 36–7, 44.

sufficed to convince the vast majority of the local townsmen to stay behind. A census of the remaining population revealed 178 tax-paying citizens and 30 widows.[312]

The takeover of Ivangorod presented the Swedish government with a tricky dilemma: how to ensure the loyalty of the new Russian subjects without antagonizing Narva's citizens, while at the same time maximizing both cities' potential in Russian transit trade. Conflicting goals again bred inconsistency. In its 1617 Sailing Ordinance, the Crown granted all citizens of the Swedish realm the right to trade in Narva and Nyenskans and to take the river route to Russia. However, the government adopted a peculiar system of dividing the right of emporium between Narva and Ivangorod. Narva was granted the right of active emporium: its citizens were allowed to engage in overseas trade using their vessels. Ivangorod, in contrast, received a limited right of emporium: its burghers could visit Russia, as well as Sweden, Finland, Reval, and Denmark. All Muscovite visitors were obliged to stop at Ivangorod to have their wares weighed and to pay customs duties. They could sell their goods to both Westerners and Narva merchants. Ivangorod citizens could trade with non-Muscovite foreigners in Narva which became the exclusive center of trade with the West.[313] Perhaps predictably, this compromise left neither side satisfied and laid the ground for another protracted battle, this time between two cities which were jointly charged with bringing about a renaissance of Russian transit trade in the Baltic.

In spite of the general spirit of optimism, the creation of the Baltic barrier left Sweden's political elite in something of a quandary. Much of the policy appears to have been driven by a rather naive belief that control of the eastern Baltic littoral would in itself suffice for substantial economic gains to be realized. The operating assumption, it appears, was that Russian trade would at least revert to its pre-war pattern and, with due coaxing, could be made to exceed that. As a result, the government lacked a clearly defined policy for managing the new situation, especially as the hoped-for renaissance of Baltic trade failed to materialize. Innovation was undoubtedly further hampered by the shift of most policy-makers' attention to the battlefields of Germany where Sweden became deeply involved in the Thirty

[312] *Ibidem*, pp. 38–40.

[313] *Ibidem*, pp. 40–3; Kaukiainen, *Koiviston merenkulun historia*, p. 88; Soom, "Merkantilistlikkude põhimõtete rakendamise esimesi katseid," p. 98.

Years' War. The financial burden caused by this involvement further militated against reforms which might potentially jeopardize tax revenues, whether through rate cuts or other changes.[314]

Some plans for developing local industry were drawn up in the post-Stolbovo years with the hope of attracting more Russian trade but also in order to increase the value added of Russian goods. However, the implementation of this program was half-hearted and generally unsuccessful. The government wanted to use Russian hemp and flax to produce ropes, sail cloth, and other manufactures. The most grandiose of these projects involved setting up a large spinning and weaving mill, as well as a rope walk at Reval. The rope walk was to serve as the monopolist supplier for the Swedish navy. For a short while, Reval also had a small copper-processing facility. In 1629, Gustav Adolf authorized two Russians to produce salt on the Estonian coast.[315] In 1617, the king proposed the construction of a saw mill on the Ingrian shore of the Narva rapids. Twelve years later, a French captain, Abraham du Quesne, was granted permission to set up a large rope walk in Narva. Even a six-year exemption from export duties appears not to have been sufficient to avert eventual failure, however. An attempt in 1635 by the military to set up a slow-match industry for the local garrison similarly eventually failed. Overall, therefore, the local industry did not advance much past purifying and processing raw materials brought in from Russia, albeit on a steadily expanding scale.[316]

The main role in stimulating trade was to be given to centralized government-run companies, due to an obvious shortage of capital in the Eastern Baltic. In 1627, *Kammarråd* Johan Skytte tried to interest Norrköping burghers in teaming up with Louis de Geer to form a "Nyen Company" for Russian trade via the Neva. This followed an earlier venture, proposed in 1615, to create a state-run Copper Company for the primary purpose of trade with Russia. The plans eventually remained on paper only and the company was formally dismantled, due to evident lack of Russian enthusiasm, in 1628.[317] Norrköping was the second largest city in Sweden proper and its proximity to the important mining region, Bergslagen, was obvious

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[314] Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, p. 76; Koppe, *Der Haushalt*, pp. 28–30.
[315] Soom, "Tööstusest," pp. 4–7.
[316] Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus," p. 68; Soom, "Tööstusest," p. 6; Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, p. 195.
[317] Helmfrid, *Norrköpings historia*, II, p. 494; Shaskol'skii, "Ustanovlenie," pp. 142–6.

evidence of the kinship between the two government initiatives. The Norrköping burghers' interest in the Nyen Company was diminished by their extensive involvement in another venture, *Söderkompaniet*, whose director then unsuccessfully tried to place the Nyen Company under its control. Nonetheless, the authorities soon granted passports for four to five boats to sail to Lakes Ladoga and Onega as the company's resources reached the impressive figure of SD 100,000. It is unknown, however, if the planned expedition was ever undertaken.[318] A Norrköping merchant Petter Carstens still accompanied a diplomatic mission to Moscow in 1629 to negotiate on the activities of an unnamed Swedish company. The central project, apparently proposed by the Russians, would have involved a formal commercial treaty for four to five years, whereby the Russians would have undertaken to sell the Swedes at least R 100,000 worth of Russian products p.a. (probably equivalent in value to roughly one-third of Arkhangel'sk's annual exports at the time) in return for a Russian right to buy Swedish metals, including bronze and copper plates. The Russians even discussed a Swedish project for diverting all of Arkhangel'sk's trade to the Neva, although the plan was evidently abandoned.[319]

While attempts by Gustav II Adolf—with the help of du Quesne—to create a French Company for the exportation of grain from Russia failed, as did another venture by local Baltic Germans Abraham Sich von Sandeler and Bernhard Sten von Stenhusen, the Viborg merchant Anton Bröijer was more successful. He managed to extract a promise from some Russian merchants to conduct their trade in Nyen (formally chartered in 1632) in return for reductions in customs payments. In October 1633, a project was read at the Swedish Council of State on the diversion of Russian trade to Nyen and the government in March 1634 made a promise to Russian merchants willing to switch their operations from Arkhangel'sk to Nyen to reduce the import toll to two percent and the export toll to one percent. In return, Bröijer tried, albeit without success, to push the government to gain permission for Nyen citizens to engage in silk trade with Persia. He did, in fact, manage to get a group of Russian merchants to bring consignments of raw silk and sables to Reval and Narva in the early 1640s. Bröijer

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[318] *SRP*, I, p. 48; Helmfrid, *Norrköpings historia*, II, p. 495; Shaskol'skii, "O deiatel'nosti," p. 191.

[319] RGADA f. 96, 1629 g., No. 1, ch. II, fols. 284–6; No. 2, ch. II, fols. 321–31; 1630 g., No. 2, fols. 124, 138–52, 181, 184, 193–8, 201, 210–12; 223–9; Shaskol'skii, "Ustanovlenie," p. 147.

further produced a report on ways to promote Swedish trade with Russia. He proposed the construction of a merchants' guesthouse in Nyen, the equal treatment of Swedes and Russians by the Swedish customs, and the adoption of the Livonian Customs Order.[320]

It would seem unrealistic to characterize the confusion of Swedish policy-makers in the late teens and the '20s as anything more than a tentative search for answers. A number of different ideas were mooted and a still significant number actually tried out in practice. Undoubtedly because of the frustration caused by a lack of concrete results, consistency remained a distant dream. Perhaps the most bizarre manifestation of this increasingly desperate search for solutions came with the establishment of the Reval Toll Lease (*Zollarende*) in the 1620s. This grew out of a broad-based agreement among the local burghers that the recovery of Reval's Russian trade was conditional on the restoration of privileges granted to the city in 1561. It was at this time that Reval, along with Viborg, became the only legal place of emporium for foreign ships in the Gulf of Finland.[321] It was clearly hoped that the correlation between legal privileges and the development of trade would once again be as strong as it had been in the 16th century.

A joint meeting of representatives of Riga and Reval in February 1622 concluded that a successful diversion of the Russian transit trade from the White Sea route to the Baltic presupposed not only lower imposts but also the concentration of such trade in the two cities. Reval subsequently proposed that it should take over the customs of Narva, Helsingfors (Finn. Helsinki), and Borgå (Finn. Porvoo) for a six-year period. All foreign imports and exports were to be subjected to a three-percent duty and the burghers of the other three towns would be free to trade with foreigners in Reval. Representatives of Narva failed to outbid their more prosperous neighbor and, as a result, Reval was granted control over the customs of these cities from St Bartholomew's day 1623 until St Bartholomew's 1629. Under the treaty provisions, the Crown would receive an annual income of T 12,000 (Rtl 7,384 8/13) as Reval's base payment for its new privilege. In the expected event that the customs revenues exceeded T 12,000, the Crown would retain one-half of the excess.[322] As much

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[320] RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; Bonsdorff, *Nyen*, pp. 415–7; *SRP*, III, p. 192; *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. XIII.

[321] Gierlich, *Reval*, p. 156.

[322] Melander, "Ruotsin hallituksen ja Tallinnalaisten kauppatuumat," p. 37; Gierlich, *Reval*, pp. 156–8.

of an anachronistic and distributionally-inspired measure as the new toll lease was, it set two important precedents. First, it treated the Gulf of Finland area for the first time as a unified economic zone. Secondly, it recognized the desirability of relatively low, unified, and steady rates of customs duty. This contrasted markedly with the confusing maze of different duties in the region which were frequently modified in accordance with fiscal needs. For instance, the Narva impost on foreign trade, which was set at 1.5 percent in the 1590s, eventually attained the level of 20 percent.[323]

In spite of the apparent ease of Reval's triumph, the Stockholm government remained doubtful about the wisdom of the new arrangement. The eminently pragmatic Gustav Adolf felt that cities of emporium ought to be selected on geographic criteria alone and, as late as 1623, the government still openly favored Narva. Indeed, Reval's representatives were told in a none-too-flattering rhetorical flourish that their city was viewed as a "corpse or a dead donkey" ("*Cadaver oder thottes Aaß*") and the following summer, Swedish diplomats related to their Danish counterparts that the king's decision to concentrate trade in Reval was temporary until it could be seen how merchants would respond.[324] In spite of the misgivings, plans were drawn to support the new policy through the creation of a special company for Russian trade which would involve foreign merchants and be run by experienced directors. The authorities further wished to broaden Reval's export profile by attracting new artisans to the city and by promoting trade in eastern Finnish iron.[325] The king, during his 1626 visit to Reval, urged further reforms and asked the local burghers to draft a new commercial code, which was duly submitted in 1627. Among other things, Revalers wanted to concentrate all transit trade in their own hands and sought to ensure the quality of Russian exports through systematic sorting and quality controls of hemp, flax, tallow, and wax. The new code was, however, never passed and, in the end, the Toll Lease became the almost exclusive way of promoting Reval's trade with Russia.[326]

Even while there were real expectations of an overall renaissance in Russian trade, the local politicians chose to take no chances and—

[323] Soom, *Die Politik*, p. 14.

[324] Gierlich, *Reval*, p. 162; TLA 230–1–B.L. fols. 47^{v}–82; Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, p. 135; *RAOSB*, S. 1, II, pp. 641–2.

[325] Melander, "Ruotsin hallituksen ja Tallinnalaisten kauppatuumat," p. 37.

[326] Soom,"Ett förslag," pp. 131–2, 139; RA Livonica II, vol. 332; Soom, *Der Handel Revals*, pp. 166–7, 179.

in the spirit of a zero-sum game—devoted considerable energy to excluding other cities of the region from Russian transit trade. Revalers sought to promote their commercial activities elsewhere by lobbying for modifications in municipal regulations, albeit with mixed success. The government lent a helping hand by freeing Russian merchants traveling to Reval through Nyen of all imposts. The Reval Council, in turn, offered Russians complete freedom from duties, while simultaneously trying to ensure that similar rights would not be granted elsewhere.[327] In 1628, the Crown freed all goods imported from Russia from the new *Lizent* duty. Two years later, this exemption was extended even to salt taken to Russia, although the measure was implemented with a delay.[328] The distributional agenda became even more important when, contrary to expectations, the high export levels at the turn of the century remained beyond reach. A scapegoat for this unfortunate state of affairs was found in Narva. The Ingrian Governor, Anders Eriksson Hästehufvud, was threatened with official protests in 1624, unless the city promised to cease its alleged discrimination of Russian merchants and illegal transit duties levied on Swedish citizens. Narva eventually agreed to expel all foreigners, a decision which may have been facilitated by bribery. Reval Burgomaster Georg von Wangersen in one of his letters promised to deliver T 1,200 to Hästehufvud, as well as to send an additional T 300.[329]

Given the rather artificial character of the *Zollarende*, and the less than universal commitment to it, frequent attempts to violate the new order—even by Revalers themselves—were hardly surprising.[330] Perhaps even more importantly, Revalers were faced with a determined enemy in Lübeck whose merchants had a strong preference for operating via Narva. The *Novgorodfahrer* immediately embarked on an intensive diplomatic campaign designed to restore the pre-lease *status quo*. The Lübeckers claimed that they had sizeable debts, as well as substantial quantities of goods in Narva, Novgorod and Pskov.[331] The

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[327] Gierlich, *Reval*, pp. 156–8; TLA 230–1–B.L. 787, fol. 89^{v}; B.h. 62/1, fol. 202–4^{v}; B.A. 10, fol. 793, 230–1–B.H. 11, fols. 58–61; B.L. 7, fols. 107–8.

[328] TLA 230–1–B.h. 42, fols. 81–2; B.F. 62, fols. 129; B.A. 12, fols. 15–6, 287; B.H. 11, fols. 62–3.

[329] Gierlich, *Reval*, p. 159; Melander, "Die Revaler Zollarende," pp. 254–5.

[330] Melander, "Die Revaler Zollarende," p. 253; Melander, "Ruotsin hallituksen ja Tallinnalaisten kauppatuumat," p. 44.

[331] AHL Ruthenica III, Correspondence mit der Stadt Reval wegen retabligemente des russichen Commercii auß Reval, 1623–4; Melander, "Die Revaler Zollarende," pp. 257–8.

king remained non-committal, clearly unwilling to question Reval's monopoly right away. By the spring of 1624, the *Novgorodfahrer* warned of an impending downfall of their trade with Novgorod and Pskov, unless an agreement could be reached with Reval. At the same, the Lübeckers launched a commercial offensive on the ground to consolidate their position on the northwestern Russian market. Reval burghers in September 1624 claimed that a servant of the Lübeck merchant Hans Spangenberg had bought up all Russian goods in the Pskov region.[332] Recognizing the failure of its policy of confrontation, Reval adopted a more conciliatory stance and sought to justify the Toll Lease in terms of more general goals of the Swedish *Derivation* policy which, they claimed would ultimately benefit also Lübeck. In spite of this, the Lübeckers began to violate the new order more and more frequently by visiting Narva and the Finnish coast.[333]

Formally, the Reval Toll Lease remained in place until 1629, although it began to be gradually undermined through various exemptions granted by the authorities. Trana in April 1626 suggested the creation of a new trade company so as to turn Narva into a more effective competitor of Arkhangel'sk. In the summer of 1628, Gustav II Adolf stated openly that he intended to once again elevate Narva to the rank of independent centers of commerce. In 1629, the king authorized Stralsund merchants to trade freely in Narva and Nyen. In April of the same year, he allowed the English brothers William and John Rowley to settle in Narva and to freely trade there.[334]

The expiration of the Reval Toll Lease created a new situation in the Gulf of Finland. Faced with the relative failure of centralizing trade to a particular city, the government embarked on an era of unprecedented institutional and judicial innovation. While Reval (along with Viborg) was still the exclusive city of emporium in the Gulf of Finland, Narva and Nyen now became the new *de facto* centers of Russian transit trade. The government recognized that the relative passivity of Baltic burghers made the success of Russian trade dependent on creating appropriate incentives for Russian merchants. An expansion in Russian trade, in turn, presupposed an increase

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[332] Melander, "Die Revaler Zollarende," pp. 259–60, 262–4.

[333] *Ibidem*, pp. 265–7, 270.

[334] Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, p. 136; *Konung Gustav II Adolfs skrifter*, pp. 276–84; *Sbornik dokumentov*, Nr. LVI, LVII; Liljedahl, *Svensk förvaltning*, pp. 216, 474–5; Helmfrid, *Norrköpings historia*, II, p. 494; Shaskol'skii, "Ustanovlenie," pp. 142–6; Blumfeldt, "Statistilisi lisandeid," p. 7.

in Western shipping in Sweden's new holdings which made it imperative to address the question of transaction costs as compared to the White Sea route. In the 1629 Shipping Code, new lower imposts were introduced on goods sold and bought by foreigners in Narva and Nyen: 1.5 percent of imports and one percent on exports. The Russians were allowed to bring in their goods free of duty. Moreover, the new code authorized free unmediated trade among foreign merchants, and thus also between Russians and Western visitors.[335] Reval rejected the new situation as incompatible with its privileges. However, repeated complaints in the 1630s bore no fruit. In 1640, Narva in fact forbade Revalers, along with other foreigners, to take salt and herring to Russia. However, the rights of Revalers were restored by Stockholm the following year.[336]

Russian trade in the Baltic received another major impetus from the construction, much delayed, of a Russian guesthouse in Stockholm which had emerged as a center of growing importance of Russian trade. Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich's 1635 letter to Queen Christina appears to have prompted the Swedish government to deliver on a commitment made at Stolbovo. A temporary facility consisting of 21 wooden huts was completed by the summer of 1637. The City of Stockholm paid for at least some of the construction costs and, probably in return, was able to set up the so-called Russian Scales (*Ryssvåg*) for weighing and taxing Russian wares. Already in 1638, construction began on a permanent facility, although *Ryssgården* was formally opened in Södermalm only in 1641. The new yard had two types of huts, so-called "permanent" and wooden ones. Initially, there were 20 permanent huts and 12 wooden ones. However, the numbers steadily increased to a total of 55 in 1649, 59 in 1651, 62 in 1652, and 74 in 1654. The whole yard was periodically rebuilt and reorganized because of repeated fires, yet Russian complaints about inadequate facilities remained legion.[337]

As much as the end of the Reval Toll Lease represented an important step in the right direction for Swedish commercial policy, a variety of entrenched interests continued to complicate the retreat

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[335] Melander, "Ruotsin hallituksen ja Talinnalaisten kauppatuumat," p. 54; *RAOSB*, II/10, Nr 68, p. 305; I/11–I, Nr 113, pp. 188–9; Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, p. 144; EAA 1646–1–804, fols. 1–2.

[336] Gierlich, *Reval*, p. 162; TLA 230–1–B.h. 62/1, fol. 214; 62/2, fols. 2–5; B.F. 62, fol. 26.

[337] Lang, *Stadsgården och Ryssgården*, pp. 8–10; Shaskol'skii, *Russkaia morskaia torgovlia*, pp. 90–125; Rumiantsev, *Iz proshlago*.

from the old order. For instance, the death of Gustav Adolf marked a clear ascendancy of groups opposed to letting Nyen challenge the privileges of its older neighbors. The government in May 1638 reiterated its earlier regulation from 1622 forbidding all foreign trade at Nyen at pain of confiscation while, at the same time, being forced to recognize that foreigners were merchants and skippers were now trading in Nyen "without fear or consideration."[338] Under the circumstances, it only took the government only one month to reverse its position and open Nyen to all ships. The policy was based on the growing realization that Nyen had failed to develop according to Gustav Adolf's ambitions and was, in fact, stagnating. The new liberal policy was accompanied by a 12-year exemption for Nyen's citizens from the *portorium* duty and several other payments. A 1642 charter authorized burghers of Nyen "like other merchants and burghers in our emporium cities Viborg and Narva, to conduct free shipping and trade at home as well as with foreign places."[339]

Perhaps the most virulent distributional conflict in the region had to do with the deepening rivalry between Narva and Ivangorod. In response to the economic downturn caused by the Toll Lease, Narva had in 1627 requested an outright annexation of its neighbor. In 1631, Narva proposed a transfer of the Russian guesthouse from Ivangorod. In response to a 1634 complaint by Ivangorod merchants, the regency government in Stockholm ordered an inspection of the situation on the ground. The final report took Narva's side and its effect was only tempered by the caution of the Livonian Governor General Bengt Oxenstierna who, in 1636, suggested that no distinction should be made between "Jews and Greeks." He further characterized Ivangoroders as "energetic and careful merchants." In the face of total intransigence in Stockholm, Oxenstierna finally caved in and, in 1638, put forward the idea of doing away with the Ivangorod suburb and instead turning into a better fortified bulwark.[340]

The 1630s saw a peculiar episode in the evolution of Russian commercial policy, which had the potential of significantly stimulating Novgorod's trade. Duke Friedrich III of Holstein-Gottorp, initially with Swedish support, pursued a formal treaty on transit trade in Persian silk. The two sides reached an agreement in 1634 which aimed to make Novgorod a key center of this trade, since silk was to be

[338] *Sbornik dokumentov*, Nos. III, VII.
[339] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, p. 242.
[340] Soom, "Ivangorod," pp. 221–9, 266.

exported via the Swedish Baltic ports. The proposed 10-year treaty envisaged annual payments to the tsar of Rtl 600,000. This would have been not only a welcome financial respite at a time when the country was still at war against Poland-Lithuania, but was, in fact, multiple times the annual customs duty collections at Arkhangel'sk at the time. The anticipated profits were considerable, in spite of strict limits on the company's composition and operations. It was to have a maximum of thirty members, all Holsteiners, and could only buy raw silk, precious stones, dye, and other goods that Russian merchants did not trade in. It was not allowed to engage in trade within Russia. However, the Swedish government lost interest in the project with a general foreign policy reorientation. This, combined with the unreasonable Russian terms meant that it was never realized.[341]

The deep sense of gloom in the Baltic provinces finally began to abate in the 1640s. This was in no small measure due to changes in Russia, most notably the economic consolidation of the Novgorod region. At the same time, however, the Eastern Baltic benefitted from Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna's liberal impulses, backed by the policies of his son Erik Oxenstierna, who served as the governor of Estonia in 1646–53.[342] After witnessing decades of bitter rivalry among the Baltic ports, the Swedish government finally decided to adopt a more unified approach to commercial policy and treat the three main rivals—Reval, Narva, and Nyen—on equal terms. In addition, they agreed to relax the strict rules of governing the activities of foreign merchants in the region. An October 1643 royal resolution, following protracted negotiations between the Swedish government and the City of Lübeck, granted foreign merchants full freedom to enter Russia with their wares through Reval and Narva. Moreover, the Reval Council agreed in principle to a two-percent transit toll conceded by the Stockholm government to Lübeck. Action did not follow words right away, however, and only in 1647 did the Council admit that it was no longer possible to circumvent the provisions without antagonizing foreign merchants.[343] A number of other measures were adopted at the beginning of the 1640s to promote regional economic development. B. Oxenstierna in 1640 authorized the construction of

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[341] Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, pp. 186–202.

[342] Fries, "Erik Oxenstierna," pp. 336–40.

[343] Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 195; Melander, "Die Beziehungen Lübecks," pp. 57–9; Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 140–4; TLA 230–1–A.b. 59: January 25, 1647; September 28, 1647.

a new Russian guesthouse in Ivangorod, while Narva implemented a range of measures designed to create a class of merchants who derived their livelihoods exclusively from trade. By 1653, a special Commerce Director was appointed for the Ingrian twin cities. Another one served the Livonian cities of Riga, Pernau, and Dorpat.[344]

The positive effects of Oxenstierna's liberalism continued to be threatened by protectionist impulses, however. In order to limit the involvement of Western Europeans in trade with Russia, the regency government in 1643 reissued *verbatim* the monopoly right Johan III had granted to Narva's citizens in salt and herring trade with Russia. In addition, Narva's 47–year-old, but largely ineffectual, ban on trade among foreigners was renewed. The use of foreign money was forbidden in the 1640s and a 1644 resolution put an annual eight-week cap on the operations of foreign merchants in the city, 10 weeks for those proceeding to Russia. The only exception were Muscovite merchants who could spend unlimited amounts of time at their guesthouse.[345] The aforementioned 1643 agreement between Sweden and Lübeck significantly modified the protectionist policy, however, by permitting salt and herring exports to Russia after a period of 14 days.[346]

The 1640s marked a new beginning not only for Narva's trade but for the city more generally. The government's high hopes for Narva as the new center of the *Derivation* policy went hand in hand with plans to turn the peripheral border town into a real city befitting its new status. A program was launched to pave the streets and a decree of July 1646 specified that burghers could build only stone houses. A new fortification program was launched in 1647. A. Oxenstierna even proposed the elevation of Narva to a second capital of Sweden, where the king would reside every four years.[347]

Important changes took place also in the status of Nyen. The government had initially adopted Swedish rates of customs duty in the Neva port. However, in 1643, when the customs duties on Russian goods were reduced, the city complained that the unfavorable Swedish

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[344] Soom, "Merkantilistlikkude põhimõtete rakendamise esimesi katseid," pp. 107–11; Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 161; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 194.

[345] EAA 1646–1–1, fol. 63, 1646–1–2, fols. 211–2; 1646–2–38, fols. 2, 6^{v}, 22^{v}; Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," p. 182; *Die Quellen des Revaler Stadtrechts*, II, pp. 235–6.

[346] Melander, "Die Beziehungen Lübecks," pp. 56–7; Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," pp. 180–1; *idem, Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, p. 280; TLA 210–1–Bh 62, fol. 114; EAA 1646–1–1, fols. 116–7.

[347] Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 161; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 190; Soom, "Jakob Fougdti tegevus," II, pp. 65, 80, 83; Karling, *Narva.*

Customs Order applied to all other goods threatened to undermine the reform. In response, the more favorable Livonian order was effectively instituted in February 1646: A 1643 decree (confirmed in 1646), referring to Nyen's special role as a transit point in Russian trade, imposed the *Lizent* at a modified rate. The duty on a specified range of Russian exports was set at the rate of two percent in the case of the *Lizent* and one percent for the *Portorium*, while the border duty was abolished altogether. However, as a nod to Viborg, the Swedish order remained in place for goods that came from the Swedish-controlled Kexholm and Nöteborg districts, a compromise that Nyen continued to resist for the remainder of the century.[348] Nyen's intermediary role in this trade was enhanced by the creation of a customs point in 1642. Prior to this, Russian transit merchants had settled their dues in Stockholm only, which obviously reduced Nyen's income significantly. Under the new arrangement, in addition to customs duty on goods bought and sold in Nyen, Russian merchants were required to pay special transit duties of 50 kopecks or more, depending on the size of the vessel.[349] The government's renewed attention to Nyen was in part driven by Russian appeals for the further development of the Neva route at 1646 negotiations on the confirmation of the Stolbovo Treaty. Queen Christina issued permission for an annual fair in Nyen in August 1646. During a three-week period in August, all merchants, including Russians, were free to conduct duty-free retail trade. In 1679, the government permitted two annual fairs. However, Nyen, unlike the bigger cities in the region, lacked a special Russian guesthouse, although there were three warehouses for Muscovite goods.[350]

Even Reval continued the review of its commercial *Ostpolitik*. Perhaps the most important turning point in this respect was the adoption of a new Commercial Code (*Kommerzientraktat*) which was signed in March 1648 following two years of negotiations.[351] A commission headed by E. Oxenstierna recognized that promoting Reval's Russian trade would have to be based on two factors: a dramatic reduction in customs duties, and permitting "guest" trade among foreign merchants. Reval embraced lower customs duties with uncharac-

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[348] *Samling utaf brev etc.*, II, pp. 440–1; Bonsdorff, *Nyen*, p. 417; *Sbornik dokumentov*, Nos. VIII, XIII, XV.

[349] RGADA f. 96, 1646 g., No 2, fols. 108–9.

[350] RGADA f. 96, kn. 23, fols. 670, 679–82, 688–94, 769, 774–9; Bonsdorff, *Nyen*, pp. 431, 496–7; Hipping, *Neva*, pp. 63–5; Bakhrushin, "Torgi," p. 177.

[351] Weinmann, *Reval*, p. 12 ff.

teristic enthusiasm. It rejected the Crown's proposals of a three-percent tax, of which one-third would go to the city, in favor of a one-quarter stake in a two-percent tax, claiming that the lower share would be compensated for by large trade volumes. The city similarly managed to push through its position on minimal restrictions for cross-border trade. The monopoly of Reval merchants was now confined to salt, herring, and grain and even the ban on trade by Russians in the countryside was modified. Some revisions to the Commercial Code were made by a joint commission in 1650. Reval finally renounced its right to export salt free of the *Lizent* to Russia. Domestic wares were equated with Russian ones in duty payments and Revalers were allowed to use the roads to Narva, Neuenschloß, and Dorpat without a passport.[352] In conformity with the provisions of the Commercial Code, Revalers also undertook to improve the condition of their increasingly shallow and ill-equipped harbor. Specialists for this purpose were indeed found, but the project does not appear to have been completed due to a lack of funds.[353]

The 1648 *Kommerzientraktat* had important implications beyond the Estonian capital. Indeed, it marked the logical culmination of the Oxenstiernas' reform program by creating a free trade zone which also comprised Narva and Nyen. All external trade with these ports was subject to unified duties and the measure thus promised an end to the distributional conflicts which had hindered trade in the past. All Russian goods passing through the three ports were freed of all customs duties. Only in cases where wares were sent further by the sea to other countries was the two-percent *Portorium* tax to be imposed.[354] While the move was well overdue from the viewpoint of Swedish commercial policy, it was of particular significance for Narva and Nyen, since it formally institutionalized their status as ports of emporium of national importance. Crucially, the Tractate constituted a significant challenge to the local merchants by allowing foreigners to trade among themselves, a measure Narva formally recognized in 1651.[355]

Much as in the post-Stolbovo years, the government sought to stimulate the demand for Russian goods by promoting local industry, although the results in the '40s did not mark a substantial

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[352] Soom, *Der Handel Revals*, p. 167; *Die Quellen*, II, pp. 261, 271–5; Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, p. 145; Weinmann, *Reval*, p. 15; TLA 230–1–A.b. 59, January 25, 28, 1647; A.b. 60: March 15, 1648.

[353] Weinmann, *Reval*, p. 20; Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 201–5, 240.

[354] *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. XV; Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," pp. 180–1.

[355] EAA 1646–2–38, fol. 8^{v}; *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. XV.

improvement on the immediate post-war era. Philipp Krusenstiern produced a memorandum in 1646 for Queen Christina in which he discussed Reval's suitability as a site for manufacturing and concluded that low production costs would make the city an ideal center for processing Russian wares. He recommended the construction of tanneries, weaving mills, and rope walks. The tanneries, he argued, should be headed by Russians who could teach local artisans the art of producing *iufti*. Finland could supply the necessary tar for rope production.[356] Krusenstiern's plans remained largely on paper, however, the most important exception involving an ultimately unsuccesful attempt to create a local silk industry.[357]

Success in Narva was equally limited. In 1649, a chamois tanner, Hans Knoch, built a fulling-mill on the Narova river and probably also used Russian raw materials in his enterprise.[358] Krusenstiern began to promote a local forest industry as early as 1643, noting that Rosona and Luga river valleys had ample supplies of good mast trees which could be floated to Narva in the spring. Indeed, some masts had already been taken to Lübeck during the two preceding years and one shipment sent to Portugal in 1643.[359] In 1650, Burgomaster Cordt Pöppelmann and *Rentmeister* Jonas Persson finally built a sawmill—with two saws—along with a copper smithy, on the left bank of the Joala rapids. The mill in the end burnt down during the Russian onslaught in 1656 before it had been fully completed. On the instigation of E. Oxenstierna, plans were even drawn up for a large shipping and trade company which would form the basis of the city's own merchant fleet. However, in the end the enterprise generated only one ship, the "Fortuna," which was bought in 1654. Financial difficulties forced the partners to sell her in 1655.[360]

By mid-century, Eastern Baltic trade with Russia received another important external impetus as tobacco became a regular import and assumed a key role in commercial exchange with Russia. Already in 1656, Governor General Gustav Horn informed the Swedish Council of State that tobacco had evolved into one of the most essential and

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[356] Soom, *Die Politik*, p. 192.
[357] RA Muscovitica, vol. 600; Soom, *Der Handel Revals*, p. 88; Soom, "Der Kampf," p. 205.
[358] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, p. 195.
[359] Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus," p. 58.
[360] Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus," pp. 59, 68; Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 189–90; Soom, "Ivangorod," p. 302.

sought-after commodities in Russian trade. Russian merchants apparently exchanged tobacco for Muscovite wares or paid for it with Russian currency above the prevailing exchange rate. Horn claimed that the tobacco trade of Narva and Nyen was entirely directed to the cities' Russian hinterland. Accordingly, he called for the two ports to be exempted from the nationwide monopoly (since 1654) of the American Company, lest restrictions of tobacco trade jeopardize commerce with Muscovy or deprive the state of customs receipts due to smuggling.[361]

While the Oxenstierna reforms were of enormous importance in creating the legal foundation for an effective policy of trade diversion, the ambitions of policy-makers at times clashed quite sharply with the realities on the ground. For instance Narva, in 1644, still had only two guilds—tailors' and cobblers'—and the city's trade clearly suffered from an inadequate system of local administration. Until 1644, Narva had only one burgomaster and 3–4 Council members who received no financial compensation for their work. The government, in response, developed ways to gain more leverage on the local administration, primarily by direct administrative appointments from the center. In 1643, E. Gyllenstierna recommended the appointment of a castellan (*Burggraf*) to represent the interests of the central government and later that year, the government finally selected Jakob Fougdt as a new burgomaster. The first castellan, Philip von Krusenstiern, was appointed in 1653.[362] Although central government thus eventually decided to intervene in Narva's affairs in a very direct fashion, local initiative was not completely absent. In 1634 the city requested 12 years of freedom from taxes, like other new cities, to which it felt it could liken itself after years of war and fires. In 1642, Narva was finally exempted from the Contribution for two years. In 1646 a 6–year exemption from the Contribution, *Mantalgeld*, and the oven duty was extended from 1650 to 1656. Over time, growing numbers of new burghers arrived. In 1654 alone, 32 "prosperous" young merchants and artisans settled in the city.[363] By that time, however, this influx probably had more to do with the general upswing of Baltic trade than Narva's own policies.

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[361] Küng, "Tubakakaubanduse riiklik reguleerimine," p. 3; *Samling*, II, pp. 783–4; RA Livonica II, vol. 173.

[362] Soom, "Tööstusest," p. 7; Soom, "Jakob Fougdti tegevus," I, pp. 19–23. On the role of the castellans, see: Küng, "Die Einführung des Burggrafenamtes;" *idem*, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 111–86.

[363] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, p. 177.

Fougdt immediately proved an energetic reformer. Among other things, he established three administrative colleges—for justice, commerce, and construction—to assist the city government. The Commerce College, in particular, was to occupy itself with the diversion of Russian trade from Arkhangel'sk. Fougdt also oversaw the reconstruction of a guesthouse for visiting merchants in 1644. Fougdt's appointment was followed the same year by the selection of Heinrich Mundt as the burgomaster of Ivangorod with a brief to reorganize the administration of the city according to Western models.[364] Fougdt spent extended periods of time in Stockholm conducting commercial diplomacy on Narva's behalf. In 1646, the government decreed that Narva could hold fairs. Fougdt further sought to ensure that Reval would not use its power and influence to Narva's detriment after Stockholm had again decided that Russian trade should pass through Reval, although "without causing damage to Narva."[365]

Among other things, Fougdt took pains to address the increasingly poor state of Narva's shallow harbor. Larger vessels had to lie at anchor at the roads, although a pilot station was created at the mouth of the Narova River to alleviate the situation. In the mid-1640s, there was not a single unloading barge (*Löscher*) in the city and the river delta was unmarked. While a program of barge construction was indeed implemented within years, the enthusiasm soon waned. The number of *Löscher* was down to one by 1657 and apparently soon down to nil again. To finance the harbor project, Fougdt managed to persuade the government to donate to Narva some nearby villages whose inhabitants could be used as construction labor and to secure the necessary timber for the project.[366] The harbor development project was marred with constant financial problems, however. After considerable delays, Governor General Erik Stenbock in 1653 finally advised the government to undertake the project itself. In spite of some preparations, the work was never completed. A final blow came from the outbreak of the Swedish-Russian war in 1656, which was followed by a devastating fire in 1659.[367]

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[364] Soom, "Jakob Fougdti tegevus," I, pp. 24–5; *Ibidem*, II, p. 75; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 192.

[365] Soom, "Jakob Fougdti tegevus," II, pp. 70–2, 74, 79–80.

[366] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 216–9, 222–4; Soom, "Narva jõe veetee korraldamise küsimus," I, pp. 146–7; *Ibidem*, II, p. 8.

[367] Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, pp. 165–6; Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 226, 229, 234; Soom, "Narva jõe veetee korraldamise küsimus," II, pp. 9, 12.

The promising takeoff of Russian trade was further marred by the vexing question of Ivangorod's status where a satisfactory resolution continue to elude policy-makers. Narva's desperate search for more prosperous burghers resulted in increasingly predatory attitudes towards their Russian-inhabited neighbor. Fulfilling the prophecies of its advocates from the Stolbovo days, Ivangorod had several merchants—most notably the Belousov brothers Iakov, Pavel, and Petr—with fortunes amounting to thousands of roubles.[368] Narva's campaign by the 1640s benefitted from an obvious change of heart in Stockholm. The local Russians were increasingly viewed as different, alien, and untrustworthy. Moreover, it was felt that Narva's success was conditional on its gaining a total and exclusive right of emporium in the area. As concrete action was nonetheless delayed, Narva adopted a highly effective method of undermining its neighbor in a piecemeal fashion. In 1640, the Narva Council was authorized to build a guesthouse for Russian merchants which—in blatant violation of the extant division of labor between the two cities—gave Narva a *de facto* monopoly of Muscovite trade. Russian merchants, however, were reluctant to visit the new guesthouse, which increased support for eliminating Ivangorod.[369] The December 1645 decision to unite the two cities was accompanied by heavy lobbying among Ivangorod's commercial elite and assurances of full citizenship rights in Narva. In spite of this, the hoped-for mass exodus failed to materialize. Following further concessions, Ivangorod merchants abandoned their diplomatic offensive but decided, instead, that inaction was the best approach to the situation. After all, the government had given up the idea of a reunification so many times before.[370]

Ivangorod was formally unified with Narva in October 1646 and the Russians were required to move across the river by January 1, 1648. However, the process was completed only two years later, after considerably pressure by Narva.[371] Although the long-standing dispute was apparently now settled, the harmonious development hoped for

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[368] Whereas Narva had only four people with annual tax payments of Rtl 100–120, people in the same category numbered seven in Ivangorod. Soom, "Ivangorod," p. 304; Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 177–8.

[369] Soom, "Ivangorod," pp. 230–41; *SRP*, IX, pp. 411–2, 424.

[370] Soom, "Ivangorod," pp. 270–5.

[371] Soom, "Ivangorod," pp. 270–1, 278–83, 289–94, 302–7; Forsström, *Kuvaus Inkerinmaan oloista*, I, pp. 66–8; Küng, "Narva vene kaupmeeskond," I, p. 43; EAA 1646–1–1, fols. 79–83; 1646–1–1889, 1890.

by the central authorities failed to materialize. Narva's artisans refused to recognize the qualifications of former Ivangorodians and the Russians steadily lost influence confronted with the hostile German majority. The conflict reached its peak during the Second Northern War when many former Ivangorodians were accused of conspiring with the enemy. Even though the charges were never proven, the Russians continued to be subjected to numerous investigations for a long time.[372] Narva in the end seemed to view the Ivangorodians not as a valued asset but merely as a revenue source to be exploited. For instance, the 1655 Contribution list includes 320 Russian and only 115 other names. The Russian suburb of Narva burnt down in 1657 after which the Russians moved back to Ivangorod. The development was now welcomed in Narva eager to deprive the Russians of their citizenship rights. The Swedish government, however, upheld the *status quo*. Even though the Russians were not welcomed in Narva with open arms, their judicial status naturally improved after the move. As full citizens of Narva, they were now allowed to engage in trade with western Europe.[373]

The gradual progress, however checkered, towards a more rational economic policy in the Gulf of Finland area did not find a counterpart in southern Livonia. The Swedish takeover of Riga was accompanied by an escalation of an entrenched dispute regarding trade routes between the Livonian port and its Pskovian hinterland. The most convenient road went through the border town of Neuhausen and on to Marienburg (Latv. Alūksne), Adsel (Latv. Gaujiena), and Wenden (Latv. Cēsis) and measured 490 km. However, Dorpat had enjoyed a right of emporium in Livonian trade since 1336, and all merchants were thus *de iure* required to take the longer 640–km road. The cost differential was significant: in 1641 the transportation cost of a loaded cart was Rtl 2 between Riga and Neuhausen, as opposed to Rtl 4–5 between Riga and Dorpat.[374]

Governor-General Skytte in 1626 declared the Dorpat route obligatory for Muscovite merchants, although occasional exceptions were made. In an attempt to promote diversion from the White Sea route, the Dorpat duty on Russian imports was abolished in 1630. Dorpat's

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[372] Soom, "Tööstusest," p. 10; Soom, "Ivangorod," pp. 284–5; Soom, "Narvas ryska befolkning," pp. 167–72.

[373] Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 166; Soom, "Ivangorod," pp. 302–3; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 185; Küng, "Narva vene kaupmeeskond," I, p. 44.

[374] Jenšs, "Rivalry," pp. 145–6, 151–3; Jenšs, "Moskovskoe torgovoe podvor'e," p. 75; Doroshenko, *Torgovlia*, p. 75.

rights were reconfirmed in 1634, although only two years later Queen Christina once again permitted the use of the Neuhausen route, partly due to Skytte's attempt to attract English traders to the region. The Dorpat duty was restored in 1638 after revenue loss had been deemed to be the sole consequence of its elimination. Riga's position was eventually strengthened by the government's decision in 1646 to exclude Dorpat from the group of Baltic cities of emporium.[375] However, the shorter route finally prevailed only after the 1656–58 war, as a result of which Dorpat lost its significance. The loss of trade due to the judicial wrangling, while impossible to quantify, must have been considerable.

The 1661 peace treaty of Kardis marked a return to normalcy for Russian transit trade in the Baltic. For the Swedes, the immediate policy goal was obvious, *viz.* to bring about a return of the economic boom of the prewar years.[376] The "First Baltic Boom" had demonstrated the wisdom of the Oxenstierna reform program and the perceived need for dramatic revisions of Swedish commercial policy was thus non-existent. In essence, the basic stance of the Swedish establishment on the question of *Derivation* reverted to conservatism in the seeming absence of incentives to "rock the boat." While the basic objectives did not change much, the post-Kardis era nonetheless saw considerable progress towards successful implementation of many of the policy objectives which had previously remained on the drawing board. The most impressive gains were seen in the areas of industrialization and shipbuilding.

The most substantial departure from the prewar order was a return to the mercantilist agenda of supporting local merchants by means of judicial discrimination. This change of heart is likely to have stemmed in part from the realization that the strong economic upswing of the 1650s had not brought the intended benefits to the local burghers as foreigners could *de iure* circumvent them. In addition, the government was eager to promote the further development and "Swedification" of especially Narva and Nyen.[377] The relatively rapid

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[375] Jenšs, "Rivalry," pp. 153, 156; EAA 995–2–622, fol. 1; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 194.

[376] Philip von Krusenstiern, *Allerunterthänigste treupflichtiges bedencken über der, durch jüngst zue Cardiss den 21 juny anno 1661 zwischen Jhrer Königl. Mayt. Zue Schweden und Jhrer Zaar. Mayt. In Russland auffgerichteten friedenschluss wiedergebrachte handlungsfreyheit durch gantz Russland*, July 27, 1661, RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 17 (*EFSR*, pp. 153–7).

[377] Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," p. 181; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 190.

post-Kardis recovery undoubtedly strengthened Baltic burghers in their resolve to modify the Oxenstiernas' liberal legacy to their own benefit. In repeated pleas to the central government in the postwar years, Reval burghers argued that trade among foreign merchants violated the city's privileges. The College of Commerce, which investigated the matter, eventually found in favor of Reval and an October 1663 resolution restored the traditional ban on guest trade. Also Narva renewed its struggle for independence by trying to exclude foreigners from all retail trade. Minimum quantities and/or values were imposed on foreign purchases, while a November 1664 decision banned "guest trade." In both cities, however, a crucial exception was made for Russian merchants who could continue their direct interactions with Westerners and a key element of the Oxenstierna reforms thus remained intact. Other modifications followed over time. The Trade Codes of 1688 and 1694 extended the annual maximum stay of foreigners in Narva to two months. Even this measure no longer applied to foreigners who had come to Narva for the sole purpose of Russian trade. In 1673, the king recommended to the Great Guild that Narva should once again be opened to foreign agents. Narva appears to have become more flexible also on the issue of foreign money. On the other hand, as of 1678, all foreigners were required to store their wares at city warehouses.[378]

In spite of the general rationalization of policy, distributional issues returned at regular intervals to challenge the economic progress of the closing decades of the century. Narva, having now established itself as a major center of trade, hoped finally to be able to settle the vexing issue of competition by Reval. In 1668, in a bid to decisively put the issue aside, Karl XI's government issued a resolution which allowed Revalers to freely trade with Russians at Narva and to export their salt and herring to Russia. Shortly thereafter, Revalers launched a campaign to apply the resolution to all commodities. In the 1670s tobacco became the central bone of contention in the commercial relations between the two neighbors as the Narva Council deemed tobacco trade by Revalers to be impermissible. A 1679 decision concentrated all tobacco trade in the hands of Narva burghers. In 1675, Narva merchants received the privilege for wine trade, although

[378] Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 196; *Die Quellen*, II, pp. 253–71; Liiv, "Tallinna ajalugu," p. 23; Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," p. 186; EAA 1646–1–1, fols. 98, 117^{v}, 127^{v}; 1646–1–461, fols. 175–7; 1646–1–2, fol. 552; 1646–2–98, fols. 4–5; 1646–2–38, fol. 87^{v}.

Reval merchants subsequently came to play an essential role in the business. In addition, Lübeck merchants enjoyed the right to trade in wine under the commercial treaties of 1664 and 1673.[379] In general, however, relations with Lübeck remained tense even in the second half of the century, since the Hanseatic city continued to represent perhaps the most important challenge to Narva's independence. Various kinds of interference in the commercial activities of the *Novgorodfahrer* was commonplace. Price ceilings were placed on Lübeck salt and merchants were at times stopped from taking their salt to Russia. However, the central government, unable to neglect the continuing importance of the *Novgorodfahrer*, repeatedly reversed such intereference by Narva.[380]

While preconditions for growth were exceptional, and the administrative structure of the city supposedly revised to Narva's liking, the Ivangorod issue refused to die down. A "confirmation" of privileges, issued by Karl XI to the Russian inhabitants of Narva in July 1662, allowed them to build new houses on the Ivangorod side, albeit only under supervision by a Narva representative. However, four years later, Stockholm again urged the return of the Ivangorod residents to the northern suburb. Juridically, Narva's Russians appear to have been equals of the German population in 1666–74. However, the College of Commerce in 1674 already noted that the significance of the Russians in attracting Muscovite trade to the city had declined and was largely confined to dealings with the nearby countryside. Nor do they appear to have played a key role in developing Narva's shipping at the end of the 17th century. The dispute continued to fester until the College of Commerce in 1675 demanded the return to the Russians of the suburban sites they had acquired in 1645.[381] In general, the hostility towards Russians significantly lessened under Karl IX who, much like Gustav Adolf, clearly appreciated their economic potential.

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[379] Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," pp. 183, 185; Küng, *Võõrastekaubanduse reguleerimine*, pp. 66, 71, 74–7; *Die Quellen des Revaler Stadtrechts*, II, pp. 330–1; TLA 230–1–A.a. 225; B.F. 75 II, fol. 83; B.h. 58, 62, 63; EAA 1646–1–1, fols. 107–8; EAA 1646–1–1, fols. 116–7.

[380] Küng, *Võõrastekaubanduse reguleerimine*, pp. 91–3; Küng, "Handelsverhältnisse," pp. 181, 184, EAA 124–1–14, fol. 2^{v}; 1646–1–1, fols. 116–7.

[381] Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, pp. 177–8; Küng, "Narva vene kaupmeeskond," I, pp. 43, 45–6, 50; Küng, "Narva vene kaupmees- ja kodanikkond," II, pp. 19–20; Piirimäe, "Laevandus," pp. 10, 14–5; EAA 1646–1–2411, fols. 62–3; RA Livonica II, vol. 205, 213.

The government also continued the gradual process of streamlining the customs administration. In September 1666, Nyen's customs rates were put on an equal footing with Narva's as earlier exceptions were eliminated. Moreover, Swedes and Russians became subject to the same imposts on goods taken to Russia. Nyen burghers were allowed to return home with the specie that they had earned for their goods in Stockholm and other Swedish towns, although in 1685 the exportation of copper plates to the Baltic was banned. The College of Commerce, concerned with the slow progress of the *Derivation* policy, proposed in a 1669 report that customs duties in Reval, Narva, and Nyen should be reduced to two percent for all incoming and outgoing goods and that foreign merchants should be allowed to trade directly with the Russians. However, the only concrete change came in 1671 when Nyen was formally placed under the Livonian Customs Inspector who promised to treat the city on equal terms with its Livonian neighbors.[382]

In October 1679, the government issued a long-overdue *vrakordning* (*Wrack-Ordnung*) on the sorting and inspection of goods traded in the three Gulf of Finland ports. This was particularly important for ensuring quality standards and, ultimately, sales prices for Russian products. Muscovites were notorious for mixing prime quality products with second rate ones and for misrepresenting their wares in general. The goods to go through this procedure included flax, hemp, hops, wax, honey, tallow, bacon, and butter. Sorting of goods of Russian origin became compulsory.[383] In essence, the *vrakordning* allowed Swedish Baltic ports to build there reputations through localized branding, in spite of considerable Russian opposition to it.

Even as the post-*Zollarende* reforms were clearly geared to maximizing Narva and Nyen's role in Russian trade, new efforts now began to be made to re-integrate also Reval in the government's plans. Jochim Lillienhoff of the College of Commerce in 1674 described Reval as a necessary complement to the trade of the Ingrian ports. After ice closed the Arkhangel'sk harbor in the late autumn, it was advantageous to direct the flow of Western products from Amsterdam and Lübeck through Reval to Novgorod and Moscow. In fact, transportation with Russian sleighs was cheap enough to make this an acceptable alternative to shipping the goods to Narva. In addition,

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[382] Bonsdorff, *Nyen*, pp. 423–4, 426.
[383] *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. XLII; Soom, *Der Handel Revals*, p. 103.

because the Reval harbor was normally freed of ice at least six weeks before Narva, it was more expedient to bring Russian export goods to Reval during the winter, although Narva was more convenient in the summer.[384] Reval merchants at the end of the century sought to regain their advantage over Narva—without much success—by emphasizing the advantage of their deeper and more protected harbor which made loading and unloading ships much easier and cheaper.[385]

Even Riga, where Russian trade had tended to have a much more peripheral role, found new means of stimulating its commercial interaction with Muscovy. In 1676, the Swedish authorities were approached by two prominent local veterans of Russian trade, Adolf Lüders and Friedrich Wesseling, who proposed a new approach for reviving trade with Russia. Their report (*Memorial, wasgestalt die Handlung von Archangel auff Riga allgemöhlig von Jahren zu Jahren könne transferiret und versetzt werden*) was submitted to the Royal College of Commerce in late 1675–early 1676. Karl XI, in his response of May 1676, refused the two merchants' request for a 20–year monopoly on Muscovite trade, citing their limited capital resources and the inadvisability of tying the Crown's hands for a long time. However, he appointed them as his agents for a period of 12 years. A royal charter of June 1676 cut the customs duties from the traditional 6 percent to 1½ percent. The rates at the Muscovite House were reduced, and Lüders and Wesseling given a 15-year *de facto* monopoly on all Muscovite imports and exports, in order to allow them to enjoy the benefits of their suggestion and compensate for their efforts. In line with the original request, the merchants were to handle only wares to and from Moscow, Iaroslavl', Novgorod, and Pskov, and thus not from Smolensk. Under the arrangement, Wesseling stayed in Pskov for 10 years and sent goods to Lüders who exchanged them for Western European products. The government in fact revised the arrangement after only two years when, in June 1678, trade in *iufti*, furs, and silk was opened to all Riga merchants with some limitations.[386] In May 1691, Wesseling, along with Lüders' widow Margareta Giese, petitioned the king for a renewal of the privileges, arguing that Riga's trade with Muscovy had experienced a renaissance during the preceding 15–year period. In

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[384] TLA 230–1–A.f. 121; *Das Revaler Bürgerbuch*, pp. 25, 84; Soom, *Der Handel Revals*, pp. 90–1; RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 17.

[385] Liiv, "Tallinna ajalugu," p. 25.

[386] Jenšs, "Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība," p. 162; Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga," pp. 275–7, 279–81; RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 17; Jenšs, *Der Handel Rigas*, p. 127.

response, the king appointed Wesseling his Commissar for Muscovite Trade in Riga in January 1692. The rate of the Oktroi duty was increased to 2½ percent with the government's share at 2 percent.[387]

The encouraging progress of the *Derivation* program was accompanied by a new-found realism on the part of Swedish politicians regarding its ultimate chances of success. Lillienhof, reporting to the Royal College of Commerce in October 1674, openly admitted that the Russians had no intention of revising Arkhangel'sk's leading role in Muscovite export trade. The reports of the Swedish commercial agent in Moscow, Christoffer von Kochen, were similarly pessimistic. E. Küng suggests that disappointment with the perceived failure of their agenda may in fact have played some part in nudging Swedish politicians towards greater protectionism.[388] Available evidence from subsequent diplomatic complaints does, indeed, paint a picture of a commercial relations plagued by constant tension on the ground. Swedish merchants complained of violations of the Kardis Treaty as they were allegedly often prevented from visiting Novgorod and Pskov, or subjected to lengthy delays and forced to pay bribes. Complaints of contract violations and substandard goods remained legion, as ever. Overall, however, the tone of these almost formulaic complaints did not differ substantially from earlier decades.[389] Undoubtedly, the primary cause of the deterioration of Swedish-Russian commercial relations had to do with the aforementioned xenophobia permeating Tsar Fedor's court.

Pressures in the Swedish relationship with Muscovy began to ease with the coronation of Ivan V and Peter I. Russia in 1683 proposed negotiations for the purpose of renewing the Kardis and Pliussa treaties which was, indeed, duly done after talks in Stockholm and Moscow. The last Swedish-Russian treaty in the 17th century reaffirmed the right of free and unhindered trade, subject only to the standard duties, throughout both countries. The Muscovite government instructed the *voevody* of Novgorod and Pskov to abolish illegal fees and to resolve Swedish complaints without delay. Even as tensions eased, however, the goal of free trade in accordance with existing treaties

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[387] Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga," p. 282; Jenšs, "Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība," pp. 160–1.

[388] *EFMSR*, pp. 199–203; Forsten, "Snosheniia," June 1899, pp. 322–30; Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, p. 58.

[389] Forsten, "Snosheniia," September 1899, pp. 54–62; *EFMSR*, pp. 251–63; *ĖSMRSh*, pp. 154–9.

remained beyond reach. Complaints on both sides conformed to earlier patterns and a new problem was created by Russian opposition to the new practice of sorting and quality controls.[390]

Tension on the ground notwithstanding, the central governments continued in the spirit of the new *rapprochement* between the two countries. 1691 saw an effort by Stockholm to evaluate the state of Swedish-Russian commerce, for which purpose they invited the Ingrian Governor Sperling and Narva Castellan von Kochen to enlighten them as experts in the field. Both men voiced the persistent indignation of Swedish merchants at the perceived asymmetry in their treatment in Russia, as opposed to the treatment of Russians in Sweden. High customs duties, discrimination of the Baltic route, and rigged exchange rates meant, Kochen argued, that a Swedish merchant visiting Moscow would incur costs amounting to some 30 percent of the total value of his goods, whereas a Russian visiting Stockholm would pay at most four percent.[391] The Chancellery, Chamber, and Commerce Colleges in their March 1692 report nonetheless decided against policy revisions. While there was found to be a binding legal basis for challenging Russia on several issues, the politicians concluded that it was unlikely that the Russians would agree to abandon their discrimination of the Baltic ports or significantly modify the New Commercial Code. On several key issues, whether retail trade by Russians or the rights of Persian Armenians to visit Sweden, the final conclusions warned that an aggressive stance, no matter how justified, would result in more damage than benefits. As the only significant concession, the colleges proposed a transit duty between the Baltic ports and rest of Sweden, a measure ultimately rejected by the king. Instead of pursuing protracted, and ultimately probably fruitless, negotiations with Russia, the colleges recommended a diplomatic offensive in the West, urging more publicity for the advantages of Baltic shipping among Dutch and British merchants. The king ultimately chose not take position on any central issue and sent even the question of retail trade back to the colleges for their consideration.[392] Few changes of substance took place in the Swedish-Russian economic relationship following Karl XVII's accession and subsequent

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[390] Shaskol'skii, *Ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 281–3, 285–6; *RShĖO*, p. 447; Piirimäe, *Kaubanduse küsimused*, p. 40; Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 62–4.

[391] RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 17; Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 65–7.

[392] *EFMSR*, pp. 267–76; Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 65–7.

negotiations. Swedish merchants expressed concern over Peter's continuing ambition to concentrate foreign trade at Arkhangel'sk. There were fears that the decision to concentrate potash and ash trade there might one day be applied to fibers as well, with obviously devastating effect on the Baltic ports. The Swedes, however, chose to allow Russian Baltic trade to evolve at its own pace, rather than trying to promote it by potentially provocative diplomatic means.[393]

The economic renaissance of the post-Kardis era led to considerable progress in local economic development more generally. The end of the century—in a veritable triumph of late Carolingian mercantilism—saw a considerable intensification of proto-industrialization in Narva. The processing of Russian inputs developed further and began to be undertaken on a larger scale then before. William Kettlewell developed sorting and cleaning facilities for flax and hemp which appears to have increased quality standards a great deal. He similarly processed imported tobacco. In 1696, Gerasim Kondrat'ev set up a shop for the purpose of processing Russian raw hides into *iufti*. He was given a 20-year monopoly of *iuft'* production in Narva and Ingria.[394] The most impressive success story, however, had to do with the creation of a local forest industry starting in the 1670s. From the beginning, the Narva sawmills offered a wide array of products. There were single and double deals, planks, oak boards, door and window jambs, rough-hewed beams, ship arches, and nails. The most important category of unprocessed timber consisted of masts, exported since the 1680s at the rate of 15–290 a year. In addition, there were shipbuilding materials: nose beams and yards. The sawmills further produced timber for windmill sails, booms, rafters, etc. The leading merchant involved in the business was Burgomaster Jürgen Tunderfelt who eventually came to control three sawmills. The Pernau Customs Inspector J.G. Müller inspected the Narva sawmills at the beginning of 1688 and produced a highly laudatory report. The highest praise was reserved for Tunderfeldt's facilities which had 16 saws and a total capacity to produce 40–50 shiploads a year.[395]

Nyen followed the same pattern of tentative proto-industrialization as its neighbors. By the end of the century the city had brick factories, a lime factory, a ropewalk, a tar mill, a textile workshop, shipyards,

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[393] Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 75–5; RA Muscovitica, vol. 118.
[394] Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," pp. 212–3.
[395] Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus," pp. 58, 60–1, 67–8, 70; Soom, "Der ostbaltische Holzhandel," p. 97.

and a saw mill with four saws. In addition, there were various workshops and factories for the cleaning and sorting of various Muscovite imports. Some Russian flax and hemp was evidently also converted into yarn and ropes.[396] Again, the timber processing industry came to outshine all others, however. Most of Nyen's saws were located in northeastern Ingria, in the neighboring Nöteborg district. To the first saws in Kexholm and Kronoborg county on the west coast of Lake Ladoga were added new ones by the Izhora rapids and, in 1693 at Nöteborg. By 1696, new mills arose nearby, at Ingris, Duderhof, and Loppis. Much of the timber for these mills came from adjacent regions of Russia and the Ingrian Governor General in 1688 repeatedly warned Stockholm that restrictions on the importation of Russian timber would lead to the ruin of the Ingrian sawmills.[397]

In an attempt to increase the local demand for Russian goods, the government sought to stimulate domestic shipping and in 1687 halved the export duty on goods transported on Swedish vessels.[398] This, combined with the emergence of a local timber industry, stimulated the development of shipbuilding in Ingria. Soon after the Crown issued a permit for a shipyard near Riga in 1672, Tunderfeldt turned to Stockholm with a similar request for Narva which was duly granted.[399] Tunderfelt may have established his wharf as late as 1680, at which time a Dutch immigrant, Jakob Porteus, became another pioneer of this industry. The first ship appears to have been built in 1684 on commission for a Reval captain and his Stockholm-based partners. The builders came from Germany and the proportions of the ship must have been considerable, since it was intended for long-distance trade with England, France, and the Netherlands. Porteus' highly successful enterprise enjoyed the backing of the political establishment, which allowed him to significantly expand the company by the end of the century. Kettlewell, starting 1692–3, had a large shipbuilding venture on the left bank of the river. Johann Hartmann was the most significant of smaller-scale shipbuilders and even some local artisans produced ships.[400] The emergence of Narva's shipbuilding industry represented an impressive effort by the local merchants to pool resources in an effort to strengthen the region's

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[396] Soom, "Tööstusest;" *Sbornik dokumentov*, No LXIX.
[397] Åström, "Holländarna," pp. 66–7, 69, 70, 75.
[398] Liiv, *Die wirtschaftliche Lage*, p. 75.
[399] *Ibidem*, p. 5; RA Riksregistraturet 1673, fol. 46 ff.
[400] Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus," pp. 69–71; EAA 1646–2–211, fol. 1; 1646–1–813, fols. 77, 92^{v}–4.

economy. Most ships were built with the participation of a number of leading merchants, local representatives of the Crown, and members of the Narva Council, sometimes even outsiders from Reval and Stockholm.[401] At least 11 ships were built in Narva. In addition, Narva burghers acquired ships from elsewhere. By the 1690s, Narva burghers already owned in excess of 10 ships engaging in long-distance transportation past the Danish Sound. The Narva-controlled long-distance ships ranged between 40 and 280 lasts in capacity. The total capacity of the vessels recorded by Piirimäe almost certainly exceeded 4,000 lasts.[402]

Nyen also established its own merchant fleet by the end of the century with the assistance of Dutch ship builders. Russian raw materials were often used for the construction of the city's fleet which by the end of the century consisted of 30–40 vessels. Nyen wharves had also outside commissions. Thus, they—probably in the early 1690s—built a large 200-last vessel, "Die goldene Sonne," as well as the 170-last "Fortuna," both for Narva burghers. Two Narva burghers in 1694 bought shares in the Nyen-built "Carl von Reval." In 1695, the Narva burgher Johan Haartman acquired one-half of the unusually large 280-last "König Salomon von Nyen." Indeed, the quality of craftsmanship ended up being high enough for Nyen shipbuilders to serve in Russia as Peter I began to create a Russian fleet at Arkhangel'sk in the 1690s. In 1691–4, 4–7 Swedish ships from Nyen passed the Danish sound each year. This figure rose to 11–19 during the following four years, only to fall back to 9 and then two in 1699–1700.[403] Reval, in contrast, was much less successful in exploiting the provisions of the new legislation than its immediate neighbors. The role of Reval's own shipping declined markedly towards the end of the century. In 1680, Reval citizens still owned some 30 ships. This number fell to 21 by 1696 and further to one in the course of the Great Northern War. The failure of shipbuilding was indicative of a more general lack of progress in there industrial sphere in the province of Estonia.[404]

Perhaps the most striking example of the strength of Swedish shipping and shipbuilding was provided by the coastal parish of Björkö

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[401] Piirimäe, "Laevandus," p. 15.

[402] Piirimäe, "Laevandus," pp. 9–10, 15, 18–9.

[403] *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. LXIX; Piirimäe, "Laevandus," pp. 9, 13–4; Åström, "Hollandärna," pp. 61–2; RGADA f. 150, 1697 g., No 26, fols. 1–2; RAD Øresunds Toldkammarets Arkiv.

[404] Liiv, "Tallinna ajalugu," p. 30; Liiv, *Die wirtschaftliche Lage*, pp. 79–80.

(Finn. Koivisto, Russ. Primorsk) at the gates of Viborg Bay. Björkö came to play a particularly central role in intermediating trade between the Estonian and Ingrian ports, on the one hand, and the southern coast of Finland, as well as the Stockholm region, on the other.[405] The available evidence points to very robust growth in Björkö's shipping and trade in the second half of the century, especially in the 1660s–80s. According to the 1652 customs accounts, Björkö had at least 16 boats with a total capacity of 324 lasts, which by 1674 had increased at least to 20 boats and 550 lasts.[406] Most of the ships crossing the Gulf of Finland or going to Stockholm were approximately 20 lasts, although the average size rose to 27.5 lasts by 1674. They were typically so-called *skutor* with two masts. Towards the end of the century, there were at least a couple of *kreyer*-type vessels with three masts. Y. Kaukiainen surmises that the total capacity of the Björkö fleet may have attained 1,500 lasts in the 1690s. Björkö shipping volumes were nearly five times as much as those of Åbo or Helsingfors and, moreover, exceeded those of the main ports of the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland at least until the last decades of the century.[407] The principal focus of Björkö skippers' operations was the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland, especially Nyen, which gave them a stake in Russian transit trade, even if most of their cargoes consisted of Ingrian products.[408]

One of the finest triumphs of the Swedish *Derivation* policy at the end of the century was the diversion of virtually all of the Persian silk trade that had previously gone to Arkhangel'sk. A key player in the promotion of Swedish-Persian trade was Ludvig Fabritius, an

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[405] In recognition of its exceptional importance, there were some plans to grant Björkö a city charter and a 1617 trade ordinance even includes it as the last entry on a list of cities of emporium, albeit with only a so-called active right which excluded the right to receive foreign ships. Y. Kaukiainen estimates that the population of the parish was 1,300–15,00 in 1638 and some 3,000–3,100 in 1697. Kaukiainen, *Koiviston merenkulun historia*, pp. 84, 87, 89, 106, 122–3, 127–9; Luukko, *Suomen historia 1617–1721*, p. 65.

[406] In 1663, Björkö had the largest number of such small boats (*skutor*) of any Finnish parish, 43, out of a total of 260. Kaukiainen, *Suomen talonpoikaispurjehdus*, pp. 19–20.

[407] Fahlborg, *Ett blad*, p. 255; Kaukiainen, *Koiviston merenkulun historia*, pp. 107–11.

[408] In 1651, eight Björkö vessels visited the Neva delta. The more complete Nyen customs records for 1652 indicate that 15 Björkö merchants carried wares from the city, all with one exception to Stockholm. Björkö shipping between Nyen and Stockholm appears to have grown in significance during the remainder of the century. There were 23 Björkö vessels in 1654, 17 in 1655, 37 in 1663, and 35 in 1679, one of them going to Narva and the rest to Stockholm. Kaukiainen, *Koiviston merenkulun historia*, pp. 92–3; RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 34.

officer of Dutch origins, who had previously served in Russia. On one of his missions, he made the acquaintance of the Armenian merchant Grigoris Lusikents who had been the shah's representative in commercial negotiations with the tsar. Fabritius eventually ended up in Stockholm and offered to undertake a mission to Isfahan where he was hoping to use his connections to bring about a transfer of the Persian transit trade to the Baltic route. Having gained the backing of the Swedish administration, Fabritius set off in the summer of 1679. On behalf of the Stockholm government, Fabritius offered the Persians free entry into Sweden, two years' exemption from duties, and even to construct barges for shipping across the Caspian Sea. The envoy was favorably received by the merchants of Isfahan and managed to persuade the Swedish government to send him there again in 1683. Even the shah showed interest in the Swedish propositions this time, not least because of military pressure exerted by the Dutch United East India Company to gain toll reductions.[409] Following a special commission, Karl XI in September 1687 granted a royal charter which it allowed for: (i) a comfortable "Persian" house in Narva and royal protection throughout Sweden, (ii) a guaranteed maximum rate of customs duty of 2 percent on wares imported by the Armenians, (iii) a cap of 1 percent of the toll imposed on European wares exported by the Company, (iv) total exemption from duty payments for a three-year period, (v) separate customs rates for different commodities, including various types of silk, (vi) depending on the season, boats, wagons, or sleighs for transportation between the Russian border and Narva, and (vii) adequate shipping capacity on the Narva-Amsterdam route. In return for these privileges, the Armenians were expected to transfer their operations from Arkhangel'sk to Narva.[410] One of the reasons for Karl IX's interest in the Armenian silk trade was his intention to establish a domestic silk industry so as to reduce Sweden's dependence on imports. However, a mill created for the purpose failed within a couple of years, even though the king in 1688 also placed a ban on the importation of silk products from western Europe in a futile attempt to promote the new company.[411]

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[409] Troebst, "Narva," pp. 162–3, 166.

[410] Troebst, "Narva," pp. 166–7; RA Kommerskollegium, Huvudarkivet, Inkomna handlingar, Kungliga brev och remisser, b) Supplementserie (E I b), vol. 1: 1673, 1688–1703, fol. 117^{v}.

[411] Troebst, "Narva," pp. 167–8.

Conclusions

Western demand for Russian goods underwent a steady expansion in the course of the 17th century. The history of the Dutch merchant community in Russia offers the most striking evidence of the nearly inexhaustible desire for Muscovite wares. From modest beginnings in northern Russian coastal products, Dutch trade expanded to eclipse its competitors already by the beginning of the century. Flexible partnerships and unparalleled financial resources gave the Dutch a decisive edge on the new market and the scale of their shipping on the White Sea route (excluding the temporary "grain peaks") more than quintupled in the course of the century. The Dutch were remarkably successful in keeping trade and politics separate and Dutch-Russian diplomacy was a relatively late outgrowth of the commercial relationship. By the 1670s, however, political relations between the two countries became formalized with the appointment of a permanent ambassador. Coincident with a surge of Muscovite protectionism, Keller's interventions were crucial in allowed Dutch merchants to defend their positions during a difficult period.

English commerce with Russia was, on a number of levels, a mirror image of Dutch trade. There was, at least *de iure*, only one centralized company whose operations built on generous privileges granted by the Russians. The Muscovy Company, in spite of intense diplomatic maneuvering, was relatively unsuccessful in its rivalry against the Dutch, and gradually declined. Anglo-Russian commerce was on a steady downward course into the 1670s and only in the 1690s did a thorough reorganization of the Muscovy Company bring about a true renaissance of trade with Russia. This was preceded by dramatic growth in English trade at Narva. For much of the century, the English demand for Russian wares must thus have been of marginal importance, as important as the pioneering role of the Muscovy Company had been. However, starting in the '70s, the largely tobacco-driven growth of Anglo-Russian commerce was important in amplifying a general positive trend in Arkhangel'sk and Narva alike.

The relative role of the Hanseatic cities in Russian trade had declined a great deal by the 17th century. However, especially Lübeck merchants continued to be the key driving for behind Russian transit trade in the Baltic through thick and thin. Their relative weight declined towards the end of the century with the rise of domestic shipping and the growing weight of trans-Sound trade. Lübeckers

were, moreover, of considerable importance in influencing Swedish commercial policy in ways to undoubtedly enhanced the transit role of the Baltic ports. The North Sea cities of Hamburg and Bremen were only active on the Arkhangel'sk route where they became at least comparable to the English in terms of their economic weight. They were particularly important in sustaining White Sea shipping during periods of Anglo-Dutch conflict. Danish-Norwegian shipping with the Russian north, in spite of periodic success, never attained the stage of regular annual exchange.

The existence of the ambitious *Derivation* program made Sweden unique among Russia's trade partners. The limited economic strength of Sweden reduced the demand-pull effect and few Baltic merchants possessed the resources for large-scale direct involvement in Russian trade. However, after initial difficulties, the Swedes became increasingly successful at using economic policy to attract Russian and Western European merchants to the eastern Baltic ports. Repeated efforts to use Russian transit trade to promote the interests of the Baltic bourgeoisie undoubtedly reduced overall trade volumes somewhat. Nonetheless, Swedish policy, in spite of its numerous inconsistencies, was remarkably effective in underlining the power of economic incentives and posed an increasingly serious challenge to Russian policy goals.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RUSSIAN SUPPLY RESPONSE

This chapter examines the Russian response to the growing foreign demand for Muscovite goods. The analysis consists of four main elements. The chapter will open with an examination of the most concrete and obvious case of foreign influence on the supply side, *viz.* the direct effect of foreign merchants on the evolution of the Russian export bundle. In a number of key areas, foreign traders played a pivotal role in initiating or substantially expanding the production of important export goods. This is followed by an evaluation of the general response by Russian producers to new incentives created by foreign trade. Particular attention will be devoted to artisanal and proto-industrial products that were prominent among Russian exports. The third section assesses the evolution of the Russian "merchant class." A discussion of the elite merchants is followed by an overview of local merchant elites, which included active participants in foreign trade. The closing section of the chapter is devoted to Russian commercial policy in which considerations having to do with foreign trade often played a prominent role. The Muscovite authorities were constantly torn between the demands of the Treasury for customs revenues, on the one hand, and the desire to strengthen domestic merchants, on the other. In several instances, government policy became an important constraint on the development of trade as domestic distributional conflicts conspired to exert a negative influence on overall trade volumes.

Any discussion of the Russian supply response has to recognize the often insurmountable difficulties involved in separating out supply and demand considerations and determining the direction of causality between them. While it is often unequivocally the case that external demand stimulus made the expansion of particular productive activities possible, it is naturally just as true that the export growth could only materialize thanks to the evolution of the supply side, whatever its causes. Even though the fragmentary source base often makes strong conclusions impossible, the discussion will show that in

many cases the foreign demand stimulus must have been the driving force behind the expansion of domestic supply.

The following analysis focuses primarily on the leading categories of Muscovite exports, an approach justified partly by source limitations, but even more by Russia's high degree of dependency on a relatively small number of export goods. Arkhangel'sk had only five groups of goods which in any given year are known to have accounted for more than 10 percent of the total value of the exports passing through the port: furs, *iufti*, potash, tallow, and grain. The combined share of these goods was a commanding 73.5 percent in 1642, 79.9 percent in 1653, 83.3 percent in 1655, and roughly two-thirds in 1673 (Table 5.3). The export profile of Novgorod and Pskov was even narrower and heavily dominated by fibers. Flax and hemp jointly accounted for 84.9 percent of the total exports through the Pskov German guesthouse in 1623/4, as compared to 59 percent in 1670/1. The were no *iufti* in the early 1620s, but their share rose to 30.3 percent by 1670/1 (Tables 6.4 and 6.5).

The Direct Effects of Foreign Demand

In several instances, foreign merchants initiated, or at least fundamentally furthered, the development of particular export-oriented productive activities. One of the key challenges facing foreign merchants active in Muscovy was to process the country's wealth of relatively inexpensive raw materials in a way that would make large-scale shipping over long distances profitable. This ambition coincided with the Russian government's objective of increasing the degree of processing of Muscovite exports because of the fiscal gains that this entailed. Fiscal considerations were often even more immediate as the government repeatedly sacrificed long-term gains in favor of short-term payoffs by farming out monopolies in various key areas. Yet the transformative effect of direct cooperation with foreign entrepreneurs on the export profile was often considerable. The financial gain to the state Treasury, even when it was of limited duration, was crucially important, especially in the first half of the century, in contributing to the financial consolidation of the Muscovite state. There were several other important instances where foreign merchants engaged in projects inspired at least in part by the objective of import

substitution by providing the crucial knowhow and capital.[1] The early history of the Russian metal industry and weapons production serve as a particularly important case in point. The following discussion will, however, deal exclusively with foreign involvement in the production of goods for the primary purpose of export.

The goal of increasing the value added was particularly daunting in the case of forest products and this became, not surprisingly, the area where foreigners had their most direct impact on reshaping Russia's export profile. Muscovy's timber endowments were quite obviously unparalleled in the Old World, yet the exportation of raw timber on the White Sea route could hardly be expected to successfully compete with the more favorably situated Norwegian, or even Baltic, forests. In addition, long distances within Russia made access to river transportation a crucial precondition for shipping unprocessed timber. Under these circumstances, there was a dual incentive to process the green gold of the eastern taiga into more compact and valuable commodities, such as tar and potash.

Tar, produced on the northern coastal plain—especially around the Vaga region—for centuries had been a Russian export commodity for a long time, even though the quantities exported fell far short of Baltic tar. At the urging of the English tar was in 1615 made a "forbidden" good, not to be exported without permission. Echoing the Muscovy Company's position, John Merrick in 1620 again advised the Russians to restrict tar exports so as to stimulate domestic cordage production, a strategy that did indeed meet with some success with the establishment of rope walks along the northern river route. Merrick's strategy made eminent sense. By processing two categories of relatively inexpensive bulky commodities—fibers and timber—it created incentives for the exportation of these goods via the preferred White Sea route which, in the case of flax and hemp, often entailed crossing long distances between the western and northwestern production regions and the White Sea. Dutchman Karel du Moulin's ropewalk in Kholmogory produced over 3,000 *pud* of ropes p.a. in the 1620s, whereas two English rope walks—in Arkhangel'sk and Vologda—were in 1649 jointly valued at R 550. Another Dutch ropewalk opened in Vologda by the '40s and the English had an additional facility in

[1] For a brief discussion of this, see: Kotilaine, "In Defense."

Kholmogory. In 1620–1, the English were granted permission to buy tar directly from the local peasant producers. However, relatively soon thereafter tar was indeed made a Treasury monopoly.[2]

English activism was not sufficient over time to keep their rivals out. In spite of an intervention in 1636 by Charles I, the tar monopoly was farmed out to Dutch merchant Julius Willeken (Elisei Ul'ianov) for five years, with the annual rent nearly doubling from R 400 to R 700 in the course of the farm to a total of R 2,750. Evidently eager to expand his operations, Willeken gained broad rights for tar production in the Dvina-Sukhona valleys. The English, however, were allowed to continue to buy tar for their needs in the countryside and even sought to regain the farm when Simon Digby and Thomas Wych—unsuccessfully—offered the government an annual payment of R 1,500.[3] Repeated English attempts to regain the tar monopoly failed, as another Dutchman—Herman Fenzel of the De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership—succeeded Willeken in 1640–5, now with an annual rent payment of R 1,150. In 1641, Fenzel's tar exports reached 2,127 barrels.[4] While the tsar's revenues practically doubled to R 5,750, the lack of willing successors in 1646–8 suggests that the rent payments may have become excessive, although political considerations on the part of the Muscovite government may have been no less important. Andries Winius was ultimately granted the farm as a reward for his services in promoting Russian industrialization.[5] In 1671, tar accumulated from previous years was given to a partnership of *Gost'* Semen Potapov, Thomas Kellerman, and Vladimir Voronin to sell to foreign merchants. The tar monopoly was once again farmed out in 1678, this time to *Gosti* Gavrila Fetiev, Voronin,

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[2] Smirnov, *Ėkonomicheskaia politika*, pp. 7–8; Demkin, "Zapadnoevropeiskie kapitaly," pp. 22–23; Luk'ianov, *Istoriia khimicheskikh promyslov*, III, pp. 318, 327; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 373–6, 378–80; *idem*, "The Arkhangel'sk Trade."

[3] While the Company, estimated the annual needs of its rope walk at 500 barrels, it regularly purchased over 1,000 barrels a year, apparently by offering the Russian peasants higher prices that Willeken. An agreement in 1638 put the Company's annual quota at 800 barrels. Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 381–4, 386–8.

[4] Due to Dutch complaints, the English quota was reduced to 400 barrels p.a. in 1642 and preventive action by Fenzel reduced the annual purchases to some 100 barrels in 1642–5, presumably with the effect of boosting Dutch exports correspondingly. Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 381–4, 386–8, 391, 393–4.

[5] Demkin, "Zapadnoevropeiskie kapitaly," pp. 24–5; *Thurloe Papers*, III, p. 731; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670–talet; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 88; HU BBL GKLEL 3081.15: Reasons for Enlarging and Regulating the Trade To Russia and the Narve, 1695; PRO Customs 3.

and Kellerman who then held it for a period of eight years paying the Treasury R 400 a year. By the end of the century, Kellerman had apparently acquired exclusive monopoly rights.[6] The loss of foreign control thus seems to have coincided with relative stagnation of tar production if the annual rent is any measure of total output.

The role of foreigners was even more crucial in initiating potash production. Even though they can claim virtually exclusive credit for adding a crucial new dimension to the Muscovite open sector, they were to a degree able to build on a long-standing local tradition of burning ash on the upper Volga and in the Vologda region. Potash, however, was a more refined product and the demand for it created by the exhaustion of forest resources in the Low Countries and on the British Isles. Potash played an important role in the textile industry, where it could be substituted for alum in bleaching and dyeing fabric. It was also used in soap production and glass-making. This time, the Dutch took the initiative. Karel du Moulin was in 1630 granted permission to "burn forest and make ash" in Tot'ma and Ustiug districts, as well as a 10-year monopoly on its exportation against the payment of a rouble a barrel. After a failure in the north, he was allowed in 1631 to expand his operations southward to the Viatka and Nizhnii Novgorod districts and down the Volga to Samara. Du Moulin continued to be plagued by misfortunes and labor shortages, however, the government's patience was eventually exhausted. A 1640 petition to further expand the production area was denied as he had failed to establish permanent works and made little profit for the tsar. The Dutchman was outbid in 1643 by Simon Digby who, after an initial two-year tax-exempt period, was to hold the farm for a decade. Digby, unlike Du Moulin, was not allowed to operate on the Volga but was able to remedy the problem by having his agent, White, lease forests belonging to Il'ia Danilovich Miloslavskii in the Nizhnii district. White eventually took over the enterprise after Digby's death in 1645. Jointly with colleagues Francis Ashe and John Doufte, White in 1648 acquired extensive rights for production in central Russia, in the Arzamas, Nizhnii Novgorod, Iaroslavl', and Vologda regions. Persistent difficulties notwithstanding, a total of 200 barrels was produced for export on the Digby lands in 1647. Also Alexander Crawford, an associate of White, gained a

[6] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 121; Zaozerskaia, "Vologodskii gost'," p. 197.

seven-year grant for potash production in Murom district in 1644. The English ventures were highly successful, yielding 80–160 tons of potash p.a. and perhaps as much as 310 tons at their peak. The English privileges came to end in 1649 when White's newly-built potash mills in the Arzamas region were "nationalized" by the Treasury. White had by then invested a total of R 7,000 in his facilities.[7]

With time, the Briansk district in the southwest emerged as a secondary center of potash production. A number of mills also sprung up along the defensive lines of the Southern Frontier, especially around Putivl', Ryl'sk, Kadom, etc. However, after a string of complaints by townsmen, a 1659 decree forbade potash production in areas where the disappearance of forests had harmed the local apiculture.[8] The decree marked the beginning of a decline in the private production of potash, a policy enhanced by the temporary nationalization of all potash exports in 1662 and the transfer of Morozov's potash mills to the state in 1668. *De facto* state control of potash production paved the way to a full monopoly in 1681. Until the end of the century and beyond, all remaining producers had to deliver their production to the Treasury at a set price.[9]

In spite of the initial difficulties in establishing potash production on a large scale, the consolidation of the industry constitutes one of the most impressive success stories in the history of Muscovite foreign trade. After a mere two decades of development, Russian potash exports in 1655 reached a total of 18,000 S# which remarkably accounted for nearly a quarter of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports. This proportion steadily declined in the second half of the century but was still well over 10 percent in the 1670s.[10]

The Dutch ambassadors Burgh and Veltdriel in 1631 presented the tsar with an eloquent case for timber production and shipbuilding in northern Russia. While permission to cut trees along the Dvina was indeed granted to a group headed by Du Moulin, the project appears not to have taken off. Renewed pleas, this time for mast production, were made by Dutch merchants and an Englishman in

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[7] Demkin, "Zapadnoevropeiskie kapitaly," pp. 26–7; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 416–7; *idem*, "The Arkhangel'sk Trade." RGADA f. 35, 1649–1652 gg., d. 173, fol. 48.

[8] *PSZ*, I, No 250.

[9] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 129–30; Luk'ianov, *Istoriia*, II, p. 34.

[10] *Thurloe Papers*, III, p. 713; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet.

the 1660s, apparently to no avail. Only in 1668 did Peter Marselis gain a mast farm and, in collaboration with Pieter Verbeeck, Hendrick Lijnslager, Hendrick Thesingh, Hans Willem Elbingh, Enno Brant, and Jacob van der Meer, signed the *Contract van de Moscovische Masten.* In 1670, Werner Muller joined the contract and became the holder of a 10-year mast monopoly with the right to build a sawmill at Arkhangel'sk. Muller was permitted to buy mast timber from tax-paying state peasants in the Dvina, Vaga, Tot'ma, Ustiug, and Viatka districts. The venture met with immediate success. By 1674, annual exports likely totaled 150–200 masts. Thesingh and Van der Meer typically leased 2–3 ships a year to fetch the masts. Muller was succeeded in 1680 by his partner, Heinrich Butenant, who in the 1680s exported an annual average of some 200 masts. He acquired his timber in the same area as Muller and ever rented forests along the Iug. The export toll alone generated the tsar an income of Rtl 10 per mast in the early 1670s. In 1693, the monopoly passed to the Dutchman Daniel Hartman who held it until 1704. The terms were modified in 1698, when the payment per mast to the government was temporarily reduced to Rtl 7. Apparently next to no exports via Arkhangel'sk had materialized by 1696. However, by 1710, exports already reached 286 masts.[11] Foreigners produced also other types of timber. The Thesingh brothers in 1684 joined Mathijs Barts to build and operate a water-powered sawmill in Arkhangel'sk but details on the venture are scarce.[12]

The Dutch also played an instrumental role in creating a Russian shipbuilding industry. The Russians made their first enquiries about hiring Dutch shipwrights in the early 1690s and Jan Stark finally traveled to Arkhangel'sk in 1696. The Russians had acquired their first commercial vessel in the Netherlands just two years earlier. However, the vessel stood empty in 1695 and made such heavy losses on its trip to Amsterdam the following year that it was sold to the Houtmans.[13]

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[11] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, pp. 21–23; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 117–8; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670–talet; Kloetstra, *Christoffel Brants*, pp. 16–7; Veluwenkamp, "'n huis op Archangel," pp. 128–9; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, pp. 138, 140, 142.

[12] Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 144.

[13] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 225–6; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1696 g., No 1, fols. 1–2.

The evolution of the Russian forest industry reflects some of the proposals made by the French vagabond bureaucrat-entrepreneur Jean de Gron(ier), self-appointed foreign economic advisor, who presented his economic "project" soon after his arrival in Moscow in 1651. He stressed that no other activity is as profitable as overseas trade for which he deemed Russia to be ideally suited given her wealth of naval stores. De Gronier foresaw the annual construction of 100 ships, some of which could be sold abroad at R 10,000 each and the rest used for trade throughout the world, as well as herring fishing and whale hunting. The latter was said to yield profits of Rtl 10,000 p.a. for each ship, in part through a dramatic increase in train oil exports. De Gronier offered to find a site for a White Sea shipyard, to be supplied entirely with domestic construction materials. He also proposed a similar shipbuilding project for the Volga and the Caspian. De Gronier maintained that the mechanized sawmills required for processing the timber for shipbuilding would further stimulate trade by producing a surplus of planks for exportation.[14] De Gronier sought to ensure competitiveness and profitability by minimizing input costs. He proposed that the domestic labor force for these industries should come from the ranks of low-cost serfs. This was particularly important in the case of a twofold scheme for increasing export revenues which consisted of turning Russian forests first into potash and then into grain fields, which, he suggested, would allow Russia to overtake Danzig as a grain exporter.[15] While the actual importance of these ideas is difficult to determine, it seems clear his proposals were not only studied but had at least an indirect influence on government policy. De Gronier's project was read by Aleksei Mikhailovich and also noticed by Johan de Rodes.[16]

A much smaller-scale venture, but of crucial importance for English and Dutch trade with Italy, was caviar trade. Much like with tar, Western involvement appears to have transformed the sector. The state had monopolized the sale of caviar sales by 1623 and the operation was supervised by *Gost'* Nadeia Sveteshnikov until 1630. Sveteshnikov annually sold some R 14,000 worth of the sought-after product to the Treasury. In 1624, he signed a contract with Richard Freeman

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[14] Baklanova, "Ian de-Gron," p. 111.

[15] *Ibidem*, pp. 114–16, 120; Bazilevich, "Ėlementy merkantilizma," p. 13.

[16] Baklanova, "Ian de-Gron," pp. 117–19; Bazilevich, "Ėlementy merkantilizma," p. 13; Bazilevich, "Kollektivnye chelobit'ia," p. 98.

and his associates William Bladwel, Francis Flyer, and Thomas Fowell who agreed to buy the entire supply for six years. Also the De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership appears to have been formally involved in this arrangement in 1624–30. The Dutch were to buy up to 30,000 *pud* (some 1,000,000 lbs) p.a. from the Treasury and pay in specie. This amount was increase to 30–35,000 *pud* in 1633, although the new target almost certainly remained beyond reach. In 1636, Henry Garaway and John Osborne of the Muscovy Company gained the monopoly for five years at the cost of R 12,600 a year. Annual exports may have totaled 540,000 lbs a year, a figure that rose to 810,000 lbs by 1644. The farm then went to the Dutchmen Pieter van Ceulen and Jean Pellicorne for the period 1645–7, only to be regained by Osborne and John Hebdon for the Muscovy Company for 1649–54. However, the increased cost of the farm to an impressive R 51,975 in 1649 caused serious financial problems. The monopoly was underwritten by David Ruts who lent Osborne Rtl 14,000. The loan was repaid in 1651 with 100 barrels of caviar which Ruts sent to Venice. Thanks to his association with Osborne, Ruts, together with the Hamburg merchants Zacharis Belkens and Philip Verpoorten bought 11,419 *pud* black caviar (worth Rtl 26,408) from the tsar in 1653. The two Hambugers appear to have held the monopoly for a while but Hebdon regained it in 1655 by promising to export at least 500 barrels a year. B.G. Kurts claims that the monopoly was, in fact, controlled by a Florentine merchant in the years 1655–9. Hebdon did, however, dispatch a ship loaded with caviar at least in 1658. In 1670–8, possibly even a couple of years earlier, Belkens and Verpoorten held the privilege, and in 1698–1706 it appears to have been in the hands of I. Farius. Surviving quantitative estimates suggest an average of 400 barrels (some 16,000 *pud*) p.a. left the White Sea port in 1670–8. In 1698, however, the total was significantly lower: 113 barrels or 4,520 *pud*. The annual average in 1699–1702 was 160 barrels, or some 6,400 *pud*.[17]

[17] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, pp. 209, 260; *Sostoianie Rossii*, p. 94; Gurliand, *Ivan Gebdon*, pp. 6–7; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 202–3; Bushkovitch, *Merchants of Moscow*, p. 154; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 369–72; *idem*, "The Arkhangel'sk Trade;" Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, pp. 87, 101–2.

Trade and Economic Expansion

Most of the wares demanded by foreign merchants had been regular products of the Muscovite economy for centuries. The task of establishing the importance of external demand in further stimulating their production is complicated by the fact that the 17th century was, overall, an era of substantial demographic and territorial growth for Russia. The output volumes of most export goods increased significantly due to the steady expansion of domestic demand alone. However, there were several categories of key exports where the rate of growth far outstripped anything explicable in terms of purely domestic factors. Export demand thus constitutes the only way of accounting for these developments.

Precise and reliable data on the demographic development of Muscovy is, alas, not available, especially for the first half of the century. However, a combination of various censuses and extrapolation from subsequent trends, have made it possible to construct reasonable estimates of Russia's population growth. The most credible estimates put the population at the beginning of the 17th century at some 4.5 million male souls, a figure that may still be somewhat overoptimistic. Ia.E. Vodarskii has estimated the total population of the country at 5.6 million male souls in 1678, a figure that rose further to 7.8 million by 1719. The total population of Russia is likely to have been approx. 11 million in 1678.[18] This demographic expansion was accompanied by an even more vigorous process of urbanization, albeit from a very modest starting point. Vodarskii estimated the total number of townsman households of Russia at 8,938 in 1646, and at 31,484 in 1678, an upward trend which likely continued more or less apace as the Muscovite era neared its end. The overall townsman population has been put at 108,000 around 1650, 134,000 in 1670–80, and 196,000 in 1722.[19]

The expansion of Russia's townsman population was driven by

[18] Goehrke, *Die Wüstungen*, p. 161; Vodarskii, *Naselenie*, p. 192.

[19] The number of townsmen refers to taxpaying adults living in the commercial settlements, typically between the central fortress (kreml') and the outer fortifications of a city. The figures should thus not be interpreted as the total number *posad* inhabitants, let alone the overall urban population. In many cities, the number of military personnel and government officials was at least as great and some of them engaged in trade. Hittle, *The Service City*, pp. 21–8; Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," pp. 276, 290; Vodarskii, *Naselenie*, pp. 130, 133.

the cities most closely involved in Russian export trade. For example, the cities along the northern river route, which had arisen in the cruel and impenetrable taiga, experienced robust growth thanks to the trade flows passing between Arkhangel'sk and central Russia. The rate of expansion was remarkable, even if these cities never rose to the ranks of the country's leading population centers. The largest of the towns, Ustiug Velikii, had a townsman population of just under 2,000 by the middle of the century. This increased to some 3,000 by 1670–80. The corresponding figures for Sol'vychegodsk were roughly 800 during both periods, and for Tot'ma, some 600 and 1,000, respectively.[20] Vologda's population was estimated by N.V. Falin to be 5,050 in 1627, 4,420 in 1668, and 6,100 in 1681. Already by the late 16th century, the city had established itself as an important center for the production of hides, metal utensils, ropes, soap, and spoons.[21]

Central Russia was both economically and in population terms the most important region of the country. The capital Moscow dwarfed all other cities of the realm by a wide margin and constituted the country's leading economic center in every respect. According to Vodarskii's estimates, the capital had just under 10,000 townsmen in 1647–52, a figure that nearly doubled by 1670–80.[22] In 1622, 58 percent of taxpayers in the capital were tradesmen (*remeslenniki*). M.V. Doŭnar-Zapol'ski, using data from a 1638 survey, albeit with some apparent exaggeration, counted 2,367 tradesmen representing 250 different specializations in the city. The flourishing of handicrafts in the Russian capital was naturally primarily caused by Moscow's role as the country's leading market which received raw materials from across the realm.[23] The high degree of specialization was supported by the level of demand faced by local entrepreneurs. Moscow supplied the court, the country's political and economic elite, as well as the leading foreign merchants who operated there, in short thousands of people with very high disposable incomes by Russian standards. Even though Muscovite artisans covered the whole spectrum of different trades, they appear to have been more heavily

[20] Smirnov, *Goroda*, I/2, p. 83; Baklanova, "Privoznye tovary," p. 17.

[21] Falin, "O chislennosti naseleniia," pp. 4–9; Konovalov *et al., Vologda*, p. 124; Bakhrushin, *Nauchnye trudy*, I, pp. 70–2, 77–8, 97, 103.

[22] Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," p. 282.

[23] Among other things, Moscow had a large number of furriers, 98 by an incomplete count in 1638. Dovnar-Zapol'skii, "Torgovlia i promyshlennost'," pp. 55–7, 60; Tverskaia, *Moskva*, p. 27.

geared to supplying finished products for the domestic market than their counterparts elsewhere in the country. The scarcity of data makes it difficult to formulate strong conclusions, but there is little evidence of leather producers, for instances. The 1638 survey counted only seven curriers (*kozhvenniki*), a strikingly small number but not entirely impossible in light of the fact that the areas of the most intensive cattle rearing were to the north of the capital.[24]

The importance of Moscow was enhanced by the existence of a number of other middle-sized towns—the so-called *zamoskovnye goroda*—around it. Ones having in excess of 400 townsman households in 1646 included Kolomna, Kaluga, Pereslavl'-Zalesskii, Vladimir, Zaraisk, Uglich, Rostov, and Murom, in a declining order of importance. Their combined population at the time was 3,950 houses or 13,334 townsmen. The corresponding totals in the 1670s were roughly comparable. During the intervening year, Kaluga doubled in size to 1,015 houses, while the others declined. Growth in the region resumed thereafter and the total number of townsmen reached 15,433 by 1722.[25]

Moscow was flanked to the north and the east by two important economic clusters along the upper and middle course of the mother of all Russian rivers. The leading Upper Volga cities were Iaroslavl' and Kostroma. Iaroslavl' in particular was a large and diverse commercial center with 1,280 townsmen and 288 other residents already in 1628/9. There were 1,259 houses and 2,672 inhabitants in 1646. Vodarskii's estimates put the population of Iaroslavl' at some 8,000 around 1650 and at roughly 7,000 in the '70s. Even as the overall population remained largely constant in the second half of the century, the number of prosperous entrepreneurs clearly increased. Iaroslavl' had four houses belonging to elite merchants in 1614 and 1630, but the total doubled by 1646, rose further to nine in 1658, 11 in 1668/9, 15 in 1671, and 19 by 1675.[26] In 1668, Iaroslavl' counted 1,504 entrepreneurs representing 136 specializations. The corresponding figures in 1675 were 1,002 and 118, totals which rose to 3,088 and 126, respectively, in 1710.[27] Kostroma was roughly half the size of Iaroslavl'. The *posad* in 1627/8 had 1,540 houses and 1,861 residents. The cor-

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[24] Moscow is likely to have received most of its hides in a processed form, as evidence by the very large number of artisans supplying finished leather products. There were 125 cobblers alone. Tverskaia, *Moskva*, p. 32.

[25] Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," pp. 282–4.

[26] Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, pp. 265–7, 274; Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," p. 284; Korotaeva, "Torgovyi chelovek," p. 164.

[27] Shabrova, *Iaroslavl'*, p. 75.

responding figures in 1646 were 1,458 and 3,066, respectively. By 1664/5, the number of houses had fallen somewhat to 993, and the number of residents to 1,706. In 1678, the city had 1,129 houses and 2,148 residents.[28]

To the east of the capital, Nizhnii Novgorod and Kazan' were the two leading centers of trade and industry. Nizhnii had 1,107 townsman households (4,872 townsmen) in 1646 and 1,270 in the 1670s. Kazan' was roughly comparable in size with 1,191 households and 3,097 townsmen in 1646. This figure, however, fell sharply to only 310 households with some 870 male residents by the '70s, only to recover to 2,279 townsmen in 1722. The economic weight of the region was further boosted by a number of smaller settlements. Other towns with over 400 townsman households by 1646 included Arzamas, Balakhna, Sol' Kamskaia, and Viatka, whose combined townsman population rose to just over 6,500 in the 1670s and just under 7,000 in 1722.[29] Nizhnii Novgorod had a remarkably diverse artisan settlement with a total of 769 masters representing 119 specializations in 1621/2. The largest group were involved in food production (176), followed by leather dressers and furriers (96), and textile producers (68). By 1665, the number of trades had fallen to 67, although the number of masters rose sharply to 1,604. 235 were involved in food production, 175 in leather dressing, and 136 in textile production.[30] Kazan', with a large military presence, had a total population of some 20,000 by the middle of the century. The Tatar population gave the city a cosmopolitan flavor, further enhanced by the presence of other "foreign" communities.[31] Kazan' in 1646 had 1,812 entrepreneurs representing 119 different specializations, led by 172 merchant-dealers (*aslamchei*), 135 cobblers, 120 bakers (*khlebniki, kalachniki*), 111 leather-dressers, 90 tailors, 72 butchers, 60 planers (*strogal'shchiki*), 54 furriers, 54 hatters, etc. At least ten of the artisans headed family enterprises employing up to a dozen people. The number of such ventures likely grew further over time.[32] In the Volga estuary, Astrakhan' steadily rose in the stature, boosted by its

[28] In 1646, Kostroma had 55 "better" merchants and 156 "middling" ones, and 1,426 "poorer" (*molodshie*) merchants. The corresponding numbers in 1664/5 were 17, 44, and 69. Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, pp. 268–73.

[29] Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," pp. 287, 290.

[30] Filatov, *Goroda*, p. 37.

[31] For instance, there were 32 Nogai and 13 Armenian households in 1646. There were a total of 163 "foreigners" in 1663–5. Abdullin *et al.*, *Istoriia Kazani*, I, pp. 93–6.

[32] *Ibidem*, pp. 96–8.

strategic position. There is, unfortunately, very little surviving data on the activities of Astrakhan's artisan population in the 17th century. However, the fragments we do possess point to a diverse regional economy with cobblers, bakers (*kalachniki*), and greengrocers (*ovoshchniki*) the largest groups by the 1720s. The male population of the *posad* was 1,660 in the first quarter of the 18th century.[33]

The demographic development of the Northwest of Russia contrasted sharply with the relatively steady growth of the Volga-Oka mesopotamia. A combination of the Livonian War, the *Oprichnina*, and—after only very partial recovery—the *Smuta* and the Swedish occupation fundamentally undermined the economic health of the once so prosperous region. In particular, Novgorod was devastated almost completely with the population plummeting from a prewar total of at least 1,158 households before the Time of Troubles to barely over 100 by 1617. The subsequent recovery was very gradual with the number of inhabited houses in the *posad* exceeding 500 only in the 1640s. It was only in the second half of the century that Great Novgorod began to reclaim its former glory to any meaningful degree. By the early 1670s, the census-takers already counted in excess of 800 townsman households.[34] The demographic development of Pskov was much more stable in contrast, with the number of households gradually rising from around 800 towards 900.[35] Vodarskii puts the total townsman population of Novgorod at 2,000 in the 1640s and just over 2,500 in the '70s. Other inhabitants numbered over 500. Pskov's townsman population was roughly comparable: 1,150 in 1631, just under 2,600 in the '40s and just short of 2,400 in 1670–80. However, adding other inhabitants would have more than doubled the tally.[36] Northwestern entrepreneurs remained active in a strikingly broad range of different crafts. Novgorod, for instance, counted representatives of 100 different specializations in 1646.[37]

Along the Lithuanian border, Smolensk, Viaz'ma, and Toropets were the largest towns with just over 300 townsman households each in

[33] Golikova, *Ocherki*, pp. 85, 146–7.

[34] RGADA f. 96, op. 1, Stb. No 7, fol. 500; Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 46; Tikhonov, "Sotsial'noe rassloenie," p. 309.

[35] Arakcheev, "Posadskoe naselenie," p. 100.

[36] Bogoiavlenskii, *Nekotorye statisticheskie dannye*, pp. 9–10; Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," pp. 284–5.

[37] RGADA f, 1209, kn. 984.

the 1670s.[38] The Southern Frontier, in contrast, had few towns of national significance. However, the overall population growth of the southern Russian provinces in 1678–1719 was over 250 percent and thus far in excess of the rest of the country. Growth was even more remarkable in the border districts proper which, together with the Kursk region, saw their population treble in the space of four decades. By the 1670s, Bolkhov and Kursk had over 400 *posad* households and the total number of townsmen in the two cities attained 3,746 and 2,554, respectively, by 1722. By that time, also Belev and Orel had over 2,000 townsmen.[39]

The territorial and demographic expansion of Russia had a direct impact on trade. The history of Muscovite fur exports stands as perhaps the best example on the connections between trade and territorial conquests. The ties between urbanization and foreign trade are most obvious in the case of processed goods, of which leather and processed hides were the most important examples.

Export trade was a crucial outlet for Russian furs. Indeed, sable, marten, ermine, mink, and squirrel skins historically dominated Muscovy's economic interaction with neighboring countries. As late as the early 1640s, annual fur exports through Arkhangel'sk were estimated at R 200,000, nearly one-half of the total value of the Russian wares passing through the White Sea port. Often substantial quantities of furs were available on all the other export routes, as well. It is difficult to determine what proportion of Russian furs was destined for foreign markets, not least because we do not possess detailed data on the composition of Arkhangel'sk's exports for more than four years during the whole century. Similarly, the available information on furs supplied by Siberia, while voluminous, can hardly be deemed complete. Nonetheless, rough estimates can be derived from the available export and supply data.

In 1653, sable furs accounted for two-thirds of the nearly R 100,000 worth of furs exported through Arkhangel'sk. Of them, nine-tenths were whole skins, the rest ends, tails, strips, and edges. A total of 23,160 whole skins, with an average value of R 2.5 a piece, left the White Sea port for Western European markets. Extrapolating backwards, we can determine that, under the probably reasonably accurate assumption of a two-thirds share, annual sable exports in the early

[38] Vodarskii, "Chislennost'," pp. 285–6.
[39] Vodarskii, *Naselenie*, p. 225.

1640s would have been in the order of R 130,000, since the known total fur exports attained R 200,000. Given an average price of R 2.5 (not unlikely given the significant quality and price variations),[40] this would have translated into somewhat over 50,000 skins. Adding sable exports on Russia's other export routes would have added at most 50 percent to this total and probably significantly less. 70,000 skins would probably not be an unreasonable estimate of Russian sable exports in the early '40s. This would have corresponded more or less to the peak total annual sable supplies from the Mangazeia district at the time. The total production of the Enisei, Iakutsk, Ilim, Irkutsk, Surgut, and Tomsk regions, as well as western Siberia, would have added an annual total of 120,000 sable skins on a very generous estimate based on the known peak totals for each region in the first half of the century.[41] We can thus surmise that export trade accounted for at least one-third and, at least in some years, probably more than one-half of the total sable supplies from Siberia. In the 1680s and '90s, the Muscovite Treasury annually received some R 100,000 worth of furs from Siberia.[42]

Export trade thus very clearly provided an easy way of capitalizing on Siberia's fur wealth. The economic incentives provided by foreign demand cannot have failed to play an instrumental role in propelling the Russian colonists and administrators eastward as the most accessible resources of western Siberia neared exhaustion. Indeed, while the topic remains to be exhaustively studied, the money to be made in this eastern Eldorado was clearly the primary force in upsetting the delicate ecological balance of Siberian forests and, as will be seen, in undermining Russian fur export trade in the second half of the century (Chapter 5).

Perhaps the most dramatic success story of Russian export trade was the spectacular expansion of leather—and especially *iuft'*—exports, a trend that mirrored the growth of artisanal production and urbanization more generally. *Iuft'* production, in turn, was a complement of tallow production, although the role of tallow in the export bundle declined sharply in the second half of the century. *Iufti* were a quintessentially Muscovite good, even if similar types of leather were produced in smaller quantities also parts of the Polish-Lithuanian

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[40] Hellie, *The Economy*, p. 62.
[41] Pavlov, *Pushnoi promysel*, pp. 358–9, 364–408.
[42] Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade*, pp. 94–6; Ogloblin, *Obozrenie*, IV, pp. 130, 132.

Commonwealth. *Iuft'* production was a drawn-out and elaborate process. Raw hides were treated with ash in a wooden tub over 10–12 days. After this they were soaked for 5–6 days and softened for three days. This was followed by the first two-week round of tanning. The hides were then planed and fermented for four days. The most-time consuming element came from five subsequent rounds of tanning, each taking two weeks. The hides were then washed, dyed, treated with tar and pressed and trimmed. The whole process thus took more than 100 days to complete. A 1660s instruction issued at a Court tannery estimated that 20 pressers (*gladil'shchiki*) could finish 10,000 hides over a six-month period, i.e. fewer than three hides a day per person. The process of production over time generated an advanced division of labor with up to half a dozen different specializations.[43] *Iuft'* manufacturing was the most elaborate large-scale activity in the Russian open sector.

Iuft' production was dominated by the upper and middle Volga region: Iaroslavl', Kostroma, Vologda, Nizhnii Novgorod, Kazan', Moscow, Kaluga, Shuia, and Pavlovo. All of the leading settlements of the area clearly supplied foreign markets at least to some degree. However, the raw material for *iufti* was sought all over the country and, according to de Rodes and Kilburger, even as far away as Livonia and the Ukraine.[44] In 1662, as part of the government campaign to monopolize all *iufti* sales, inhabitants of 23 cities and three *slobody*, as well as peasants of five monasteries and four districts brought *iufti* to Arkhangel'sk. The leading suppliers were Iaroslavl', Moscow, Vologda, Kostroma, and Kazan' merchants, whose combined share stood at 63.66 percent and was comparable at 61.63 percent still in 1710.[45] Iaroslavl' in 1646 had 305 people working in leather production and 208 in 1678. Kostroma had a total of 183 leather specialists in 1637/8 and 104 in 1664/5. Kazan' in 1646 had 111 such craftsmen. The corresponding number in Nizhnii Novgorod was 32 in 1621, but already 92 in 1665. Other centers with 10–40 leather workers in the first half of the century were Moscow (38, 1634), Pavlovo (34, 1642), Ustiug Velikii (27, 1623–26), Kolomna (26, 1623), Kaluga (26, 1625), Suzdal' (21, 1646), Arzamas

[43] Volkov, "Remeslennoe i melkotovarnoe proizvodstvo," pp. 218–9, 229, 232, 236.
[44] Volkov, "Remeslennoe i melkotovarnoe proizvodstvo," p. 222; *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 100; *Sostoianie Rossii*, p. 165.
[45] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 98, 100.

(20, 1646), Vologda (14, 1627/8; 4+, 1678), Murashkino (13, 1647), Viaz'ma (14, 1627), and Murom (10, 1646).[46]

The Swedish visitors de Rodes and Kilburger praised Iaroslavl' and Kostroma hides as the best in the country. Between 12.6 and 18.0 percent of the artisans of the two cities were active in leather production in census years and, in both cases, leather production was one of the three leading productive activities. The slight decline in the number of artisans over time coincided with a concentration and overall increase of production. In the first half of the century, Iaroslavl' had only one larger "leather yard." By 1662, in contrast, 122 Iaroslavl' townsmen supplied the Treasury with *iufti* and 36 local entrepreneurs owned leather "factories." There appear to have been at least 13–15 larger leather-producing companies. In 1678, the city had at least seven leather factories and a minimum of 12 people owned comparable facilities in 1710. Towards the end of the century, Iaroslavl' received 300–500,000 hides a year for *iuft'* production, primarily from Ustiug, Nizhnii Novgorod, and Moscow.[47] Kostroma in the '20s had four merchants with two houses each. Timoshina suggests that the second houses likely served as tanning factories. In 1664/5 and 1678, the city had five leather yards.[48] There was substantial *iuft'* production also in the smaller towns of the region by the end of the century.[49]

Nizhnii Novgorod had established itself as one of the nation's leading centers in leather-dressing by the beginning of the century. Of 769 people owning workshops in 1622, 12 percent specialized in leather-dressing. In 1665, the corresponding proportion was a roughly comparable 11 percent (out of 1,604). The industry received a major impetus in the 1640s when Semen Zadorin and Vasilii Shorin set up a leather "factory" in the Nizhnii *posad*. By 1649, the company had expanded to two locations, one having four buildings for production and the other housing the workforce. Ultimately, however, a period

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[46] Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, pp. 304–5; Volkov, "Remeslennoe i melkotovarnoe proizvodstvo," pp. 226–7; RGADA f. 1209, op. 1, kn. 14741.

[47] Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, pp. 153, 304; Shabrova, *Iaroslavl'*, pp. 78–80; Volkov, *Goroda*, pp. 121, 130.

[48] By 1678, I.E. Posnikov already owned two such facilities. Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, pp. 155–6.

[49] In 1702, eight Tver' tanners contracted to supply a Viaz'ma merchant Kirill Bolotin (of the *Gostinaia sotnia*) with 400 *pud iufti*. Feoktist and Karp Mosiagin of Ostashkov owned a large leather yard by 1709. Demkin, *Gorodskoe predprinimatel'stvo*, pp. 9–10.

of expansion was followed by a change in ownership in 1665 and gradual dissolution in the 1670s. A new factory was built by the Pushnikov borthers Iakov and Mitrofan. The total out-of-town sales of the factory in December 1698–January 1699 alone totaled an impressive 1,989 *pud* or 8,982 hides. The total workforce of the factory must have exceeded 20 people.[50] At least one Kazan' leather-dresser, Fedoseiko Taras'ev, by 1646 headed a family enterprises employing at least a half a dozen people. The number of such ventures likely grew further over time.[51]

There was some *iuft'* production also along the northern river route, although—with the exception of Vologda and Ustiug—most of it appears to have been for local needs. By the turn of the 1680s, *Gost'* Vasilii Grudtsyn, a wealthy merchant Demid Iakovlev Kozhevnikov, and four local leather-dressers had larger production facilities (*kozhevennye dvory*) in Ustiug. At least some of them supplied, among other things, Arkhangel'sk.[52]

In the Northwest, Novgorod and Pskov were historically the key centers of *iuft'* production. Novgorod had a remarkable 475 specialists involved in leather production in 1581–3. Their number dropped precipitously in subsequent decades, however, and a recovery only began after the Stolbovo peace. The 1646 census lists as many as 27 leather dressers (*kozhevniki*), as well as 11 others in closely related professions. In addition, there were for instance 35 cobblers, three sheepskin workers, etc. Data from the second half of the century and the beginning of the 18th century points to a drop from the 1646 levels, which may well have signaled a higher degree if concentration. In 1677/8, the Novgorod *posad* had at least 10 artisans active in leather-dressing—eight of them *kozhevniki*—and, for example, 11 cobblers. After this, the numbers of artisans appear to have expanded significantly, and by 1722/3, Novgorod had in excess of 35 enterprises involved in leather production. Seven of these belonged to merchants. L.M. Syrenskii and P.I. Porkhovitinov operated the largest leather-dressing facilities.[53]

Pskov appears to have had a relatively small number of artisans exclusively involved in leather trade. Incomplete data from the 1620s–

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[50] Filatov, *Goroda*, pp. 37, 45, 47.
[51] Abdullin *et al.*, *Istoriia Kazani*, I, pp. 96–8.
[52] Merzon and Tikhonov, *Rynok*, pp. 432–4.
[53] RGADA f. 1209, No 984, No 8569; Shunkov, "Remeslo," pp. 112–4; Tikhonov, "Sotsial'noe rassloenie," p. 310; Volkov, *Goroda*, pp. 165–6.

'40s reveals at least four of them. In contrast, there were, for instance, at least 12 cobblers and four belt makers. By 1666, the known number of curriers/tanners was still only five. However, by that time, there was at least one larger *iuft'* factory in the city, set up by the Stoianovs who, in 1655 sold it to Sergei Pogankin for R 200. Pogankin expanded the operation already the following year and was evidently joined by others in the Zavelich'e district of the city in the course of the ensuing decade.[54] By 1678, Pskov had four curriers/tanners, as well as three hide factories. By that time the Pogankin mill was quite large with several warehouses and hired workers.[55] Judging by the city's growing leather exports, the scale of production is likely to have steadily increased until the end of the century.[56]

The smaller settlement of Tikhvin was another important center leather dressing in the Russian northwest. K.N. Serbina counted 25 leather producers in the Tikhvin *posad* in the course of the 17th century. 14 of them were active in 1686. Towards the end of the century, a growing number of these artisans became direct participants in the trade with Sweden, having previously operated in association with other merchants.[57] Leather production in Olonets appears to have depended primarily on merchants. Some Olonets merchants expanded their leather production into the neighboring districts of Sweden by setting up a *iuft'* factory in Sordavala.[58] Overall, then, the scale of *iuft'* production in the Russian northwest, while significant, fell clearly short of that seen in central Russia. Frustratingly, no census data survives for the last two decades of the 17th century which saw the most rapid expansion of the local economy.

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[54] Shunkov, "Remeslo," pp. 112–3; Chistiakova, *Iz istorii klassovoi bor'by*, p. 70; Chistiakova, "Pskovskii torg," p. 200.

[55] RGADA f. 1209, op. 1, No 8499, fols. 69, 71, 109, 122^{v}, 163^{v}, 193.

[56] However, Pskov, in contrast to Novgorod, declined at the beginning of the 18th century, largely in response to the rise of St Petersburg and the setbacks suffered by Narva. The total number of townsmen declined from 2,392 in 1678 to 966 in 1722/3. The number of people involved in leather production and associated trades—including belt makers and cobblers—in 1722/3 was 20, which does not suggest a marked change from the middle of the century, although it naturally reveals little about the overall scale of production. At least Nikifor Iatskoi in 1702 operated a large leather shop. Moreover, *iufti* intended for export were primarily produced at facilities belonging to local merchants such as P.Iu. Podstenskii and N.I. Iamskii. The average annual *iuft'* production of the city in 1724–6 was nearly 3,000 hides. The total of other types of hides exceeded some 1,000. Volkov, *Goroda*, pp. 211–3; Demkin, *Gorodskoe predprinimatel'stvo*, p. 51.

[57] Serbina, *Ocherki*, p. 164.

[58] Cherniakova, *Kareliia*, p. 188; Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, p. 50.

Even in the absence of comprehensive production data, we can draw on a wide range of quantitative sources to determine the impact of foreign demand on Russian fiber production. Both flax and hemp were established crops of the Russian countryside. Hemp cultivation was particularly intensive in western Russia, especially the Smolensk region, but also the Northwest. Most of the hemp exported through the Pskov region, for instance, came from the surrounding countryside, as well as from Smolensk, Viaz'ma, Pereiaslavl', Rzhev, Staritsa, Belev, and Rzheva Volodimirovaia. Flax was a hardier plant and cultivated more widely, even as far north as Karelia. According to a Swedish contemporary, P. Loofeldt, the quality of Pskov hemp was fairly good, although a better product could be found in Viaz'ma. Flax, in contrast, was almost entirely furnished by the local economy. Kilburger reported that most flax in Russia was grown in the Pskov area. Loofeldt particularly praised the flax of the *Sumerskaia volost'* which, he claimed, supplied most of Pskov's flax.[59]

Both products were potentially quite versatile. Hemp and lin-seed were an important source of oil, whereas the fibers themselves could be used to weave cloth. Hemp was even used to stuff in the chinks of log houses. Different varieties of linen cloth were extremely common throughout the country and even exported in some quantities. Hemp could, similarly, be used to produce textiles, but its long fibers lent themselves particularly well to rope-weaving. Fiber processing and purification was an important artisanal activity, especially in northwestern Russia. For instance, the Starkovs of Pskov, operated facilities for processing flax in the early 18th century. Pskov retained its role as a major center for fiber purification with a total of 54 families involved in the business at the time. An annual average of nearly 60,000 *pud* of hemp and some 12,600 *pud* of flax went through the city's facilities in the 1720s.[60]

The surviving customs data for Smolensk points to a strong orientation of the local hemp producers and merchants to foreign markets. Throughout the 1670s, for which we have customs data, exports accounted for a lion's share of the hemp passing through the Smolensk customs: 83.3 percent in 1673/4, 94.3 percent in 1676/7, 70.6 percent in 1677/8, and 68.5 percent in 1678/9. However, as K.G. Mitiaev points out, even much of the hemp apparently supplied for

[59] Shaskol'skii, "Geografiia," p. 61; *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 100.
[60] Volkov, *Goroda*, pp. 211–3; Kondratenko, *Zolotoi vek*, pp. 8–11.

the domestic market consisted of large consignments eventually destined for export.[61] The Riga market constituted the almost exclusive destination of Smolensk hemp and available data from the 1690s suggests that the quantities of hemp shipped down the Düna continued to grow apace.[62] The fragmentary evidence thus strongly suggests that Russia's leading hemp-growing region was primarily oriented to export and highly responsive to the growing Western demand for Russian fibers. The Smolensk region, moreover, represents an important case of territorial gains stimulating foreign trade, since it was reconquered by Russia in 1654 after its loss in 1611.

Regrettably, we possess only very fragmentary data on hemp trade in the Russian Northwest. Pskov's known hemp exports, through the German guesthouse, expanded from 100 S# in 1623/4 to over 1,700 S# in 1670/1. Adding exports by Russian merchants would likely double these figures and including Novgorod would, similarly, likely again double the total. This would make the Northwest roughly comparable in importance to Smolensk. Hemp exports through the Swedish Baltic ports in the post-Kardis era manifest a rate of expansion far in excess of Russian population growth. Alongside with Riga, Narva and Nyen were the main outlets of Muscovite hemp to the world markets. Narva saw its hemp volumes expand from the 2–6,000 S#/year range during much of the 1670s to levels in excess of 10,000 S#/year during much of the 1690s and a peak of over 23,000 S# in 1695 (Figure 6.2). Nyen's hemp exports rose to levels well below 1,000 S# a year for much of the 1670s to a peak of nearly 6,000 S# in 1695 (Table 6.7). It is quite obvious that such spectacular growth was only possible through a dramatic expansion of hemp cultivation in northwestern Russia and it highlights the importance of the foreign demand-pull for the development of the sector. The supply response is likely to have benefitted from the imposition of serfdom by the middle of the century which stabilized the population of the Northwest following devastating losses during the preceding century and probably permitted more intensive production methods than other-wise would have been the case.

The expansion of flax production was less striking. Pskov's exports of pure flax through the German guesthouse totaled just under

[61] Mitiaev, "Oboroty," p. 61.
[62] Kotilaine, "Riga's Trade," pp. 148–9, 152.

1,800 S# in 1623/4. However, the total in 1670/1 was only just over 800 S#.[63] Indeed, overall flax exports through the Baltic ports manifest much less of an expansionary trend and a great deal more variation than hemp trade. No obvious long-term trend can be identified in Narva's flax exports, for instance. A typical annual export level was in the 4–5,000 S# range, although there were individual years with totals approaching 10,000 S# in the closing decades of the century. Exports through Nyen in the 1650s–'70s sometimes exceeded 100 S# p.a. but typically not by a wide margin. By the 1690s, in contrast, total flax exports occasionally reached 1,000 S# and almost invariably exceeded 500 S#. The lower rate of expansion probably reflected stronger relative demand for hemp, as well as reliance on smaller-scale cultivation in regions less well suited for intensive agriculture. In addition, flax production depended much more heavily on state peasants who operated, by and large, under fewer pressures than their counterparts of privately-held *pomest'e* lands.

The appearance of unprocessed hemp, and subsequently even of flax, on the Arkhangel'sk market, speaks its own clear language of the growing foreign demand, as well as the increasing availability, of both fibers. Practically no unprocessed hemp had been shipped to the White Sea on a sustained basis prior to the 1660s. Instead, hemp from western and central Russia alike was woven into ropes and cordage, typically in Vologda, so as to make transportation across the northern taiga profitable. The fact that merchants eventually found it possible to begin to skip this phase meant one, or both, of two things. Either foreigners at Arkhangel'sk, or Western Europe, were prepared to pay clearly higher prices for hemp than before, or domestic production was increasing at a rate that reduced the supply prices in a way that made it easier to accommodate transportation costs. Strong conclusions are, alas, impossible, given the Russian price data we have.[64]

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[63] TLA 230–1–B.H. 21, fols. 2–8; PGOIAKhMZ f. 608, No 397, fols. 383–447v.

[64] The only surviving price data on Arkhangel'sk's hemp exports indicates a per-S# price of R 5 in the early '40s, a figure that rose to R 7 by the early '70s. Hellie, *The Economy*, p. 27; RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670–talet.

On the Rise of a Russian "Bourgeoisie"

One of the reflections and, indeed, preconditions of Russia's 17th-century economic expansion was the emergence of a stratum of wealthy domestic merchants. Only they were ultimately able to transmit the growth impulse generated by foreign demand beyond the relatively small number of cities open to non-Russian merchants. While the leading urban centers of Muscovy had prosperous merchant elites already by the beginning of the century, truly large-scale operators were very few in number and it is impossible to speak of a nationwide network. This may have been the leading consideration prompting the government to create three privileged corporations of merchants: the corporation of *gosti*, the *Gostinaia sotnia* ("Guest Hundred"), and the *Sukonnaia sotnia* ("Cloth(iers') Hundred"). All three came into existence more or less simultaneously towards the end of the 16th century, although they in many cases built on previous associations of merchants.[65]

The members of these corporations were from the beginning conceived of as a privileged elite, the *crème de la crème* of Russian merchants. A standard qualification for membership was an exceptional level of wealth and a large scale of operations. According to Grigorii Kotoshikhin, the annual turnovers of *gosti* varied between R 20,000 and R 100,000, enormous sums in late Muscovy, even if we allow for considerable exaggeration. However, this criterion was by no means rigidly adhered to and, alongside, there existing another avenue, *viz*. distinction in government service. There was a fair number of more or less purely political appointments, especially during critical periods of political instability. The most obvious case in point were the promotions made in the post-*Smuta* years, partly in recognition of service during the years of warfare but in many cases undoubtedly simply in order to gain legitimacy and merchant support for the new Romanov dynasty. While the divergent criteria resulted in considerable wealth differentials among the elite merchants, a strong correlation continued to be observed between above-average wealth and privileged status.[66]

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[65] Golikova, *Privilegirovannye kupecheskie korporatsii*, I, pp. 23–58.

[66] At least in the case of the *Gostinaia sotnia*, these differentials were formalized in the three-fold structure of the corporation which consisted of large-scale, middling, and small-scale members. Baron, "Who Were the *Gosti*?," pp. 9–11; Golikova, *Privilegirovannye kupecheskie korporatsii*, I, p. 219.

17 individuals are known to have received *gost'* patents in the 16th century and 25 in 1600–10. 31 newcomers were added to this in 1613–30, something that more than doubled the corporation's membership. After a temporary decline, another major bout of appointments followed during the reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich and coincided with general government efforts to strengthen Russia's merchant class. The eras of Fedor and Peter saw the numbers stabilize at nearly twice the post-*Smuta* peak levels (Figure 4.1). The *Gostinaia sotnia* had 185 members in 1630. A total of 2,100 individuals joined it during the 17th and early 18th century with a particular marked growth in the 1680s. This, however, appears to have coincided with a steady decline of the lower *Sukonnaia sotnia* many of whose members now joined the second corporation. Total *Gostinaia sotnia* membership doubled in 1600–50, a pattern replicated after a dip in the second half of the century (Figure 4.2).

The *Gosti* and members of the *Gostinaia sotnia* were clearly intended to play a leading—one might argue even exclusive—role in Russian foreign trade. The charters granted to the two corporations and their individual members explicitly authorized travel abroad, something that otherwise required special government approval.[67] In addition, elite merchants were exempted from direct taxes, minor customs duties, and the responsibility to quarter soldiers. They were removed from the jurisdiction of local authorities, and granted other privileges, including the right to own landed estates and to distill liquor for personal consumption. Unlike the status of a *gost'*, membership in the *Gostinaia sotnia* was hereditary and typically shared with other family members engaged in a joint enterprise.[68] In either case, however, the privileged status came with often onerous responsibilities. Members performed official duties for the government, typically once every six years for a year at a time. They usually served as heads or officials of local customs and taverns, a position that potentially entailed considerable risks. Customs officials were required to present an account of their service, along with the customs book, at the year's end. In the event that the duties collected fell short of the projected level (ordinarily the previous year's total), they were personally responsible

[67] The 1613 charter issued to the *Gostinaia sotnia* does not yet authorize foreign travel, but it is clear that such a right was soon granted to individual members of the corporation. Golikova, *Privilegirovannye kupecheskie korporatsii*, I, pp. 231–6.

[68] Baron, "Who Were the *Gosti*?," pp. 2–3; Hellie, "The Stratification," pp. 126–7.

for the shortfall, unless they could provide a satisfactory explanation for the situation. Apparently, it was quite common for merchants in government service to make up any unexpected deficits in the post-Stolbovo years. However, given the potentially ruinous impact that government service could have on a person's fortune under the circumstances, the government in 1627 issued a decree instituting a formal enquiry in such cases, something that presumably reduced the frequency of punitive payments.[69] Members of the *Gostinaia sotnia* typically played an auxiliary role, assisting *gosti*, in large cities, but did frequently conduct similar functions independently in smaller towns. They further sold Treasury goods at important fairs and abroad.[70]

What then, on balance, was the advantage of being an elite merchant? S. Baron concludes his study of the *gosti* with a mixed verdict: "we are left uncertain as to what it meant for a Muscovite merchant's long-term interests to be named a *gost'*, whether the grant of a patent was an occasion for celebration or lamentation."[71] One of Baron's justifications for this ambiguous conclusion is the fact the membership in the top corporation was not hereditary and, in fact, there was a great deal of turnover which makes it difficult to describe the *gosti* as a permanent merchant elite. However, a more accurate measure of the merchant elite would have to include the *Gostinaia sotnia* where many descendants of *gosti* often found a home. And even though N.B. Golikova's incomplete estimates (Figure 4.2) point to a fair amount of turnover also in the second corporation, this should not conceal the fact that a large, and growing, number of elite merchant families established themselves in the government corporations on a lasting basis. Moreover, as P. Bushkovitch has noted, the turnover in the membership of the elite corporations was hardly exceptional by international standards.[72] Perhaps even more to the point, to the extent that the meritocratic criteria were upheld in selecting elite merchants, the steady influx of new members stands as a testimony to entrepreneurship and a degree of upward social mobility among Russian merchants.

Baron's pessimism seems excessive also given the role that *gosti* played in the late Muscovite economy. For one thing, as Baron

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[69] Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 10, 49–50; *Zakonodatel'nye akty*, No 160.
[70] Baron, "Who Were the *Gosti*?," pp. 12–4.
[71] Baron, "Who Were the *Gosti*?," p. 22.
[72] Bushkovitch, *The Merchants*, pp. 15–6.

acknowledged, "Some merchants, plainly believing it to be an advantage, sought the rank [of *gost'*]."[73] Being an elite merchant conferred status and influence in a way that was otherwise only available to members of the political and ecclesiastical elites. The top *gosti* had the tsar's ear, as well as connections in the political circles more generally, and clearly exerted influence on economic policy on several occasions. They acted as the leading representatives of the Russian merchant class in border towns where they, moreover, themselves implemented economic policy. As customs collectors in cities like Arkhangel'sk and Novgorod they could exert considerable influence on the terms of trade. In addition, they could raise revenues—unfortunately unquantifiable—by receiving bribes and gifts, especially from wealthy foreign merchants, or by levying illegal fees. There is a wealth of anecdotal evidence to suggest that such behavior was widespread and usually beyond the abilities of the authorities to monitor effectively.

One of the main attractions of an elite status must have been access to government credit, no small matter in a country with very limited financial resources and practically no capital market or financial intermediaries. For example, V. Shorin was granted a loan of over R 1,000 for salt prospecting, while S. Gavrilov received credit for copper prospecting in the Tobol'sk area. At least some loans were clearly extended in connection with trade. Particularly common was the practice of providing *gosti* with Treasury furs on credit, the usual terms requiring repayment with a 20-percent markup within a year.[74] While non-monetary, such "fur credit" was no less useful. Russian furs, especially high-quality sables, were eminently saleable and often commanded impressive prices. Moreover, foreign merchants could not as a rule expect to receive much cash for their goods anyway, given the standard government policy of maintaining trade surpluses which the foreigners would settle in specie. The availability of government credit gave elite merchants independence that their less privileges colleagues could not aspire to. In particular, it freed them of the dependence on loans by foreign merchants which for many Russian merchants were the only source of fungible capital, but also in some instances the source *de facto* economic serfdom.

In short, the *gosti* and the *Gostinaia sotnia* were effectively the economic nobility of Russia, a stratum which enjoyed its generous

[73] Baron, "Who Were the *Gosti*?," p. 22.
[74] Baron, "Who Were the *Gosti*?," pp. 21–2, 39.

privileges with the expectation of steady government service, a tradeoff quite analogous to that faced by members of the landed nobility. In the simplest terms, the institution of elite merchants was a relatively low-cost strategy of promoting trade and obtaining government service without having to formulate more comprehensive—and costly—plans for supporting the Russian merchants class as a whole. For instance, from the beginning, appointing *gosti* was a strategy of promoting regional economic development and clearly much less expensive than any more systematic regional policy would have been. Boris Godunov's attempts to use elite merchants to revive Novgorod's trade in the post-*Oprichnina* years is a good case in point.[75]

Especially in times of economic difficulty, perhaps most notably the post-*Smuta* years, the advantages conferred on the top merchants must have given them a decisive edge over their less fortunate rivals. In many instances, their tax exemptions and access to credit are likely to have made them near-unique in being able to undertake large-scale operations. Ultimately, of course, it remains difficult to determine precisely to what degree it was the special status that permitted the elite merchants to prosper or whether the prosperity preceded to a significant degree the special status. While there are clearly instances of both, it seems likely that a privileged status typically consolidated wealth and power.

The limitations of relying on the elite merchants as a key instrument of economic policy were numerous. The *gosti* were hardly disinterested participants in Russian commerce. Kilburger, writing for a Swedish government audience in the 1670s, depicted them (with some obvious bias) as a powerful group of shrewd, self-seeking businessmen who were instrumental in government efforts to control the direction of foreign trade. He described them as "a self-interested and harmful group . . . [who] ceaselessly think of how to exclude [Russia's] commerce entirely from the Baltic Sea, and nowhere allow freedom of trade, in order that they alone may the better cheat the master [the tsar] and fill their own pockets."[76] There were undoubtedly countless instances where the elite merchants encouraged rent-seeking to the detriment of economic efficiency. Nor did the arguably excessive reliance on the *gosti* do much to advance the well-being of the Russian merchant "class" as a whole. Instead, the elite corporations formalized

[75] Golikova, *Privilegirovannye kupecheskie korporatsii*, pp. 53–4.
[76] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 164.

a social and economic stratification of Muscovite merchants which made it more difficult for non-privileged merchants to compete. During the various uprisings experienced by late Muscovy, wealthy *gosti* not surprisingly frequently became the object of ordinary townsmen's wrath.[77]

Due to a combination of geographic factors, wealth differentials, and government policy, there seems to have been little communal ethos across the three corporations or perhaps even within them. Elite merchants from different parts of the country occasionally acted in unison, but generally tended to conduct their operations completely independently of each other. The Boyar Duma instructed the *gosti* to collaborate following the example of foreign merchants in order to ensure fair terms of trade and customs duty collection. The *gosti* claimed that the susceptibility of lower level merchants to the entreaties of foreign merchants had prevented such organization in the past. The most concrete effort towards consolidation was *Gost'* Averkii Kirillov's 1675 attempt to form a collective platform ("*kompaneiskii zagovor*") for *iuft'* sales in Arkhangel'sk at a fixed price. The agreement apparently remained in place for a mere two weeks and, even before the departure of foreign ships, less prosperous merchants began to act independently. The tsar promised to lend his backing to a more formal agreement to prevent such disunity in the future.[78] The success of the project is unknown, but there is no evidence to suggest that a formal company was actually formed. Nonetheless, the tsarist government did at times interfere to establish fixed prices on particular goods. For instance in 1687, a per-*pud* price of R 4 was set for *iufti* because of disputes between Dutch merchants and *gosti*.[79]

Another key element of government policy with significant ramifications for commerce was the establishment of the townsmen (*posadskie liudi*) as a distinct, legally defined, social stratum. This process began with the law code of 1550 and culminated a century later with the promulgation of the 1649 *Ulozhenie*. Under the new law statute, "Migration into and out of towns was made illegal and the urban taxpayers were granted a monopoly on 'town' occupations and ownership of urban property."[80] This policy was completely

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[77] Baron, "Who Were the *Gosti*?," p. 6. For a survey of the uprisings, see: Tikhomirov, *Klassovaia bor'ba*.

[78] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 173–4; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1676 g., No 2.

[79] RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1681 g., No 1, fols. 24–5.

[80] Hellie, "The Stratification," p. 119.

separate from the designs for a merchant elite. Throughout the century, ordinary townsmen remained distinct from the privileged corporations and the relationship between the two groups was characterized by constant tension. The corporations sought to reduce the burden of government service by expanding their numbers, while townsmen were eager to maintain their numbers, since government taxes and obligations were assessed on a communal basis and the loss of a resident increased the burden on others.[81] Regular townsmen, like their more prosperous colleagues, had little by way of communal ethos. They were typically divided in official documents into wealthy, middling, and small-scale entrepreneurs with considerable wealth differentials.[82] In addition, their numbers and the broad range of activities that different townsmen engaged in, made cooperation on a large scale highly unlikely. In spite of this, there were clearly more informal associations, or even companies, of merchants specializing in particular kinds of trade.

The history of northwestern Russian merchants is particularly interesting in this context, since many of them became active and direct participants in Russian foreign trade by undertaking regular trips to Sweden (Chapter 6), not least on the Stockholm route which they dominated. Merchants from Novgorod, Tikhvin, Olonets, Ladoga, etc., pooled their capital for shipbuilding. Individual vessels invariably carried goods belonging to several merchants and it was common for groups of merchants to have more or less permanent representatives in Stockholm's Russian Yard.[83] This type of activism was naturally impossible on the Arkhangel'sk route where Russians were effectively left to supply foreigners visiting the White Sea port. Both Novgorod and Pskov, as well as some of the smaller cities of the region experienced robust growth in their trade and a steady expansion in the numbers and wealth of their merchants. This process was recognized by the government which appointed several merchants, especially from Novgorod, to the elite corporations.

The devastating impact of the various crises notwithstanding, the northwestern cities had an established merchant class already at the beginning of the 17th century. The leading Novgorod merchants included *Gost'* Iurii Afanas'evich Igolkin with his sons Ivan and Stepan

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[81] Hittle, *The Service City*, pp. 26–33; Hellie, "The Stratification," p. 129.
[82] See for example: Tikhonov, "Sotsial'noe rassloenie."
[83] Shakol'skii, *Russkaia morskaia torgovlia*, pp. 185–6.

(also a *gost'*), who came from Pskov in the mid-1580s, and Grigorii Minin of Moscow who, along with Ivan Soskov, became a *gost'* in 1598. Onorfei Vasil'ev of Viaz'ma was made a *gost'* in Novgorod in 1617. There were some one dozen other prominent Novgorod merchants at the time.[84] These numbers began to grow further when trade on the Stockholm route established itself by the 1630s. Novgorod merchants were the pioneers of this trade and at least 15 of them were active in direct trade with Sweden proper by 1648. The families involved in Stockholm trade at various times included Shorin, Kharlamov, Voskoboinikov, Koshkin, Zhulev, Kletkin, Teterin, Proezzhalov, Gavrilov, Mikliaev, and Stoianov.[85] The leading merchants on the Stockholm axis typically had a large radius of operations which contained also central Russia. The Stoianovs regularly visited fairs in Olonets, Staraia Russa, Smolensk, Moscow, etc. Semen Stoianov conducted trade in the Baltic ports of Nyen, Narva, and Riga with Fedor Emel'ianov of Pskov, to whom he was related by marriage. The Koshkin family bought flax and hemp not only in the surroundings of Novgorod but also in central Russia. The scale of their iron imports alone reached thousands of *pud* a year by the 1680s.[86]

The number of Novgorod *gosti* steadily expanded in the post-Stolbovo period. Among the first appointments were the Kharlamovs, father Ivan (1620) and son Andrei (1625). Ivan Ivanovich and Semen Ivanovich Stoianov received their promotions in 1648.[87] The trend continued in the second half of the century. Vasilii Gavrilovich Stoianov—Ivan and Semen's cousin—received his charter in 1651. Vasilii Nikiforovich Mikliaev gained his patent the same year, following the elevation of his father Nikifor the year before. Vasilii's brother Petr joined the *gosti* in 1652, explicitly in recognition for selling raw silk in Reval. Petr was related to Ivan and Semen Stoianov, and frequently visited Sweden with them. Semen Gavrilov was appointed in 1658 and his son Ivan in 1685. Maksim Voskoboinikov—another relative of the Stoianovs—together with his brother Vasilii received

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[84] Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 20–1, 69.

[85] *Ibidem*, pp. 54–5; SSA 37 Stadskamrerarens, drätselkommissionens samt drätselnämndens och dess avdelningars arkiv 1639–1921, G. Huvudboken och dess räkenskaper, I. Huvudböcker med verifikationer, b) Verifikationer 1636–1920: Rental accounts for the *Ryssgård*.

[86] Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 58, 60.

[87] Varentsov, "Genealogiia," p. 143; RGADA f. 141, 1645 g., d. 2, fols. 244–50, 380–6.

a government privilege charter in 1652 but reached the coveted status of a *gost'* only in 1675. There was also another category of favored merchants who received letters of privilege freeing them of the duty to house government servitors and authorizing them to keep or produce alcoholic beverages in their homes. Several Novgorod merchants attained this status in the course of the century.[88] The elite Novgorodians performed various services to the government, not least in the diplomatic sphere.[89]

The situation in neighboring Pskov was not much different, although the potential for growth was arguably more limited. The leading local merchant dynasties were the Sirovs, the Gol'ianovs, and the Rusinovs. However, below them were several others who conducted individual operations reaching hundreds of roubles.[90] The 1670/1 customs record provides the most concrete evidence of the existence of a group of wealthy merchants. 11 leading Pskov merchants—as well as three visitors from Moscow and Iaroslavl'—accounted for 58.3 percent of Pskov's export trade that year. The leading five by themselves are responsible for one-third of the total.[91] An important group among the merchant community were settlers from the Swedish-controlled Ivangorod in the 1650s after the city was merged with the culturally German-Swedish Narva. These included names such as Belousov, Bykov, Grigor'ev, Zharkov, Ziunin, Lbinin, Nastakhin, Posnikov, Iamskii, Sergeev, and Sukhanov. Former Ivangorod residents in 1670/1 accounted for nearly one-quarter (23.4 percent) of the entries in the book of the Great Customs. Apparently these newcomers—"*byvshie ivanegorodtsy pskovskie zhiteli*"—effectively constituted a corporation and conducted much of their business together.[92]

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[88] Such letters were granted to Nikifor Kletkin in 1648 and his sons Mikhail and Maksim in 1665, Timofei Koshkin in 1652, Vasilii Proezzhalov in 1654 and his sons Ivan, Filipp, and Iakov in 1685, and Vasilii Zhulev in 1676. Varentsov, "Genealogiia," pp. 143, 146–7; Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 55; RGADA f. 233, kn. 56, fol. 974; kn. 59, fol. 381.

[89] Varentsov, "Novgorodskoe kupechestvo," pp. 44–6; Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 58–9.

[90] Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia Pskova v XVII v.*, pp. 106, 182–3; Harder, "Seehandel," 2, p. 41; Karpachev, "Goroda," p. 73.

[91] Sergei Ivanovich and Iakim Sergeevich Pogankin exported a total of R 5,195.57 worth of goods. Afanasii Mikhailovich the Greater, Afanasii Mikhailovich the Lesser, and Timofei Mikhailovich of the Rusinov family exported R 4,755 worth, while the total for Semen Borisovich, Foma Borisovich, and Larion Anan'in Menshikov was R 3,902.40. Foma Miasnik and Nefedei Kolachnik Terent'ev took R 2,736.43 worth of goods across the border. Afanasii and Ivan Samuilov sold R 1,555.52 worth, and Luka, Mikhailov, and Andyforka Sergeev had total sales of R 1,285.26. Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 106, 178–9, 186–7.

[92] *Ibidem*, pp. 183–4.

The career paths of the leading Pskov merchants mirrored those of their Novgorod counterparts, although generally at a lower level. In particular, there were far fewer privileged merchants. Sergei Pogankin reached the status of a "better" merchant by the mid-1660s by which time he had headed the Tavern Yard and the mint. The Pogankin family was elevated to the *Gostinaia sotnia* in December 1679 and soon thereafter moved to Moscow until 1686. Fedor Emel'ianov, who collected salt duties and bought specie for the Treasury at various times, ultimately rose even further, being named a *gost'* in March 1650. Several other families, most notably the Rusinovs and the Menshikovs, served the government in various official capacities: administration of the local customs and tavern, diplomatic service in Sweden, and the sale of Treasury goods.[93]

The emergence of a prosperous merchant elite is confirmed by surviving data from so-called "tort books" of 1666–99. A number of Pskov merchants by the 1660s extended often sizeable loans to Baltic burghers. One-fifth of the known contracts were for sums exceeding R 1,000.[94] Overall, Mark Koliagin was the leading Pskov creditor to Narva merchants in 1679–97 with combined loans of Rtl 14,784. Leontii Ust'ianov extended a total of Rtl 4,660 in credit, followed by Vasilii Koliagin (Rtl 3,675), Timofei Golovnev (Rtl 3,800), and Karp Afonas'ev (Rtl 3,432). There were six other merchants with totals of Rtl 1,250–2,734. By the end of the century, it is quite legitimate to speak of a local merchant elite which compared favorably in their prosperity with some of the leading Baltic German merchants.[95]

Smolensk serves as another relatively well documented example of foreign trade promoting the accumulation of wealth by local traders. The surviving customs records from the 1670s reveal a number of businessmen with large-scale operations. Vasilii and Iakov Ivanovich Liubovetskii were important hemp merchants operating in the Smolensk, Roslavl', and Dorogobuzh districts. The other focus of

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[93] Bogusevich,"Pskovskie kuptsy XVII v. Rusinovy;" Labutin, "Sergei Pogankin," p. 53; Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 185–6, 191–3; Chistiakova, "Pskovskii torg," p. 230.

[94] In 1652–3, Klimko A. Balaksin delivered R 1,820 worth of flax and hemp on credit to C. Burmister in Reval, while M. Ankidinov Kremenshchik two years later supplied Rtl 1,800 worth of *iufti*. In 1663, Narva burgher I.I. Antsgrionov (probably Hans Grön) undertook to repay the hemp and flax issued to him on credit by S. Menshikov with 68 S# of copper, Rtl 4,600, and R 2,800. T. Rusinov in 1665 issued U. Bodecker a loan of Rtl 700, to be settled by a delivery of 70 S# of iron. Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 137, 139–40.

[95] RGADA f. 96, kn. 126, fols. 22–9.

their operations, typically for the region, was the importation and distribution of salt from Riga. The total turnover of their operations in 1673/4 attained R 5,628, a figure that rose to a remarkable R 18,612 in 1676/7. The brothers owned several stores in the city and both of them, like their father, served terms as burgomasters. Vasilii, moreover, headed the Smolensk customs in 1672/3.[96] Semen and Artemon Stepanovich Zhukov, similarly, specialized in hemp trade, where the scale of their operations rose to R 3,146.2 in 1673/4. Their father Stepan became burgomaster in the 1690s. Mikifor Zhdankov, a burgomaster in the 1670s, had three sons—Moisei, Emel'ian, and Ivan—with a combined turnover of R 7,938 in 1673/4. Ivan Zhdanov became burgomaster in 1700.[97]

Even if the merchants of other parts of Russia could not aspire to the same kind of active role in foreign trade as their peers in the northwest, the commercial centers of central Russia naturally had large numbers of prosperous merchants with often very large radii of operations. While the role of privileged merchants was pronounced, there were also ordinary townsmen not far behind. Apart from the capital Moscow, the upper Volga cities of Iaroslavl' and Kostroma are perhaps the most striking examples of the growing prosperity of the central Russian townsmen. The geographic location allowed local merchants to operate through the length of the Volga. For example in 1614–6, 29 Iaroslavl' and 11 Kostroma merchants accounted for 53.4 percent of the turnover of the Kazan' market.[98] Similarly, they were closely linked to the Northern Dvina and the Arkhangel'sk market. In 1633/4–1635/6, 47 Iaroslavl' and 12 Kostroma merchants traveled through Velikii Ustiug to Arkhangel'sk. The corresponding figures in 1650/1–1655/6 were 75 and 12, respectively. The leading merchants involved in this trade during the first half of the century were A.I. Laptev, G.I. Tyrkin, E. Vinfat'ev, S.I. Kochurov, and T.O. Nezhdanovskii of Iaroslavl', and F.S. Ozhegin and S.I. Viaschenikov of Kostroma.[99] In the pre-Smuta years and again starting in the 1660s, Iaroslavl's merchants were regular participants also in Baltic

[96] Iakov in 1676 was commissioned by the government to exchange R 5,000 for thalers. Bespalenok, "Polveka," pp. 13–4.

[97] *Ibidem*, pp. 14–6.

[98] Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, p. 172.

[99] According to a 1647 list, 31 of the 67 leading townsmen of Iaroslavl' were active on the Arkhangel'sk route. Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, p. 174; Shabrova, *Iaroslavl'*, pp. 142–3.

trade. In 1610/11, five Iaroslavlians brought a total of R 1,271.50 worth of goods to Novgorod. A.I. Laptev in 1653 received R 1,000 from the Treasury for grain and meat purchases in Sweden. In 1670/1, the Iaroslavl' merchants G. Kolpashnikov, G. Grigor'ev, D. Zakhar'ev, and F. Tiazhelukhin, as well as K. Isaev of Kostroma, took a total of R 4,192 worth of goods through Pskov to Riga.[100] Especially Iaroslavl' merchants participated actively also in trade with Siberia. 21 Iaroslavl' merchants were recorded in Eniseisk between 1645/6 and 1694/5. Many of them visited a large number of settlements scattered across Russia's eastern colony. The number of Kostroma merchants was a relatively modest three. The involvement of especially Iaroslavl' merchants in Siberian fur trade could attain impressive proportions, with a total of 22,530 sables, as well as other furs imported from Mangazeiia in 1628/9–1635/6.[101]

Iaroslavl' gained its first elite merchants in association with Mikhail Romanovich's coronation. The first local *gosti* were Grigorii Nikitnikov, Epifanii Sveteshnikov, Ivan Chistoi, and the Lytkin brothers Tret'iak and Vasilii. Much as in Novgorod, the Iaroslavl' elite was remarkably successful in perpetuating itself. The Chistoi-Ivanov-Almazov family had six of its members appointed to the top corporation in the course of the century. The Gur'ev-Nazar'evs had four *gosti*, and the Lytkins, the Luzins, the Nikitnikovs, and the Sveteshnikovs two each. All of them conducted in large-scale operations ranging the length of the Astrakhan'-Arkhangel'sk axis. In addition, there was one Zadorin and one Skripin. The weight of privileged merchants in the local economy expanded steadily in the course of the century. In spite of this, several prosperous Iaroslavlians never joined the elite corporations, the best examples being R. and P. Oglodaev and A. Laptev. Yet for instance Laptev was active at various times in Siberian, White Sea, and Baltic trade.[102] The information on the scale of trade of Iaroslavl' merchants, as indeed that of their counterparts in most other Russian towns is extremely fragmentary.[103]

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[100] Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, pp. 179–80; RA Ockupationsarkivet från Novgorod, Serie 1, Nr. 114.

[101] Timoshina, *Iaroslavl' i Kostroma*, pp. 175–7.

[102] Shabrova, *Iaroslavl'*, pp. 61–2, 65–6, 143; Dubman, *Promyslovoe predprinimatel'stvo*, pp. 184–99.

[103] On the distribution of elite merchants across Russia, see for intance: Smirnov, *Goroda*, I/2, pp. 336–8; Timoshina, "Rasselenie gostei;" Zaozerskaia, "Vologodskii gost' G.M. Fetiev."

Ultimately, the relative weight of privileged merchants in Russian trade appears to have declined over time, especially with the overall economic expansion of the second half of the century. Although the leading cities of the Arkhangel'sk-Astrakhan' axis typically had at least some members of the elite corporations for most of the century, the correlation between wealth and status declined as the numbers of substantial traders, often from strikingly modest beginnings, grew apace. The spread of wealth into secondary population settlements is particularly striking. The experiences of Tikhvin and Olonets in the northwest serve as powerful examples of the transformative power of access to foreign trade.[104] However, they were by no means unique as similar trends manifested themselves further inland. A number of prosperous settlements grew next to monasteries and their fairs—perhaps most impressively in the case of Makar'ev—grew into economic foci of nationwide importance. There were other villages—some court or Treasury-owned—others located on ecclesiastical landholdings, which became important producers of various goods. The rural communities of Pavlovo, Murashkino, Lyskovo, Blagoveshchenskaia sloboda, Rabotki, Pochinki, Mamadyshevo, etc. in the Volga basin serve as examples of settlements where people of low social status—typically merely quit-rent paying serfs (*torgovye krest'iane*)—became traders active on the length of the Arkhangel'sk-Astrakhan' axis.[105] The court villages of Smolensk's hinterland evinced similar developments, thanks to their role in supplying Riga. Their overall economic significance continued to lag far behind the leading urban centers, but they highlight the spread of prosperity and economic opportunity that had little respect for judicial categories. Indeed, towards the close of the Muscovite era, the leading elite merchants appear to have held their status primarily due to the need for government servitors in the leading cities of the country and no longer simpy in recognition of their exceptional wealth.

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[104] Kaufmann-Rochard, *Origines*, pp. 53–61.

[105] For instance Andrei Grigor'evich Oreshnikov of the Blagoveshchenskaia sloboda in 1691 shipped 19,389 *pud* salt from Astrakhan' to Cheboksary and Tsaritsyn with a total of 136 assistants. Afanasii Emel'ianovich Pervov of the same settlement sent five barges with 346 workers to Astrakhan' in 1691. Other comparable examples abound around the turn of the 18th century. Tarlovskaia, *Torgovlia Rossii*, pp. 47, 95, 97–8; Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, pp. 35, 42–5; Gestwa, *Proto-Indsutrialisierung*, pp. 47–74; Demkin, *Russkoe kupechestvo*.

Balancing between Trade-Promotion and Protectionism: Muscovite Commercial Policy

The Muscovite government in the seventeenth century introduced a number of reforms designed to increase economic efficiency and to promote export trade. Many of these policies reflected the ideals of mercantilism prevalent in Western Europe. Indeed, in a number of cases, clear links can be drawn between policy and the ideas introduced by foreign thinkers or by Russians inspired by them.[106] In spite of this convergence between Russian and Western European economic policies, Muscovite mercantilism never reached the stage of a carefully thought-out economic program. Reformist measures were frequently adopted with completely unrelated and essentially *ad hoc* motivations. Moreover, commercial policy was subject to conflicting pressures. Russia's dependency on commercial interaction with the West was indisputable, whether viewed from the vantage point of fiscal or monetary policy, or the lack of self-sufficiency in weapons production. On the other hand, the strength of foreign traders inspired envy and hatred, as well as quite understandable concern over the country's economic and political sovereignty. Consequently, consistency in policy-making remained an unattainable goal. While many decision-makers recognized the crucial importance of promoting trade, elite merchants fought a long and obstinate battle against their foreign rivals, frequently with the sympathy and support of members of the political establishment.

The main pro-trade policies of the regime consisted of various concessions to foreign merchants and efforts to simplify the taxation of trade flows. Especially in the 16th and first decades of the 17th century, the government adopted a range of measures designed to entice foreign merchants to Russia. The most generous case in point were naturally the charters issued to the Muscovy Company. In contrast, the treatment of the steadily growing group of Dutch merchants was generally case-specific. While only a few could aspire to the kind of tax-free status the English enjoyed, and even then only temporarily, a number of important Dutchmen were given considerable leeway in their operations. They were granted permission to trade freely in the Russian interior and to establish bases in Moscow, Iaroslavl',

[106] For a survey, see: Kotilaine, "Mercantilism."

Vologda, and other cities on the northern river route. In many instances, there were special concessions to promote particular activities, whether in order to promote exports (see above) or with the objective of import-substitution. The efforts to promote Persian silk trade after 1667 through treaties with the New Julfa Armenians (Chapter 8) represent a response to Western demand, but also clearly an attempt to create a counterpoise to the power of the Western European merchants, since the control of silk trade was left in the hands of the Armenians.

The Muscovite government in many cases created special storage facilities and accommodation for foreign visitors in a number of border points. The most important case in point are the Swedish guesthouses in Novgorod and Pskov whose status was enshrined in the Swedish-Russian peace treaties. Comparable guesthouses for visiting Polish-Lithuanian merchants were built across the length of Russia's long border with the Commonwealth. Indeed, peace and armistice treaties between Russia and her western neighbors—Sweden and Poland-Lithuania—serve as important economic documents which typically stipulated free trade with some exceptions and laid out rules regulating the treatment of visitors. In addition to state-financed facilities, the government authorized the construction of houses by foreign merchants in the Northwest and the along the northern river route alike.[107]

Of particular importance for the development of trade were various measures designed to simplify Russia's "most complex and confusing" system of internal customs duties. Various cities had traditionally exacted a wide array of different imposts, something that not only added to transportation costs, but in fact created ample opportunity for corruption and cheating. The first half of the century witnessed a certain convergence in the policies of the various regions, something that is traditionally presented as a key element in the formation of an "all-Russian market."[108] Aleksei Mikhailovich implemented a more thorough reform of customs duties in two phases, both times in an apparent response to petitions that preceded them. Russian merchants in August 1653 complained to the government about illegal levies

[107] Kotilaine, "In Defense of the Realm," pp. 84–94.

[108] Osokin, *Vnutrennie tamozhennye poshliny*, p. 112; Tikhonov, "Tamozhennaia politika," p. 258; Nikolaeva, "Otrazhenie," p. 262; Man'kov, *Zakonodatel'stvo*, p. 141; Shumilov, *Istoriia*, pp. 362–3; Kozlov and Dmitrieva, *Nalogi*, pp. 102–3.

and arbitrariness by officials. Granting the petitioners' main wish, a new tax code—issued two months later—instituted a uniform rate of customs duty which, however, probably marked an overall increase in imposts. A basic 5-percent impost was levied on sold goods, with the exception of salt (double the rate), furs, fish, and horses (old duties applied). No duties were levied on foreign currency sold to the government at a fixed rate. Exports from Arkhangel'sk were taxed at only 2 percent.[109] Subjecting all goods and merchants to a uniform and consistent set of customs duties *ceteris paribus* promoted efficiency by making long-distance trade more predictable and probably even more profitable. The new simplified and uniform regime of imposts, moreover, did a great deal to foster the emergence of a modern fiscal state in Russia. This process of streamlining was completed with the 1667 New Commercial Code.[110]

Even as the Muscovite government thus repeatedly showed itself capable of efficiency-oriented reform, virtually every new measure was compromised by protectionist impulses. The government's acute need to turn to foreign merchants for scarce know-how and capital generated increasingly strong xenophobic impulses among domestic merchants and produced a highly charged economic policy debate. A number of high-profile petitions were composed by Russian merchants in an attempt to show that the privileges granted to their foreign competitors hurt Russia more than they helped her.[111] A protracted tug-of-war developed between Russian and foreign merchants and intensified over time.

At the beginning of the century, under Boris Godunov, "Westernizers" gained the upper hand as the tsar evidently deliberately sought to curb the influence of Russian elite merchants by offering numerous incentives to foreign merchants. However, the circumstances began to change following the election of Mikhail Romanov when a sharp increase in the number of elite merchants was accompanied by their greater political assertiveness. Their new proximity to the throne encouraged Muscovite merchants to make the first known demand for barring foreign merchants from the Russian interior as early as

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[109] Kozlov and Dmitrieva, *Nalogi*, pp. 103–5; Shumilov, *Istoriia*, pp. 362–3.

[110] A series of measures in 1687 and 1695 sought to develop domestic industry by making it more profitable to export finished products. Raw hides and *iufti* were equated in value for the purposes of assessing export duty. Kurskov, *Vedushchee napravlenie*, p. 80.

[111] Kurskov, *Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskie vzgliady*, pp. 157–8.

1627.[112] By that time the Russian traders faced a deeply entrenched "enemy." Foreigners had with remarkable success penetrated the Russian market due to their ability to establish supply networks of the "poor and indebted" Russian merchants and now completely dominated the Arkhangel'sk market. Moreover, the state, struggling with the post-*Smuta* financial crisis could do little to antagonize foreign entrepreneurs who continued, among other things, to operate under a relatively favorable regime of customs duties. According to a 1629 record of the regime of imposts since Ivan IV, the standard duty levied at border points on unweighed (*neveschie*) goods was 4 percent, whereas a 5-percent duty was exacted from weighted goods, supplemented by additional smaller payments. In addition, a 0.5-percent transit duty was levied on goods taken to Moscow.[113] With the consolidation of Romanov rule and recovery of the Russian economy, the government gradually began impose more direct control on the activities of foreign companies. In 1635, the tsar ordered a census of all foreign merchants operating in Russia. A key part of the exercise was clearly to ensure that only merchants holding special passes would be allowed to visit the Russian capital.[114]

While the state was relatively slow to challenge the deeply-entrenched position of Western merchants, the hostility that the Russian merchant elite felt towards them very often translated into discrimination and bullying not directly sanctioned by the law. The position of the *gosti* as local economic administrators and tax collectors gave them ample opportunity to bend the rules in their favor. Thus Grigorii Shorin, acting as the head of Arkhangel'sk customs, forbade F. Smith of the Muscovy Company in 1629 to buy tar for the needs of the English, something that the government had explicitly permitted. There were periodic instances of excess duties and, for instance, Kirill Bosov in 1646 appraised goods belonging to a group of Dutch and Hamburg merchants at 2–3 times the normal rate for tax purposes. Vasilii Shorin in the late 50s restricted the rights of foreigners to trade directly with Russian merchants and charged a group of 11 Dutch merchants excess duty at R 920. G. Nikitnikov appears to have played a key role in trying to push out the important De

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[112] Golikova, *Privilegirovannye kupecheskie korporatsii*, I, pp. 60–1, 86, 89; Smirnov, "Novoe chelobit'e," 97–102.

[113] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, 1, pp. 60–1.

[114] Muliukin, *Ocherki*, pp. 381–4.

Vogelaer-Klenck partnership which, in 1640/1, was forced to pay full taxes, although the decision was reversed within a year.[115]

Renewed pleas to control foreign penetration were made in the 40s and they began to have a more pronounced effect on policy. Aleksei Mikhailovich initially kept the customs duty rates to 3–4 percent at Arkhangel'sk and at 1.5–2 percent on transit into the Russian interior. However, foreign merchants now paid various additional duties totaling one percent. Russian wares exported by foreigners were subject to a levy of 1.5–2 percent. Moreover, the tone of economic policy changed almost from the beginning. All remaining tax concessions to foreigners were eliminated in 1646, and a transit duty of 2–6 percent began to be levied on their trade within Russia. At this point the burden on Westerners almost certainly exceeded the imposts levied on Russian merchants.[116] The 1648/9 Assembly of the Land heard a broadly based demand for the prohibition of trade by foreigners in the Russian interior, and this measure was indeed applied to the English, officially in response to the execution of Charles I. In addition, some Westerners lost their houses and Peter Marselis and Tielman Akkema's iron works on the Vaga were nationalized in response to a rift with Andries Winius and claims that they were not honoring their 1632 contract by failing to train Russians and produce weapons.[117] With the numbers of foreign merchants on the rise, the Muscovite government began to physically separate them from their Muscovite counterparts. In 1652 the tsar ordered foreign merchants in Moscow to move outside of the city limits to what became the New Foreign Quarter (*Novaia nemetskaia sloboda*). The implementation of this measures appears to have been somewhat half-hearted, however, as some foreigners nonetheless continued to live in the city itself.[118] The New Commercial Code further limited the right of foreigners to own real estate in Russia.

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[115] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 66–7.

[116] Bazilevich, "Élementy," p. 10; Man'kov, *Zakonodatel'stvo*, p. 138; Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 131, 133; Martens, *Sobranie*, IX, p. XVIII; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 55.

[117] The last decision was, however, subsequently reversed. Demkin, "Izmeneniia," pp. 48–49, 51–3; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, pp. 2, 5–6.

[118] Representatives of the foreign merchant community present in Moscow in 1667 included Jacob van der Hulst, Pieter de la Dale, Hendrick Swellengrebel, J. Beleus, J. van Ceulen, and F. Sarels of the Netherlands, as well as Hans Pluß, I. Sievers, Martin Bichlin, and E. Vogler of Hamburg. By the '80s, Daniel Hartman, Coenraet Cannegieter, and Heinrich Butenant had, similarly, moved to the city proper. Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, pp. 111–2.

Over time, the Russian policy increased in sophistication. Instead of merely seeking to create legal obstacles on the operations of foreign merchants in Russia, the authorities chose to discriminate against them through fiscal policy. The pivotal first step in this direction was taken with the Commercial Code of 1653 which contained an important redistributive element. While the basic rate paid by Russian merchants was 5 percent, their foreign counterparts were required to pay an additional 2-percent transit duty on trade between the border towns and the rest of Russia. Moreover, simultaneous instructions sent to the *Voevoda* Iu.B. Miloslavskii on tax collection at Arkhangel'sk reveal a desire to carefully control interactions between Russian and foreign merchants. Persistent abuses and inefficiencies prompted Vasilii Shorin, the head of the local customs, in 1658 again to recommend measures for close supervision of trade and its more complete concentration in Russian hands.[119] K.V. Bazilevich suggests that the government in fact came close to adopting a significantly more protectionist policy *vis-à-vis* foreign merchants, but stopped short because of the onset of the Thirteen Year's war.[120]

The tax reforms of the middle of the century were in part connected with the government's efforts to ensure the supremacy of the Arkhangel'sk route, largely in a bid to maximize the degree of Russian control over foreign trade. Since the country was completely barred from the Baltic by the Stolbovo treaty, the Muscovite government had discriminated against trade through the Swedish-controlled Eastern Baltic ports, a task made easier by the devastation caused in northwestern Russia by the Time of Troubles. In connection with the 1653 customs code, which was adopted at a time of great difficulties for Arkhangel'sk and considerable diplomatic tension on the Swedish border, the discrimination of the Baltic route became even more pronounced. The basic border duty at Novgorod and Pskov was set at a higher 6 percent, accompanied by a 2 percent levy on goods taken further into the Russian interior. There was a temporary doubling of these duties in 1663.[121]

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[119] *AAĖ*, IV, No 64; Pashkov, *Istoriia*, I/1, p. 258; Tikhonov, "Tamozhennaia politika do," pp. 276–77, 283–85; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 55; Nikolaeva, "Otrazhenie," p. 263; Man'kov, *Zakonodatel'stvo*, p. 143; Bazilevich, "Ėlementy," p. 11; Chistiakova, "Novotorgovyi ustav," pp. 106, 108; Shumilov, *Istoriia*, pp. 362–9.

[120] Bazilevich, "Ėlementy," p. 10; Bazilevich, "Kollektivnye chelobit'ia," p. 113.

[121] Man'kov, *Zakonodatel'stvo*, p. 142; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 61; II, pp. 99–108; *AAĖ*, IV, No 13; Kurskov, *Vedushchee napravlenie*, p. 62.

The Russian government also promoted Arkhangel'sk by taking control of trade in particular categories of goods and channeling their export via the White Sea port. Such wares typically included re-exported luxury goods from Asia, mainly various dyes and medicaments. Of much greater importance was Persian raw silk which, while not a government monopoly, was closely monitored. This was true also for much of fur trade, especially with the more expensive sables and foxes. The authorities similarly controlled certain strategic exports which were either new to the market or produced on a limited enough scale—or in a limited range of locations—to make effective policing feasible. Tar, potash, caviar, and masts at various times are representative examples. The single most important government-controlled export, in both volume and value terms, was grain which, however, was only available in exceptional years, typically when the government needed emergency funds or to increase weapons imports.[122]

Capital shortages above all dictated that the share of the government in Russian foreign trade would remain limited over the long term. Silk almost certainly never accounted for more than one percent of the total value of the annual exports of Arkhangel'sk, and even caviar typically remained in the 3-percent range. Moreover, the most dynamic state-controlled sectors typically owed their strength not to bureaucratic control but, rather, to foreign entrepreneurs who had acquired the government monopoly for particular goods. The extraordinary measures of 1662, when the Treasury temporarily monopolized all foreign sales of six important commodities, constitutes a major, even if ephemeral exception, to the general pattern of rather limited participation in trade. In fact, this policy was a desperate attempt to find a way out of a serious financial crisis and thus only used as a last resort. The state's resources almost certainly would not have allowed it to be pursued in the long term. Moreover, the economic dislocations it resulted in were considerable even when placed against the benefits of the monetary stabilization it made possible.[123] The financial crisis of 1662 further contributed to the deterioration of commercial ties with the West because of a tendency of many Russian traders to blame it on their foreign counterparts.

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[122] RA Muscovitica, vol. 601.

[123] Bushkovitch, *The Merchants*, pp. 151–8; Repin, "K voprosu," p. 61 ff.; Bazilevich, *Denezhnaia reforma*, pp. 52–67.

A regular foreign practice of buying Russian goods with copper money and selling Western ones for silver devalued the Russian rouble and prompted calls to limit the activities of foreign merchants to Arkhangel'sk where they could be more closely supervised.[124]

The duration of the Arkhangel'sk annual fair became another major source of contention between the Russians and Westerners in the second half of the century. Until 1663, commercial exchange between the two sides was limited to the month of August. However, in order to increase their influence on the terms of trade, Russian merchants became steadily more determined over time to lengthen the fair with the ultimate goal of keeping the dates completely open.[125] While foreigners in 1663 also petitioned for a significantly longer trading season, they insisted that the proposed two-month extension should be applied to move the beginning date of the fair to June. They remained adamant that all trade should cease after the traditional end point, St Simon's day (September 1). A later end date, they claimed, would expose the returning ships to great danger due to the onset of the Arctic winter with ice and frequent storms. However, whether intentionally or because of the force of tradition and institutional inertia, most foreigners continued to come to Arkhangel'sk only in August. This caused considerable consternation among those Russians who had brought forward their journeys to June–July. They made their displeasure known arguing that foreigners—by allegedly arriving only on August 15—were colluding to force Russians, desperate to dispose of their wares quickly, to lower their prices. Permitting trade past September 1 was said to be the only way to remedy the problem. The government agreed to an extension until the arrival of the last vessels.[126]

Foreign merchants, led by the Dutch, launched a campaign against the new regulations. *Gost'* Vasilii Shorin countered with the earlier Russian argument that foreigners sought to weaken their Russian counterparts by confining all trade to the last days of August so as to force Russians to sell at bargain prices. Russian merchants were put in a situation where they—in order to avoid additional transporta-

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[124] RGADA f. 214, op. 1, stb. No 600, fols. 49, 56; Andreev, "Novotorgovyi ustav," p. 306.

[125] At least in the 1650s and '60s, the Dvina *voevoda* was allowed to influence the proceedings of the annual fair, until the New Commercial banned this as undue interference. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 61.

[126] *AAE*, IX, pp. 127–8; *DAI*, IV, pp. 478–9.

tion or storage costs—wanted to dispose of their goods before the departure of foreign vessels. On the other hand, however, foreigners were able to charge exorbitant prices for their goods which were in considerable demand in Russia and many Muscovite merchants derived their livelihoods from selling these wares elsewhere in the country. Even if the high prices on western imports could be passed on to a degree, the foreigners' behavior undoubtedly put a serious squeeze on the profit margins of Russian merchants.[127] *Gost'* Averkii Kirillov, who headed the Arkhangel'sk customs administration in 1667 called on all visitors to arrive in May for trade in June, a demand which was impossible to enforce. Attempts to push back the end of the fair evidently only caused foreign merchants to delay the bulk of their trade in order to preserve the asymmetry of earlier years in price-determination. The Russian authorities contributed to the deadlock in 1669/70 by reiterating the permission to trade past September 1.[128]

The dual agendas of mercantilism and protectionism peaked in the New Commercial Code of 1667—again in an apparent response to a petition by Muscovite merchants.[129] The new statute represented the most resolute attempt up to that time to ensure full compliance with customs regulations but, in addition, it significantly increased the tax burden facing foreign merchants and made a further attempt to confine them to border cities through both restricted access to the interior and prohibitive transit duties. Foreign specie receipts were to be maximized not only through higher tax rates, even on unsold goods, but also a compulsory system of exacting those payments in specie at a rigged exchange rate. While the basic impost at border towns was left at five percent on weighed goods and four percent on unweighed goods, an additional nine percent was now to be levied on transit beyond the border points. A sales tax of six percent was imposed in the towns of the interior which took the overall duty to an unprecedented 20–21 percent. Exacting the duty in specie at a rigged exchange rate yielded the crown R 2 in pure profit for every R 7 collected. Emulating western practices, the New Commercial Code imposed quality controls on import and export goods alike,

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[127] *PSZ*, I, p. 76.
[128] *DAI*, IX, p. 127; Solov'ev, *Istoriia*, VII/13, p. 103; *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 44.
[129] RGADA f. 214, op. 1, stb. No 600, fols. 49, 56; Andreev, "Novotorgovyi ustav," p. 306.

although this measure appears to have been implemented with mixed success at best.[130]

With the Russian government desperate to restore its fiscal health after the Thirteen Years' War, as well as to finance the reconstruction of Arkhangel'sk after a major fire, efforts to increase tax receipts were not confined to the legislative sphere. At a time of great tension with foreigners, there was a sharp upswing in confiscations of certain goods as "illegal" or "contraband." On the one hand, the new code simplified the transportation of goods to Arkhangel'sk by eliminating the compulsory inspection of goods at Kholmogory, since this did not profit the Treasury and instead merely burdened merchants. On the other, however, this relaxation went with new vigilance in Arkhangel'sk where the inspection of all foreign and domestic cargo was now strictly mandatory.[131] Already in 1668, a collective petition by foreign merchants accused *Gost'* Averkii Kirillov of numerous instances of abuse connected with duty collection at Arkhangel'sk. Westerners claimed that Ivan Pankrat'ev in 1673 confiscated nearly R 16,000 worth of goods from Dutch and Hamburg traders. Together with fellow *gosti* Shorin and A. Sukhanov, he in turn charged foreigners with trying to turn the terms of trade in their favor through illicit collective action. The Russified foreigner Peter Marselis entered the fray by suggesting that the new trade policy had backfired by leading to a reduction in customs receipts and called for revisions in the Code. Marselis endorsed the practice of exacting duty in specie and ensuring Russian control of trade by banning direct dealings among foreigners. However, he also proposed that no duty be payable on specie imports for the purchase of Russian goods and suggested that foreign trade in the Russian interior be allowed to continue so long as Western merchants paid double transit duties. In addition, trading past the end of the annual fair, September 1, was to be permitted and the taxation of luxury goods sharpened. The Russian government refused to budge and again rejected a slightly modified version of the proposals two years later.[132] The Russian intransigence may have had to do with unrealistically rosy expectations at a time

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[130] *PSZ*, I, No 408, p. 45.

[131] Foreigners were now allowed to proceed into the interior of the country only with a special passport from the government. Merchants would only be allowed to proceed if the inspection matched their list of wares. *PSZ*, I, pp. 682, 689.

[132] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 67–70; Tikhonov, "Tamozhennaia politika," pp. 286–88; Chistiakova, "Novotorgovyi ustav," pp. 116, 124.

when a commercial treaty with Persia was set to ensure an increase in silk trade while a truce with Poland put an end to prolonged warfare in the west. The concessions to Western merchants necessitated by the Thirteen Years' War could now be reversed without immediately jeopardizing the state's fiscal health.

Westerners naturally did their best to resist the implementation of the New Commercial Code which threatened their standing and profit margins on the Muscovite market. Their financial strength allowed foreign visitors to circumvent some of the more draconian provisions of the Code with relatively impunity. This, in turn, contributed to a further deterioration of relations with Russian merchants and administration. The bargaining power of the Dutch in particular was sufficient to allow them to translate any tax increases into higher prices for their goods. Moreover, as was seen in Chapter 3, Dutch merchants intensified their relations with small-scale and middling Russian merchants, thereby circumventing the need to operate in the interior and to pay transit duties.[133] The Code clearly brought about a higher degree of collusion among foreign merchants. For instance, according to Kirillov in 1667, Dutch merchants W. Muller, D. Hartman, and their Hamburg colleague P. Verpoorten had colluded to reduce *iuft'* prices, something that was said to have cost Russian merchants R 15,000 in lost revenues. This may have been one of the first accomplishments of the Dutch-Hamburg Company.[134]

In the atmosphere of frustration and mutual suspicion, countless charges were traded both ways. Already in 1665, Hamburg merchants Albert and Johann Heeres had been accused of bringing in fake gold. In response, they were deported and their goods confiscated by the Russian Treasury. Their Russian partner, Iakov Smirnov, was exiled to Siberia and his property similarly seized by the state. The Westerners, in return, repeatedly accused their Russian counterparts of delivering low-quality merchandise. There were numerous instances of rigged weights and various other kinds of cheating: good quality goods mixed in with bad, watered-down liquids, skins and fibers stuffed with ashes, stones, etc. to increase the weight, etc. Not infrequently, the disputes degenerated into inconclusive bickering with similar accusations hurled in both directions. When the Dutch in 1671 complained of what they considered to be unfair weights in

[133] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 345.
[134] Chistiakova, "Novotorgovyi ustav," p. 124; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 67–70.

Arkhangel'sk, the Russians—headed by Shorin—countered with a litany of charges: the Dutch themselves had shortened the length of cloth pieces; they brought in low-quality, or even fake, precious metals; and their paints were second rate. Incense was mixed with stones and dust, church wine with sandal-wood chips, etc.[135] In 1682, a letter by Charles II complained of arbitrary behavior on the part of Arkhangel'sk *voevody* who, he claimed, imposed unreasonable regulations concerning trade, complicated the procedure for hiring workers and pilots, and made it difficult to replenish key supplies.[136]

Smuggling continued to be a burning issue. In 1664, *Gost'* Aleksei Sukhanov, who headed the Arkhangel'sk customs, confiscated a large quantity of undeclared goods from the Hamburg merchant Peter Sievers: R 8,000 worth of pearls, R 7,000 worth of precious stones, silverware, etc. In 1675, a decree was sent to Vologda ordering the local authorities to ensure that foreigners would not take their wares past the city customs at pain of confiscation.[137] At least sometimes, Western merchants sought to establish direct links with Asian traders visiting Arkhangel'sk. Thus, in 1627, English merchants were convicted of buying raw silk—which, moreover, was a "forbidden" good—from Persian merchants. In 1658, merchants of the Cloth Row (*Sukonnyi riad*) accused Dutch and Hamburg merchants of selling cloth to their Persian, Indian, and Central Asian counterparts.[138]

As the disputes over the fair and the New Commercial Code festered, Russian relations with Western Europe reached a new low. The reign of Fedor Alekseevich marked the peak of Russian xenophobia and the era of greatest difficulty for foreign visitors. Russians intransigence on the duration of the Arkhangel'sk *iarmarka* may have been a factor prompting many foreign merchants to build houses in the city so as to make possible a more permanent presence there. At the same time, they continued to resist the regulation. At least in 1674, they decided to impose an October 1 deadline on their purchases of *iufti*, much to the consternation of Russian merchants who were notified only two days before the date.[139] Moreover, the

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[135] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 64–65; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1671 g, d. 2.
[136] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 64.
[137] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 63, 65–7; RGADA f. 141, op. 2, 1637 g., d. 32.
[138] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 64.
[139] Chistiakova, "Novotorgovyi ustav," p. 124; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 61–62, 65, 69–70.

Muscovite authorities now made it virtually impossible for most foreigners to operate in the Russian interior. While some reports claimed that passes to the interior of Russia were granted to foreign merchants as before, their numbers clearly declined to a fraction of the levels seen in the '50s.[140] Even as obstacles on trade with Moscow rose to the top of the agenda of Western diplomats, Russian merchants nonetheless claimed in a November 1676 petition that Westerners were operating throughout the country, in many cases without any official permission. The Russian government in 1677 relaxed the regulations governing trips by foreign merchants to Moscow, although those with no formal history of residing in the city were still only allowed to go there solely for the purpose of repaying debts.[141] Even this concession was soon reversed when, perhaps in recognition of the growing hostility of Russian traders, the government ordered the expulsion of foreigners from the interior. Accused of harming Russian trade, foreign merchants were ordered to sell their houses in Moscow and leave the city. The measure was repealed only in 1679 after Westerners threatened not to return to Arkhangel'sk By that time, the cost of such extreme protectionism were evident as duty collections at Arkhangel'sk plummeted from R 82,359.91 to R 68,971.69 within a year.[142]

After a failure to establish a workable policy regime, Russian protectionism gradually became much more transparent in the 1680s. Increasingly, the discriminatory customs duties now once again stood as the only barrier between Arkhangel'sk and the Russian interior, something that significantly revived trade.[143] Some improvement in the treatment of foreigners, at least in secondary border towns, may have come from the 1681 reforms which ended the relatively common practice of farming out tax collection.[144] The Russians even showed themselves surprisingly responsive to foreign pleas. When a new customs regulation in 1685 proposed a double duty of 10 percent on wares exported along the Düna, von Kochen successfully pleaded with Golitsyn to exempt Swedish trade from the new order.[145] Perhaps

[140] RGADA f. 50, 1683 g., d. 2, fols. 63–4.
[141] RGADA f. 35, 1690–1691 gg., d. 258, fols. 9–11; f. 50, 1683 g., d. 2, fol. 64.
[142] RGADA f. 50, 1678 g., d. 1, fols. 59, 70; Belov, "Rossiia i Gollandiia," p. 66.
[143] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, pp. 219, 226–7.
[144] Merzon, *Tamozhennye knigi*, p. 16. However, even under the new system administrators faced potential trouble and probes in the event of a noticeable fall in tax receipts. Miliukov, *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo*, p. 9.
[145] Zernack, *Studien*, p. 142.

most importantly, Peter I's ascension to power marked a sea change in the attitude of the Russian regime towards foreign trade. Peter's commitment to mercantilism, and most importantly to Russian merchants, was certainly no less than that of his father. However, he fully recognized the importance of regular interaction with the West and the potential of trade in providing financial resources for Russia's further modernization.

The biggest drawback of Russian protectionism, especially until Peter, was its almost purely negative agenda. The authorities and elite merchants hoped to cut their dependence on foreigners almost exclusively by means of making it more difficult for outside visitors to operate in the country. In contrast, there were few concrete measures to strengthen the domestic merchants in order to allow them to compete better and the few known attempts met with limited success. In 1667, Kirillov was ordered to centralize trade in *iufti*. Russian merchants were to act in a coordinated manner to avoid the sale of small consignments, something that in the past had weakened their bargaining power. The foreign reaction was immediate, however, and undermined the Russian plans. Following a price increase, the foreigners agreed among themselves not to buy any *iufti* at all until the price had returned to a lower level. Smaller merchants were unwilling to wait and broke the Russian unity first.[146] In 1675, Russian merchants belonging to the privileged corporations offered to centralize all export trade, a proposal that was clearly never implemented.[147] Recognizing the failure of all previous efforts, Peter I in 1699 issued a decree ordering Russian merchants to form companies following the example of foreigners.[148]

The government's failure to promote capital accumulation and credit markets undoubtedly constituted the most serious weakness of Muscovite mercantilism, ruling out as it did a serious alternative to Western money. The price of available credit in Russia had been driven to truly usurious levels by its shortage and the problem was exacerbated by the official ban on interest as usury. Domestic sources of loans tended to be open only to *gosti*, and even then at the hefty interest rate of 20 percent p.a. A.L. Ordin-Nashchokin was arguably the first high-ranking politician to give the issue of capital shortages

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[146] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 358; RGADA f. 141, 1667 g., d. 64, fols. 52–4.
[147] *Posol'stvo Kunrada fon Klenka*, p. CLV.
[148] *PSZ*, III, No 1706.

serious consideration. The first instance of this came with his reforms in his native Pskov in 1665. The New Commercial Code, evidently under the influence of Nashchokin, also recognized the problem of capital shortages and mooted the idea of issuing credit to merchants via the Great Customs of Moscow and the local *zemskie izby*. In addition, the preamble of the Code proposed the idea of companies combining large and small-scale merchants in an attempt to isolate the small-scale merchants from foreign traders whom many served as agents. However, the practical importance of these pronouncements remained marginal at best. The good intentions did not lead to any significant action. The only instance of banking of any significance was when the Stroganovs were allowed to deposit their money with the central administration in Moscow and receive money against these deposits from local administrators.[149] Another failed intention of New Commercial Code concerned the special "Merchant Chancellery" (*Prikaz kupetskikh liudei*). Ordin-Nashchokin had advocated this special ministry for merchant affairs as an organization which would defend the interests of Russian traders in border towns, as well against foreign abuses as against attempts by the local Russian administrators to exact excess duties. An institution by such a name in fact existed in 1669–78 but it was subjected to the Siberian Chancellery and occupied itself exclusively with fur trade and thus evidently had nothing to do with Nashchokin's intentions.[150]

If the government thus failed to craft a national policy to support a merchant class with adequate capital resources, it was little more successful in promoting Russian activism in foreign trade. The creation of a domestic merchant fleet remained an important unmet policy goal for virtually the whole century. Nashchokin's endeavors to build one in the Baltic in the 1660s came to nought, and the Caspian fleet was destroyed before it gained any significance. The situation changed dramatically only when Peter the Great built the Solombala shipyard in Arkhangel'sk in 1693 and Russian shipbuilding on a sustained basis began.[151] In 1695, two vessels, one of them built at the Solombala shipyard, hoisted Russian flags on their masts and were dispatched for Amsterdam. The first ship was soon seized by French

[149] Kurskov, *Vedushchee napravlenie*, pp. 66–67.
[150] Chistiakova, "Novotorgovyi ustav," p. 122; Pashkov, *Istoriia*, I/1, p. 238; Man'kov, *Zakonodatel'stvo*, p. 149; Kurskov, *Vedushchee napravlenie*, p. 75.
[151] Krotov, "Solombal'skaia verf'."

pirates in the North Sea. The second, in contrast, reached Amsterdam and had as its mission, among other things, to take Dutch merchant Abraham Houtman abroad.[152] The only significant exception to this generally bleak situation were the small-scale merchants of the Russian northwest. They produced small vessels for their trade with Stockholm and became the most active merchants in seventeenth-century Russian foreign trade (Chapter 6). The scale of the vessels was modest and the technology primitive. They were slightly glorified river boats suited for the somewhat rougher seas of the Gulf of Finland and would certainly not have been seaworthy beyond the Baltic.[153] Similarly, the *busy* plying across the Caspian became an increasingly important, albeit still modest, example of local entrepreneurship.

Concluding remarks

The above discussion has described the important stimulative effect that foreign demand had on the supply side of the Russian economy. The Muscovite export bundle evolved in fundamental ways because of the key role foreigners played in initiating or further developing the production of certain sought-after commodities which with time rose to assume a prominent position. The most important case in point is the establishment of Russian potash production. At their peak, the various directly "foreign-inspired" productive activities are likely to have accounted for more than one-third of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports.

There were several other areas were the apparently limitless foreign demand for particular commodities resulted in dramatic expansion of various sectors of the economy. Trade in fibers, skins, and hides stand out as particularly important and impressive cases. Russia's key fiber-producing areas were heavily oriented toward export trade and the rate of expansion of their output, especially in the second half of the century, is not explicable purely—or even primarily—in terms of domestic demand. Siberian furs serve as an example of a key commodity which came close to exhaustion because of the high level of foreign demand. The decline of fur trade coincided with the

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[152] He had evidently served as an agent of the Russian Treasury in the Netherlands. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 327–8.

[153] Shaskol'skii, *Russkaia morskaia torgovlia*, appendix.

establishment of *iufti* as the leading category of Russian exports. Data on handicrafts and proto-industry in Russia's leading industrial centers reveals a dynamic supply response to the Western demand for this product.

The economic expansion of the Russian open sector contributed to the emergence of a growing stratum of large-scale merchants. The state recognized, stimulated, and exploited this development by appointing special elite merchants with particular duties and responsibilities. At crucial times, the government clearly relied on these appointments as an important instrument of economic policy. In particular, the privileged merchants became the "vanguard" that helped lead the Russian economy out of the post-*Smuta* crisis. The growth of the merchant class soon enough became self-sustaining and increasingly independent of government policy. The leading economic centers of the country over time developed their local merchant elites who operated on a national scale and were not necessarily members of the elite corporations. In due course, the boom spread to the countryside and saw the emergence of some serfs with commercial operations on a national scale.

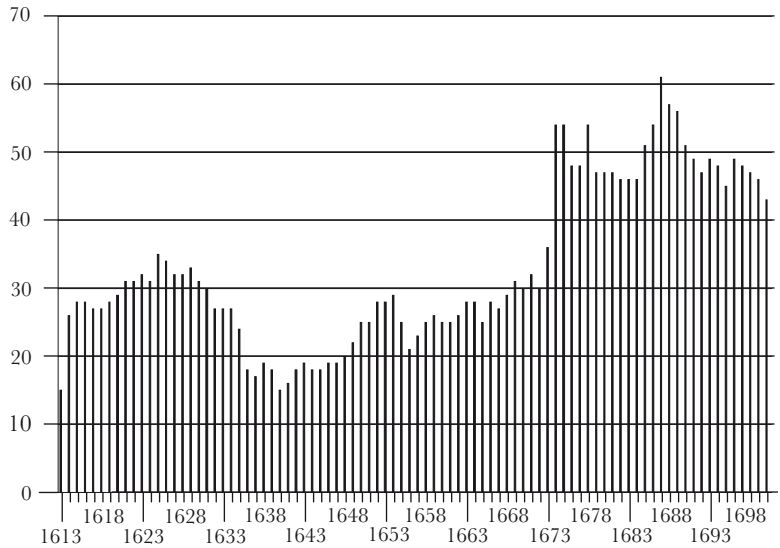
While the elite merchants clearly served as an "engine of growth," their impact of Russia's economic development was not unequivocally positive. Western depictions of them as a self-seeking group of ruthless businessmen contain an important element of truth. As the economic "nobility" of the country, the *gosti* had the tsar's ear and exerted considerable influence on economic policy. Their redistributive agenda by and large sought to enrich the domestic merchant elite at the expense of—rather than alongside of—foreigners operating in Russia. They were instrumental in lending Russian mercantilism a xenophobic slant. No less problematically, in spite of their own origins, they did little to promote the interests of the Russian merchant class as a whole and frequently actively worked against the interests of "ordinary" traders.

The fact that Muscovy remained heavily dependent on foreign trade throughout the century was important in tempering the elite merchants' influence, even if it also made for important elements of inconsistency in Muscovite trade policy. The general trend toward limiting foreigners' sphere of operations and towards discriminatory taxation were repeatedly checked by the country's fiscal and military needs in connection with lengthy and expensive foreign campaigns. In addition, policy innovation ensured a significant simplification and

rationalization of the economic institutions and regulations, most notably in the realm of customs administration. However, remarkably little attention was devoted to creating and developing sources of domestic capital or associations of merchants. Even the creation of a domestic navy, in spite of several attempts, had to await the closing years of the century. As a result, the xenophobia of the elite merchants aside, the Russian government met with limited success in trying to fully reverse the dependency of Russian merchants and the Muscovite state on Western European merchants.

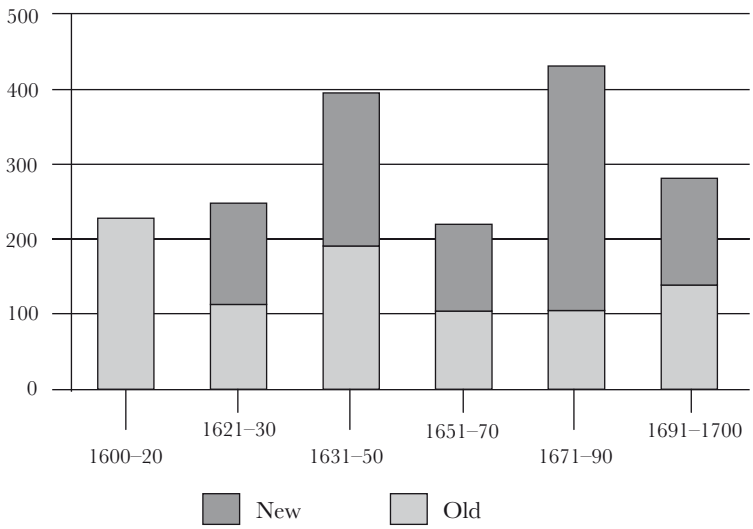
In spite of these limitations of Russian policy, some basic objectives were met with remarkable success. In the face of the striking institutional asymmetries of Russian-European trade, the government did manage to prevent Russia from turning into a *de facto* commercial colony of the West. Moreover, it over time curbed the influence of foreign merchants more successfully than for instance Sweden in its Baltic provinces, while still overseeing a near-continuous expansion of export volumes. Russia struck a delicate balance indeed between trade-promotion and protectionism in a way that undoubtedly curbed overall trade volumes, on the one hand, but preserved one of the key preconditions for the emergence of an empire, *viz.* effective domestic control over the economy, on the other. Even though the foundations of the Muscovite state were repeatedly shaken in the course of the century, political concessions never reached a point that would have jeopardized the future sovereignty of the country. Commercial policy thus played an important part in ensuring that the "failed" state of the early 17th century was in a position to fundamentally shake the balance of power in northeastern Europe a century later.

Figure 4.1. The number of *gosti*, 1613–1700



(*Source*: Golikova, *Privilegirovannye kupecheskie korporatsii*, I, pp. 113, 148, 171, 206)

Figure 4.2. The estimated number of members of the *Gostinaia sotnia* in the 17th century



(*Source*: Golikova, *Privilegirovannye kupecheskie korporatsii*, I, pp. 297, 381, 443)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARCTIC ROUTE

Архангельский город—всему морю ворот.
A 17th-century saying.

The commercial development of Arkhangel'sk constitutes the central element of the history of Russian foreign trade in the 17th century. As contemporaries put it, the White Sea port truly was Russia's "gate to all the seas." Kholmogory, further up the Dvina, which had been of some significance in the late 16th century, soon thereafter blended into Arkhangel'sk's hinterland. At the same time, the Russian authorities successfully prevented Western merchants from establishing direct links with the Pechora coast to the east of the Dvina estuary. The only other northern region of continued, albeit decidedly secondary, importance to foreign trade was the Kola coast. Throughout the century, Arkhangel'sk was the leading outlet of Russian exports to the world, typically accounting for well over one-half of their total value and, at times, a great deal more. This position of supremacy was reinforced by government policy which sought to concentrate foreign trade in the Arctic where it could be more effectively controlled on it than in the Baltic. The evolution of export volumes at the White Sea port thus closely mirrored broader trends in Russia's ongoing economic integration with the outside world.

The Evolution of Western Shipping

Western merchants were Arkhangel'sk's *raison d'être*, the justification for the survival and continued prosperity of a remote port on Russia's Arctic periphery. Unfortunately, however, we no longer have comprehensive customs data for 17th-century Arkhangel'sk and thus the task of precisely quantifying the magnitude of Western operations is nearly impossible. However, important other sources do exist to shed light on key elements of Arkhangel'sk's trade. Most notably, the scale of Western shipping can be determined with considerable accuracy

from a wealth of Dutch, English, German, and Danish sources, typically customs records and shipping contracts.[1] In addition, we have continuous Dutch data on ship sizes which, we can reasonably assume from more sporadic data for other countries, reflected general trends in the overall evolution of Western shipping to Northern Russia (Fig. 5.2). Last, but not least, there is a more of less uninterrupted series of total customs duty receipts in the Dvina port covering most of the century (Figure 5.3).

The history of Dutch shipping provides us with the main element the overall evolution of Arkhangel'sk's export trade. Merchants of the Low Countries usually send some 30–35 ships a year to northern Russia (Figure 5.1), a figure which remained remarkably stable in spite of a gradual upward trend. The Dutch typically sailed to Russia in two groups. The first flotilla of 5–6 ships left in June, followed by some thirty vessels in July.[2] Leaving aside the years of large-scale grain exports, the known number of Dutch vessels typically tended to remain below 20 p.a. up to the 1650s, whereas it usually varied in the 20–40 range in the second half of the century.[3] The main exceptions to the general picture are four. Things were especially

[1] Kotilaine, "Quantifying," pp. 262–3, 268–9, 276–7, 283–4, 287, 289.

[2] Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," p. 293.

[3] The overwhelming majority of the Dutch data presented in Figure 5.1 is based on shipping contracts held in the Notarial Archives of the Amsterdam City Archive. These were contracts concluded between a lessee (*bevrachter*) and a lessor (*vervrachter*), typically through the intermediation of a broker, and then notarized at the Amsterdam Bourse. The numbers do not, therefore, include ships whose contracts were not notarized. Not recorded are ships, so-called *stukgoederenvaarders*, that sailed entirely at the risk of shipowners. These vessels carried a mixed cargo of piece goods. The shipowner himself was responsible for finding a commission for the vessel and no formal contract was required. These ships often reached northern Russia toward the end of the season when they alone had capacity left for goods which the Russian sellers were desperate to dispose of. While it is impossible to accurately estimate the number of such ships, a document from the end of the century indicates that, of the total number of 122 Dutch ships in 1697–1700, 32—or 26 percent—sailed *bij 't last*, without a contract. However, it is likely that most of the unnotarized contracts had to do with smaller vessels, which further reduced the significance of the "missing data." Comparisons with other sources, including a handful of lists compiled by the Russian administrators at Arkhangel'sk, suggest that the number of notarized contracts did not markedly depart from the total number of Dutch ships. 20–30 percent seems to be the typical "margin of error," in last terms probably not much more than one half of this figure. Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," p. 66; *idem*, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," p. 268; Kotilaine, "Quantifying Russian Exports," pp. 262–3; GAA arch. 6 Het archief van de Moscovische Handel, 1694–1823, Nr. 123 register van de makelaar Abraham de Kramer . . . van schepen uitgezeild naar Archangel en teruggekeerd uit Archangel, 1698–.

precarious after the arrival of the second pretender in 1608 when Moscow was placed under siege. Foreign merchants were forced to spend the winter months of early 1609 in Vologda and the political uncertainty took its toll on shipping.[4] Things did not fully stabilize again until after the ascent to power of Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov in 1613. With the political crisis thus settled, Arkhangel'sk could look forward to a more than a century of largely uninterrupted growth. This was helped along by the fact that the new government undertook a systematic review of the privileges granted to foreign merchants, and, in most cases, left them unchanged.

The second exceptional period came with the grain peak of the 1630s which witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of Dutch vessels from 25 in 1629 to an all-time high of 100 the year after. The annual totals remained impressive at 72, 53, 78, and 47 respectively in the four subsequent years. This boom was followed by a precipitous decline, however, and the 1640s became the low point of Dutch trade with the White Sea port. Between 1639 and 1649, the known number of Dutch vessels exceeded 10 only three times, with a peak of 16 in 1644. The trough was a mere 6 in 1646. The 1650s and early '60s represented the second major peak of Dutch shipping to Arkhangel'sk, again in connection with massive grain exports which were used to finance weapons and munitions purchases in the runup to and during the Thirteen Years' War. The largest number of ships, 62, was recorded in 1658 but the totals remained over 40 for seven years in a row. After this, the numbers were once again relatively stable—between 20 and 30—until a new recovery manifested itself during Peter's reign in the 1690s.

The relatively modest annual totals of Dutch ships conceal the fact that Amsterdam merchants tended to send some of the largest vessels available to northern Russia and their average capacity, moreover, more than doubled from 95.5 lasts in 1594–1600 to 202.1 lasts in 1690s. Thus, in spite of relative stability in the numbers of Dutch ships over time, their total carrying capacity (abstracting from the grain peaks) increased five-fold in the course of the century (Figure 5.2). The largest of them were involved in the triangular trade between Amsterdam, the White Sea, and the Italian ports of Genoa,

[4] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 115.

Leghorn, and Venice, or—less frequently—Seville, Setúbal, or Lisbon on the Iberian Peninsula.[5]

In addition to regular trade with the White Sea port, Dutch ships destined for northern Russia often engaged in whale hunting on the way there.[6] The Dutch, similarly, continued their involvement in coastal trade in the Kola Peninsula throughout the century. The so-called *Koolvaarders* (ships trading with Kola and the Murman coast) tended to be smaller than the ships destined for Arkhangel'sk. They normally bought local products or engaged in fishing. The main exports from Lapland consisted of salmon, cod, both fresh or salted and as dried *stokvis*, train oil, and mica ("isin glass") which was found in the local mountains. The ships, which were often, but by no means always, required to call in at Arkhangel'sk during their trip, typically spent three months on the Kola coast before returning to the Netherlands. The Dutch also became involved in occasional attempts to trade in areas to the east of Arkhangel'sk, albeit evidently to no avail.[7]

As merchants from the Low Countries dominated northern Russian shipping, the proportion of other Western vessels in any given year seldom exceeded one-third of the total volume of trade, especially after the first quarter of the century. The evolution of English shipping was quite discontinuous, whereas German/Hanseatic shipping appears to have largely mirrored Dutch trends, albeit at a much lower level.

The development of English trade stands in a striking contrast to the relative stability of Dutch commerce. The first two decades of the 17th century marked the epilogue of the 16th-century glory days of English shipping. The known number of Muscovy Company vessels varied between 3 and 12 a year, with 9–11 a typical annual total. The

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[5] The average in 1631–41 was 119.5 lasts which rose further to 155.2 lasts in the '40s, 160 lasts in the '50s, 166.8 lasts in the '60s, and 180.7 lasts in the '80s. Estimates based on the notes of Prof. P. de Buck, University of Leiden; Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," p. 68.

[6] GAA NA 863/182^{v}, 215–8; Bogucka, "Zboże rosyjskie," p. 623.

[7] A letter by the *voevoda* of Tobol'sk to the tsar on February 6, 1616, mentions rumors of Dutch merchants who had sailed to Mangazeia, i.e. the Ob'-Taz estuary, and were trying to proceed further to the Enisei area. The Russians were apparently concerned that Westerners might establish a military presence in the area, something that Russians might find logistically difficult to prevent. The ban on using the sea route between Pustozersk and Mangazeia was renewed in 1619 and navigation to Siberia forbidden altogether in 1623. Dalgård, *Det Petsoriske Kompagni*, pp. 57–9; Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," p. 280.

number of English interlopers is unlikely to have exceeded one-half of this "official" figure. However, the turnover of the English commercial operations was higher than suggested by this data. The one reasonably complete source of comparative data on Anglo-Russian trade in the opening years of the 17th century is a 1604 list of Russian imports. At the time, the goods brought by the English to the White Sea were valued at R 60,104, a highly respectable 40.25 percent of the total Muscovite imports (via Arkhangel'sk) of R 148,849. The Muscovy Company accounted for R 59,072 of the total with an interloper "Tomos Ivanov" carrying R 1,028 worth of goods.[8]

A clear decline in English shipping set in after the *Smuta*. By the beginning of the 1620s, the English were, according to Ė.P. Telegina, sending only 7–8 ships p.a. to Arkhangel'sk.[9] However, surviving British sources suggest that at least the official numbers were in most years even lower. Telegina's figure, if accurate, would have to include all shipping by English interlopers, as well. The small totals mirror contemporaneous trends in the Baltic where the onset of the Thirty Years' War was creating serious obstacles on English trade, among other things adversely affecting the country's shipbuilding industry.[10] On the other hand, the overall value of English trade in Russia has been estimated at R 60,000 in 1612 and 1626, much as it had been in 1604, something that may have had to do with an increase in ship sizes.[11]

A gradual recovery ensued in the 1630s. From typical annual totals of three to four in the second half of the 1620s, the number of English vessels calling at Arkhangel'sk rose to six in 1630–2, nine in 1633, and seven in 1634–5.[12] Thereafter, the numbers remained roughly constant until a precipitous decline in the wake of the anti-English measures of 1649. In the 1650s and '60s, four ships a year was a typical figure, although there were years when only one English vessel was dispatched to Arkhangel'sk and at least a couple of instances of no recorded shipping whatsoever. Of the 32–5 foreign ships vis-

[8] Floria, "Torgovlia Rossii s Zapadnoi Evropoi," pp. 142, 144.
[9] Telegina, "K voprosu o torgovo-predprinimatel'skoi deiatel'nosti anglichan," p. 220.
[10] *Ibidem*, pp. 207–10.
[11] Liubimenko, "Torgovye snosheniia Rossii s Angliei i Gollandiei s 1553 po 1649 god," p. 733; Floria, "Torgovlia Rossii," p. 144.
[12] These numbers are compiled from the London Port Books in PRO E 190.

iting Arkhangel'sk in 1667, not a single one appears to have been English and in 1669 there were only two English merchants present in Moscow.[13]

The subsequent recovery was very tentative and slow. The number of English ships visiting Arkhangel'sk in the years following the Restoration never exceeded four and in some years it fell as low as two. For example in 1668, the Muscovy Company commissioned only two ships, with a total capacity of 540 tons, for the London route and one 100-ton vessel for Leghorn. In 1669, the Company had insufficient subscriptions of tonnage for one "considerable shipp" and only 30 tons for Leghorn by the original deadline. This appears to have been an exceptional low point, however, and for example in 1676 subscriptions for London temporarily reached an unusually high 1,500 tons with another 105-ton "for the Straits," i.e. Italy.[14] Data on toll collection in Russia confirms this impression. In 1670, the share of English merchants of the duties collected in Arkhangel'sk was only 9.7 percent (R 3,498 out of R 35,968). This proportion rose only very marginally to 10.4 percent the following year. In 1673, Thomas Hebdon was the only English merchant at the Arkhangel'sk fair. His duty payments—R 326.78—constituted less than one percent of the total collected.[15] The known total value of English exports to Russia was £17,765 in 1663, compared to English imports of Russian goods of £24,000. The corresponding figures in 1669 were £40,000 in English wares and a surprisingly small total of £9,239 in Russian exports.[16] Even the more generous of these figures would have given the English a very modest "market share" of perhaps six to eight

[13] PRO E 190. The numbers of interlopers from ports other than London seldom exceeded two p.a.

[14] In 1670, the subscriptions were already higher: 491 tons for London and 506 tons for Leghorn, enough for four ships. This was followed by 569 and 56 tons, respectively in 1671. In 1674, subscriptions for London totaled 517 tons. In 1678, 720 tons was subscribed for London and 21 tons for Leghorn. The corresponding numbers in 1679 were 641 and 57 tons, respectively. In 1680, 1,000 tons was underwritten for London and 134 tons for Italy. GHL Ms. 11,741/1, pp. 25, 27, 40, 61–2, 96, 122, 156, 191. Sometimes, the small volumes of shipping turned out to be insufficient and for example in 1676, there was a request for a 270-ton early ship. Similar pleas were made in 1678 and 1681. In 1679, the Company actually agreed to reduce subscriptions by 51 tons to fit everything on the available vessels. GHL Ms. 11,741/1, pp. 121, 171–2.

[15] GHL Ms. 11,741/1, pp. 13, 15, 38; RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, 1670 g., d. 5, fols. 22–3, 25v; d. 6, 1671 g., fol. 21; 1673 g., d. 7, fol. 38v.

[16] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo v Rossii*, I, p. 75.

percent, with the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports typically varying between R 6–800,000 in the '70s and '80s.[17]

A clear recovery in Anglo-Russian trade became manifest in the 1680s. In 1681, the Muscovy Company dispatched six ships to Arkhangel'sk, a total of 1,550 tons. In spite of this, two additional early ships had to be sent the following spring to collect the overflow. In most subsequent years, the number of ships varied between four and six, but there were years with 10–11, as well. In 1682—an average year—the subscriptions were 690 tons for London and 417 tons for Leghorn, yet a 350 ton early ship had to be sent the following spring. The following year, total subscriptions again rose to 1,050 tons for London and 163 tons for the Mediterranean. Another quantum leap followed during the decade and by 1689, the total subscriptions were 2,392 tons for London and 335 tons for Leghorn. A year later, 2,462 tons was subscribed for London and 135 tons for Leghorn. The average size of English ships increased markedly from 200–250 tons in the 1670s to 300–350 tons in the 1680s. In years with more ships, it was customary to let one or two depart one–two weeks after the regular departure date of late June or the first days of July. Similarly, early shipping in April or May became ever more common. In 1689, it alone attained 547 tons. Evidently because of capacity constraints, Company members were in some years allowed to ship goods on any vessel beyond the confines of centralized subscriptions.[18] The known numbers of English vessels remained relatively stable in the '90s—typically 6–7 p.a.—but ultimately rose dramatically with the restructuring of the Company around the turn of the century and attained 33 in 1701 (Figure 5.1).

Hamburg shipping was at least comparable in scale to English trade for much of the century. Following its inception in 1603, four to five ships from the Elbe estuary annually completed the journey to the White Sea, according to Savary, whereas Angermann puts the figure at seven to eight.[19] Judging by the very fragmentary surviving primary sources, the typical variation appears to have been between these two limits, although figures as high as 24 (1665) and as low as one have been recorded. For instance, during the first two decades

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[17] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia cherez Arkhangel'sk*, p. 89; RGADA f. 137, op. Arkhangel'sk, dd. 5–9, 11, 13–5, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25–6, 29, 31–a, 32.

[18] GHL Ms. 11,741/1, pp. 216–21, 231; Ms. 11,741/2, pp. 24–5, 69, 100, 130, 136–7.

[19] Savary, *Le Parfait Negociant*, p. 178; Angermann, *Hamburg und Rußland*, p. 8.

of the century, there were at least four years when the total was 10–12 and in the 1630s, we again observe instances of 10–14 vessels. The figure 10 appears periodically even thereafter.[20] While the data—especially for the end of the century—is very incomplete, there is some reason to suppose that the volume of Hamburg shipping may have increased somewhat over time. As in the Dutch case, the ships plying between the Elbe estuary and the White Sea were usually three times the average size of Hamburg merchant vessels. Only ships going to Venice, the Iberian Peninsula, and Newfoundland were larger in 1625. The recorded ships on the northern route had an average size of just under 130 lasts in the 1690s.[21] They were normally specified as going to Arkhangel'sk, Russia, or Muscovy and some of them undoubtedly traded on the Kola coast.

Bremen's shipping was clearly less significant. After a tentative start between 1609 and the '30s, one to three ships a year made the voyage to Russia, a pattern which appears to have held for the rest of the century. This figure temporarily rose to six in 1653 when neutral Bremers, much like Hamburgers, gained a temporary advantage from the Anglo-Dutch naval war and some of their ships were leased by Amsterdam merchants.

Danish shipping was a significantly more modest affair. The Sound customs records provide data on ships from much of Denmark proper (especially Zeeland) and the Duchies (Holstein-Gottorp). At least since the 1580s, a couple of relatively small ships of 25–30 lasts ships were typically sent almost annually to Russia, mainly to the Kola coast where they bought fish and train oil. In occasional years, as for instance in connection with the Russian grain subsidies in the 1620s, the number of Danish vessels could rise to the 5–12 p.a. range. On the other hand, only one Danish ship is known to have visited Arkhangel'sk in 1638–47. Moreover, during the period between 1654 and 1695, Danish ships destined for Arkhangel'sk were recorded in the Sound customs books during only six years. In addition, there was sporadic traffic between Norway—especially the ports of Bergen and Trondheim—and northern

[20] SAH Cl. VII Lit. E[a] Pars No. 3[b], Vol. 2, Fasc. 2.

[21] The actual figure may well have been higher, since vessels carrying exclusively cargo belonging to Hamburg merchants were exempt from duty and thus not recorded in the surviving customs records compiled by the Swedish authorities in Stade. Baasch, "Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt," pp. 307, 324, 332; RA Bremen-Verden: Reviderade räkenskaper 2: Tull- och accisräkenskaper, 1690:2, 1691:1, 1692:2. 1693:2, 1694:2, 1695:2, 1697:2.

Russia. Even as the available evidence on such trade is highly fragmentary, it is not likely to have been much different in scale from Danish-Russian trade. The last component of Danish-Russian trade involved localized shipping between the northern Norwegian coast—mainly the Vardøhus region—and the northern Kola coast. However, its parameters were, by all accounts, extremely modest.

The total numbers of ships calling at Arkhangel'sk held surprisingly steady over the course of the century. They are, not surprisingly, closely correlated with the Dutch figures reviewed above. Prior to the first grain peak of the late '20s–early '30s, the annual totals seldom departed from the 20–40 range. The large-scale grain exports then pushed these figures above the 100-vessel mark in the best years. The boom, however, was followed by an sharp decline and the 1640s were the low point of Arkhangel'sk's shipping with the total number of Western ships seldom significantly exceeding 20. The outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch naval war in 1652 further exacerbated the problem as White Sea trade collapsed until the restoration of peace in 1654. At the end of July 1654, Johan de Rodes wrote to Stockholm with the news that rumors were circulating in Russia of English plans to launch a naval attack during the Arkhangel'sk fair. Consequently, it was no surprise that the market remained nearly dead that year. In November 1654, de Rodes reported that foreign merchants had had a "thoroughly miserable" year in Arkhangel'sk.[22] The crisis was soon followed by the second grain peak in the 1650s when the number of vessels again rose to the 40–80 range and stayed there almost until the conclusion of the Andrusovo treaty in 1667. After that point, the numbers seldom departed from the 20–40 range, although there was a noticeable upward trend at the very end of the century (Fig. 5.1).

The surviving annual lists on the collection of customs duties at Arkhangel'sk not surprisingly agree with the Western shipping data (Figure 5.3). The evolution of the government's receipts was marked by a steady upward trend from just over R 9,200 in 1614 to over R 30,000 in the 1630s. Figures in the R 60–90,000 range were typical during the Thirteen Years' War. Variation between R 60,000 and R 80,000 p.a. remained the norm into the '90s. The annual value of exports at the time typically varied between R 600–800,000 (Figure 5.4), although it had exceeded R 1,000,000 at least during

[22] RA Muscovitica, vol. 600.

the grain boom of the 1650s (Table 5.3). The fiscal importance of Arkhangel'sk was considerable. The more than R 75,000 collected in local customs duties in 1680 accounted for nearly four percent of the total revenues of the Russian Treasury, over six percent of the state's indirect tax receipts, and 12 percent of all customs receipts. The indirect fiscal importance of Arkhangel'sk was naturally even much greater when transit duties in Moscow, Vologda, etc. are taken into consideration.[23] In contrast, the toll receipts at Kola were a great deal more modest. Data from the 1620s–40s points to annual totals of only R 1–2,000 with relatively little year-to-year variation (Figure 5.6).

The Composition of the Export Bundle

The northern Russian ports served as an outlet for a relatively limited range of agricultural and semi-processed goods. The late 16th-century situation, which underwent little subsequent change, is depicted by the *Torgovaia kniga* or *Pamiat' tovaram* on commercial operations of Russian merchants on the Kola coast in 1575–85.[24] The export wares consisted of hemp, tallow, flax, salted meat, wheat, buckwheat groats, lard, oil, ropes, yarn, tar, pitch, resin, wax, and marten, squirrel, wolf, polar fox, and black cat skins, as well as elk, cow, and calf hides. There may have been also some timber exports: a representative of the Muscovy Company in 1588 claimed that "almost the entire English military fleet was built with Russian timber."[25] However, there is next to no other evidence on substantial timber trade with the Russian north before the second half of the 17th century and it is likely that the English timber came mainly from Narva.

Even as the basic list of exports is well known, there exists relatively little systematic analysis of the various export categories, especially as regards their changing importance over time. This is no small measure due to an extreme dearth of relevant Russian data. In our efforts to trace the evolution of the value and composition of the export basket at Arkhangel'sk, we can, however, draw on a handful of surviving non-Russian compilations of Muscovite exports.

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[23] Iziumov, "Razmery russkoi torgovli," p. 4; Miliukov, *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo*, pp. 74–9.

[24] Rukhmanova, "Arkhangel'skaia torgovlia," p. 140.

[25] *Ibidem*, pp. 140–1.

In addition, some estimates of the relative weight of Russia's Western trade partners can be gleaned from the aforementioned 1604 register of Western imports. Of the total value of wares brought to the northern port, R 148,938, the Dutch accounted for R 81,078, the English for R 60,191, and the French for R 7,667.[26] The total values of Russian exports were probably up to 50 percent more, with a roughly comparable distribution across the trade partners.

The surviving complete lists of Arkhangel'sk's exports cover four years of the last Muscovite century. These accounts were, with the exception of one, commissioned by the Swedish government in an attempt to gain information on the port whose trade they were hoping to divert to the Baltic as part of their "Great Eastern Program." The authors thus had every incentive to accurately portray the nature of the challenge facing the Swedish government. The only inaccuracy seems to come from an occasional tendency to provide figures that are "representative" of Arkhangel'sk's trade beyond the particular years when the compilations were made, a feature that—if anything—somewhat increases the value of these documents.

The element of abstraction is particularly obvious in the case of the first two documents. The first one of them was, in all probability, compiled by Peter Krusebjörn who served as the Swedish resident in Moscow in the 1630s–early 1640s.[27] This summary, which reached the Royal Chancellery in Stockholm on May 6, 1642, is a rough estimate of the typical composition of Arkhangel'sk's exports in the early 1640s (Table 5.2). While the majority of the items are probably more or less directly representative of the 1641 export volumes, towards the end of the list the descriptions become more approximate. Fur and pelt exports are given in value terms, a very rough figure of R 200,000 which is said to represent the "approximate annual" exports of these goods.[28] The same is true of the last category of "annual" exports, valued at R 11,000, which are miscellaneous goods, *viz*. hog bristles, fish glue (*karluk*), beaver stones, and rhubarb.

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[26] In real terms, this figure compares more favorably than it would appear with the totals for the rest of the century. The rouble was debased quite substantially between 1610 and the 1640s, when the weight of the kopeck fell from 0.67 *gr*. to 0.45 *gr*. Peter I's currency reform in 1698 reduced the weight further to 0.28 *gr*. Floria, "Torgovlia Rossii," p. 144; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 74.

[27] RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, pp. 313–4.

[28] At the time, the region of Mangazeia supplied some 40,000 of sable skins p.a. The figure in 1639/40 was 41,200 with another 41,120 produced in both 1640/41 and 1641/42. Rukhmanova, "Arkhangel'skaia torgovlia," p. 140.

They were all regular exports, but none by itself a particularly important category.

The second list was compiled by one of Krusebjörn's successors, Johan de Rodes, over a decade later and reached the Swedish Royal Chancellery on November 4, 1653.[29] It constitutes part of a relatively lengthy and detailed study of Russia's trade commissioned by Queen Christina. The description of Arkhangel'sk's exports is almost certainly based on volumes traded that same year. However, there are several obvious cases of abstraction. De Rodes includes grain exports but notes that grain was traded only in years when high prices in Western Europe warranted the long distance trade. Most of the other figures were only marginally rounded, although de Rodes states that 120–50 bales of Persian raw silk were brought to Arkhangel'sk roughly once every three years. They weighed roughly 900 *pud* each and were valued at Rd 90 a *pud* (Table 5.2).

Another register was drawn up only a couple of years later, albeit under dramatically changed circumstances. William Prideaux's summary—"*A list of goods exported from* Archangell, *with their prises and value, this present yeere*, 1655"—is quite possibly the most accurate of the four lists. Prideaux, whom the Muscovy Company elected to deliver Protector Oliver Cromwell's letter to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, was less likely to generalize, since the nature and parameters of Arkhangel'sk's trade would have been well known to the Company. Evidently, the immediate purpose of the mission was to analyze the state of the Arkhangel'sk market at a time when English-Russian relations were at an all-time low.[30] Prideaux states in his letter that the appended list is one of "goods exported this last mart from Archangell," presumably referring to the 1655 annual fair. The only generalizing remark pertains to hide exports and he notes that "By reason of the great plague the last yeere in those places, where most hydes are drest, there is but 50000 poodes this yeere, but usually there is 90 or 100000 poodes, and some yeeres more."[31] Prideaux dates his letter August 15, 1655, which, assuming it refers to the Russian calendar, suggests that his compilation of Russian exports may cover only the first half of the fair which, at the time, was limited to the month of August. However, goods brought from central Russia are likely to

[29] RA Muscovitica, vol. 601; Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15.
[30] Arkhangel'skii, "Diplomaticheskie agenty Kromvelia."
[31] *Thurloe Papers*, III, p. 714.

have passed the Arkhangel'sk customs house by then and Prideaux may be referring to the information collected there with the reasonable assumption that all the goods were subsequently exported. Moreover, whereas in ordinary years trade might have continued beyond the closure of the customs office into the autumn, the plague—as well as the war against Poland—undoubtedly limited the availability of many export wares. In addition, there was a considerable degree of diversion of Russian exports to the Swedish Baltic ports. It is, of course, possible that Prideaux' estimates are incomplete. Among other things, he does not list any grain exports, in spite of the fact that substantial quantities were shipped to Amsterdam in order to meet the mounting fiscal demands created by the Thirteen Years' War, now in its second year. It is conceivable that these sales were handled outside of the standard customs procedure and that Prideaux' list, therefore, is a more or less accurate compilation of all the non-grain exports.

The 1674 compilation by the Swedish diplomat and Russia specialist Jochim P. Lillienhoff is dated June 1, 1674, and therefore must pertain to the 1673 fair.[32] The document offers general estimates only of caviar exports (then monopolized by Arent Beltgens and Philip Verpoorten & Co.) which usually amounted to some 300 vats of 40 *pud* each, or a total of 12,000 *pud*. In addition, Lillienhoff mentions exports of salted and fresh salmon, as well as considerable amounts of dried cod and fresh meat, items said to generate combined toll revenues of R 800. Tar was the tsar's monopoly and normally exported at the rate of 1,000 tons *à* R 1. Masts were described as a new export commodity, said to have appeared four to five years ago to reach annual exports of 150–200 masts, taxed at Rd 10 a piece.

Additional estimates of Arkhangel'sk exports can be gleaned from the records on government purchases of the so called *ukaznye tovary* in 1662 (Table 5.1). Following an ultimately disastrous copper money experiment in the 1650s—designed to ease the financial burden of the Polish war—the Russian economy was in shambles. Rampant inflation, shortages, and growing signs of social unrest forced the government to look for a way out of the crisis. They did this primarily by exploiting an old policy of ensuring large external surpluses, which would then be settled in specie. To maximize profits from the operation, sales of six leading exports commodities—hemp, potash, white ash, tallow, *iufti*, and sable furs—were temporarily monopolized

[32] RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV: 96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet.

by the tsar's Treasury. Large holdings were amassed from all corners of the country and the sales during the first three years totaled some R 500,000, not far below the typically annual total of Arkhangel'sk's exports. The amount of hemp collected (19,915 S#) was very high at the time for the northern route and almost certainly marked a temporary diversion from the Baltic ports which were still merely on the threshold of their post-Kardis recovery. Tallow exports at some 2,500 S# were very typical for the era, as were the sable exports of some 16,000 skins. The *iuft'* sales were not significantly below the norm in 1662, although the industry undoubtedly suffered somewhat during the economic crisis. White ash exports of 8,515 barrels probably far exceeded the typical annual total.[33] Overall, these export totals must be deemed to have been remarkable, given the frequency of various efforts by Russian merchants to get around them. Many traders refused to sell at the prices set by the government. Moreover, for example Vologda townsmen are known to have converted their hemp into ship riggings and their tallow into candles to avoid *de facto* confiscation. Many merchants sold their goods on the black market and others hid theirs until the monopoly was lifted.[34]

A French report from the late 1660s provides some additional estimates of the magnitude of the trade flows passing through Dvina-Sukhona waterway. The total annual exports of Arkhangel'sk at 6–70,000 *pud* of cow hides (probably mainly *iufti*), 5–6,000 pairs of skins, up to 50,000 *pud* of ashes, 2–30,000 barrels of potash, 10–15,000 hides of morocco leather, and 5–6,000 barrels of seal oil. In contrast, however, Johan Kilburger reports that the total potash exports in 1669 reached a mere 776 barrels.[35]

The first complete surviving Russian customs record for Arkhangel'sk dates from 1710, by which time the position of the White Sea port had changed quite fundamentally in relation to other outlets of Muscovite exports. The onset of the Great Northern War and the consequent diversion of Baltic trade to the Dvina route significantly reduce the value of the 1710 ledger as a source on the evolution of Arkhangel'sk's trade volumes in the closing decades of the 17th century. In essence, Arkhangel'sk was now the sole exit route of Russian overseas exports and many goods that had previously been taken to

[33] Repin, "K voprosu," pp. 61 ff., Bazilevich, *Denezhnaia reforma*, pp. 65–5.
[34] Bazilevich, *Denezhnaia reforma*, p. 63.
[35] Liubimenko, *Les relations*, p. 265.

the Swedish Baltic ports were now shipped out via the Northern Dvina delta. For instance, hemp sales attained 788,846 *pud* (R 573,802), which already accounted for 31.9 percent of the combined value of exports, whereas flax exports rose to 30,068 *pud* (R 35,067). This, in particular, was a marked departure from the 17th-century norm when both products were shipped out almost exclusively via the Baltic. The share of *iufti* was 33.6 percent (R 602,191).[36] Naturally, the economic demands of the war years further increased the incentive to sell goods via Arkhangel'sk. Judging by the available data on customs duties collected in the city, the volume of exports in 1702—R 1,581,400—was already 50 percent higher than in 1694. This figure remained between R 1,207,400 and R 1,792,900 during the first decade of the 18th century, a more than 100-percent increase over the late 17th century levels and a marked shift even if we allow for wartime inflation.[37]

Overall, the surviving export data reveals considerable elements of both stability and change in Arkhangel'sk's export profile in the course of the last Muscovite century. While the basic array of export wares remained fairly constant, the relative weight of the various goods changed a great deal. The data for 1642 can likely serve as a reasonable reflection of the state of affairs during the beginning decades of the century in general. At the time, furs and pelts still accounted for almost one-half of the total value of exports; *iufti* and tallow jointly making up another two-fifths. Given the still limited recovery of the Northwest from the Time of Troubles, we can with little exaggeration observe that a striking four-fifths (or just under) of Russian exports were provided by fur-bearing animals and cattle. *Iufti* continued to steadily gain in importance for the remainder of the century, accompanied by a steady advance in other types of leather. By the early 1650s, these "red Russia hides" eclipsed furs and pelts as the leading category of exports. Furs fell both in absolute and relative terms to less than a fifth of the total by the early 1650s and further to the 5–10 percent range toward the end of the century. Tallow remained present, although in steadily diminishing quantities. Silk was of secondary but growing importance until 1688, when

[36] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 155, 164, 169; Tablitsa 17; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia Rossii cherez Arkhangel'sk i Peterburg*, pp. 539–41.

[37] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 215, 402; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia Rossii cherez Arkhangel'sk i Peterburg*, pp. 502, 505.

it was completely diverted to Narva.[38] The main "new" commodity was potash which, having still been completely absent in the early '40s, already by 1655 accounted for over a fifth of the total. Finally, Arkhangel'sk gradually gained importance as a supplier of naval stores. Unprocessed hemp became a regular export in the 1660s and even timber exports appeared during the last quarter of the century. The most dramatic changes—the explosion of *iuft'* exports and the appearance of potash—reflect the advance of processed goods with a higher value added for the Russians, although the level of processing still remained rather low (Figure 5.5).

A more thorough analysis of the evolution of Arkhangel'sk's exports can be undertaken with the help of a relatively large quantity of more continuous data pertaining to individual commodities. Russian export trade was historically heavily dominated by furs and pelts and the data provided by Krusebjörn suggests that they may have accounted for as much as one-half—or perhaps even more—of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports still at the beginning of the century. Fur trade is likely to have further benefitted from fact that regular commerce between Siberia and the Arkhangel'sk region was less affected by the *Smuta* than White Sea trade with the center. Given that the Russians were, moreover, desperate for Western weapons and munitions imports, they had every incentive to ensure the free flow of trade between pelt-producing areas and the White Sea. Any quantitative data is now lost to us, but there is little reason to expect that the share of fur exports was ever significantly below the 1642 level.

The most important category of Russian export furs were Siberian sables, which at their best represented the peak of luxury and were frequently valued at more than one rouble a skin.[39] Their economic potential is revealed by the fact that even following a steady decline of fur exports from the 1642 level of over 45 percent, they were still singled out in 1662 as one of the six most important export categories temporarily nationalized by the Russian Treasury. Under the special legislation, the Muscovite authorities requisitioned 14,800 sable skins which was already clearly below the 1655 total of 40,000 and even the more modest 1653 figure of 23,160 (Table 5.2). The 1662

[38] Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, pp. 174–5; Troebst, "Narva und der Außenhandel Persiens," pp. 168–9.

[39] R. Hellie's sample of over 2,000 observations yields a median of R 1.05 and a maximum of R 16.25. Hellie, *The Economy and Material Culture*, p. 62.

requisitioning campaign indeed came to represent the twilight of an era for Russian fur trade and the traditional reliance of furs came to a decisive end during the ensuing decades. I.S. Makarov has placed the decline of Arkhangel'sk's fur trade at the end of the 1660s, an assumption which is confirmed by export data from the 1670s. The share of pelts barely exceeded 6 percent of the total value of exports in 1673, even if the number of sables (13,600) was still quite comparable to the 1662 figure, which, of course, may have been artificially depressed by the ability of Russian merchants to avoid government buyers.[40] Very revealingly, there were no sales of Treasury furs at the Arkhangel'sk fair between the late 1670s and 1688. By the beginning of the 18th century, the relative share of furs in value terms was down to one to three percent of total exports.[41]

The reasons for the decline of fur trade were primarily structural. Several historians have pointed to changes in the Western demand profile, essentially for two reasons. First, the argument goes, the Protestant Reformation had changed tastes in much of northern Europe and resulted in a preference for less ostentatious clothing. The weak point of this claim, of course, is the fact that furs retained their place of prominence in the Muscovite export bundle well into the 17th century. Secondly, the colonization of North America provided a large and growing supply of high-quality furs, a factor that undoubtedly grew in importance over time.[42] It appears, however, that supply-side problems are far more important in explaining the decline. A combination of several factors put growing pressure on the fur wealth of Siberia. Firstly, the number of hunters increased quite dramatically with the arrival of the Russians and steady progress of the colonization of Asian Russia. More importantly, the Russian colonists used much more effective hunting methods than the Siberian natives. The traditional bow and arrow were now complemented with traps, nets, and dogs. Russian colonization had also more indirect, but no less devastating, consequences. Natives were forced to hunt more rapaciously than ever before so as "[t]o satisfy the tribute requirements, to meet the demands of the Russian merchants and traders,

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[40] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 193; Makarov, "Pushnoi rynok," p. 138.

[41] According to P. Miliukov the Siberian Chancellery in 1680 still sent R 45,063 worth of sables to Arkhangel'sk. Miliukov, *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo*, p. 561; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 192–3.

[42] For an account of the North American fur trade, see: Phillips and Smurr, *The Fur Trade*.

and to satisfy the greed of serving men and officials."[43] Finally, the arrival of Russian peasants meant that large forest areas were eliminated, especially in western Siberia to make way for fields. In spite of this, for instance the Ust'-Sysol'sk area was an important center of fur trade, especially in ermine, still at the end of the 17th century. Townsmen of the neighboring coastal towns, Iarensk, Ustiug, Lal'sk, etc., as well as Moscow, regularly journeyed there.[44]

As the weight of furs declined, that of hides increased. Still in the first half of the century, 30,000 goat skins and 10,000 ox or cow hides departed for Western markets via Arkhangel'sk during a typical year, even if their combined value was only just under 3 percent of the total. The number of such unprocessed hides subsequently fell. However, processed hides—especially *iufti*—rose at an impressive pace to become the most important category of Russian exports. The total of 60,000 hides in 1642 accounted for just over one-fifth of Arkhangel'sk's exports. In a 1662 report, Russian merchants estimated the average annual export of processed hides through Arkhangel'sk at 50,000 *pud* which would have roughly corresponded to 150,000 hides. By the early '70s, this share was close to 50 percent, with as many as 450,000 hides passing through the port (Figure 5.5).[45] The increasingly dominant role of hides was reflected in the fact that merchants throughout the social spectrum took part in leather trade. In 1662, for example, the vast majority (70.97 percent) of the sellers of *iufti* were ordinary townsmen. The next largest category were foreign merchants (14.52 percent), whereas the privileged merchant corporations only accounted for 4.58 percent of the sales.[46] Dutch and Hamburg merchants were the leading foreign buyers of *iufti.* Indeed, in 1667 Philip Verpoorten of Hamburg temporarily became a monopolist in *iufti'* purchases, in apparent response to plans by the Arkhangel'sk customs administration to concentrate all sales in the hands of a Russian company of merchants which then could have increased prices quite substantially. Verpoorten apparently acquired 60,000 *pud iufti* for a remarkable R 255,000.[47]

The exportation of forest products was naturally of potentially enormous importance at a time when Western demand for naval

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[43] Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade*, pp. 94–6; Ogloblin, *Obozrenie*, IV, pp. 130, 132.
[44] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 196; RGADA f. 214, op. 1, stb. No 1241.
[45] Bazilevich, *Denezhnaia reforma*, p. 61.
[46] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 102; RGADA f. 214, kn. 323.
[47] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 111; RGADA f. 141, 1668–9 gg., d. 13, fol. 54.

wares was practically infinite. However, the road leading to a systematic large-scale exploitation of Muscovy's timber endowment was neither straight not short. There are occasional references in the Stade *Cämmerei-Rechnungen* to masts imported from Arkhangel'sk during the first half of the century, and Amsterdammers are known to have exported Russian masts to Portugal in 1615. It is likely, however, that regular mast trade did not establish itself until much later.[48] Dutch and English merchants in the 1660s made repeated pleas for mast production, albeit without any concrete results. After the government farmed out mast production and trade to a partnership headed by P. Marselis in 1668, exports finally became regular. Already in 1671, total mast sales reached 260 pieces. According to N.N. Repin's estimates, 14 vessels departing from Arkhangel'sk between 1670 and 1674 carried timber. In 1677, four vessels left the White Sea port with a cargo of 176 masts. W. Muller, one of the members of Marselis' partnership, appears to have also exported some planks. Muller's successor after 1680, H. Butenant, in the ensuing decade exported an annual average of some 200 masts.[49]

There were also efforts to stimulate other types of timber production with an uncharacteristic emphasis on promoting domestic entrepreneurship. Andrei Bazhenin was in 1671 granted permission to build a sawmill and to sell his planks and deals subjects to the standard duties in Arkhangel'sk and Kholmogory. Another letter of privilege was issued to Osip Bazhenin in connection with a monopoly on sawmill construction given to a Diplomatic Chancellery interpreter Andrei Kraft. Bazhenin as an existing mill owner was allowed to retain his mills in Vavchug, and Kraft could only control the mills he himself built. Kraft was authorized by the government to build Western-style mills wherever he could find a suitable location. Even though Bazhenin had supposedly built his mills without foreign masters, he did operate in partnership with Heinrich Butenant, as well as an Ustiug merchant, Vasilii Grudtsyn.[50] By the end of the century, there were at least some regular timber exports. Judging by the English

[48] SAS Cämmerei-Rechnungen 1659–1701; Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," p. 79.

[49] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, pp. 21–3; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 117–8; Trofimov, *Ocherki*, p. 7; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet; RGADA f. 137, op. Arkhangel'sk, 1670–1671 gg., dd. 186–7; f. 141, 1679 g., d. 181; 1688 g., d. 10, fol. 3; f. 159, 1692 g., d. 2045, fol. 313.

[50] *PSZ*, III, No 1411; IV, p. 4.

customs ledgers, spruce deals were the only category of any significant value compared to masts. For instance in 1700, London received £623 worth of spruce deals, as compared to £5,539 worth of masts.[51]

A forest product of growing importance was tar. As was seen in Chapter 4, Russia developed a large-scale tar industry with considerable Western involvement. Annual total exports reached 1–2,000 barrels (valued at one rouble each) by the middle of the century. Steady progress apparently followed and in 1668, 2,046 barrels of tar were brought to Arkhangel'sk, followed by 2,491 in 1669.[52] One source claims that in 1695, the Dutch annually imported five shiploads of tar from Arkhangel'sk. Even the English, in spite of some decline, remained active in tar trade until the end of the century. 59 lasts and 12 barrels were exported to England in 1698. The 1700 figure was already significantly higher: 113 lasts and 10 barrels.[53] One factor checking the growth of the tar business may have been the inferiority of Muscovite as compared to Baltic tar. It was described as "poorly controlled ("wracked") and watery."[54] Nonetheless, the industry experienced a further dramatic expansion in connection with the Great Northern War, which paralyzed traditional supply sources in the Baltic. In 1706, tar exports attained an unprecedented 45,988 barrels.[55]

Potash emerged as one of Russia's most important exports by the middle of the century with a high degree of value added. As early as 1654, potash accounted for a quarter of the total sales of goods to foreigners in Arkhangel'sk, even if its relative weight then gradually declined to insignificance by the early 18th century. State control of the production and sale of potash also allowed the government to concentrate essentially all potash trade at Arkhangel'sk. After some initial difficulties, production was established on a substantial scale. A total of 200 barrels was produced for export on lands controlled by Simon Digby in 1647. Three Dutch merchants—Andries de la Dale, David Ruts, and Thomas de Swaen—exported a total of 390

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[51] PRO Customs 3/4, fol. 23^{v}.

[52] Demkin, "Zapadnoevropeiskie kapitaly," pp. 24–5; *Thurloe Papers*, III, p. 731; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet; Luk'ianov, *Istoriia*, III, p. 7.

[53] Demkin, "Zapadnoevropeiskie kapitaly," pp. 24–5; *Thurloe Papers*, III, p. 731; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 88; HU BBL GKLEL 3081.15: Reasons for Enlarging and Regulating the Trade To Russia and the Narve, 1695; PRO Customs 3.

[54] Åström, *From Tar to Timber*, p. 28.

[55] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 122.

barrels in 1650. In 1651, the De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership, along with De Swaen, Abraham Roelans, and H. van Troyen exported a total of 247 barrels. In 1653, Van Troyen bought 148 barrels from F.M. Rtishchev. In 1654, I. Buikov of the *Gostinaia sotnia* sold R 5,242 worth of potash to Dutch merchants.[56] In the 1650s–'70s, the government temporarily relaxed its control of potash production. In some cases, it even sold Treasury-owned mills to private entrepreneurs.[57] However, the relaxation of control did not signal a lack of interest in the industry. A catalogue was compiled in the late 1650s of all potash production facilities in the country with the exception of those belonging to privileged owners, such as Morozov and Odoevskii, who were exempt from duties. This document covers not only state-built and operated mills, but also ones located on noble estates. It reveals that the nobility, represented by 48 individuals, held a dominant position in potash production at the time, accounting for 85 of the total of 114 *stany* listed. 11 townsmen had 17 mills. Morozov had 29 *stany* and Iu.P. Trubetskoi at least six. This pre-eminence of the nobility was mirrored in potash sales at Arkhangel'sk, where landowners accounted for 56.65 percent of the total volume in 1653–6 and 62.44 percent in 1662. The Treasury's share was 14.72 percent in 1653–6 and 11.87 percent in 1662. Townsmen's importance rose from 4.76 to 24.09 percent during the two periods, respectively.[58]

The dominance of the nobility undoubtedly reflects the higher degree of reliance on serfs in a highly labor-intensive sector of production. When the state once again tightened its control over the industry, potash exports began to stagnate. After an apparent peak of 251,202 *pud* in 1662, the total fell to 1,621 barrels the following year, 26,048 *pud* in 1669, 45,885 *pud* in 1671, 69,143 *pud* in 1672, 45,880 *pud* in 1673, 51,330 *pud* in 1673, 3,582 barrels in 1698, and 80,157 *pud* in 1701. According to Lillienhoff, Russian potash exports in 1674 totaled 3,000 barrels valued at R 86,400, well over 10 percent of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports. In addition, there were 3,000 barrels of white ash, valued at R 21,000.[59]

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[56] Demkin, "Zapadnoevropeiskie kapitaly," pp. 26–7; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 416–7; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 101; RGADA f. 35, 1649–1652 gg., d. 173, fol. 48.

[57] RGADA f. 214, op. 1, stb. No 652, fols. 53–4.

[58] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 127–9, 131; RGADA f. 214, op. 1, stb. No 681, fols. 1–8; f. 159, 1659 g., d. 2199, fols. 24–66; f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, f. 210, kn. 323.

[59] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 130. Lillienhof's estimate in from: RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet.

In addition to potash, Westerners exported substantial quantities of lower-quality white ash (*smol'chug*) whose production was of much longer standing and far less important in value terms. In 1653–6, a total of 14,547 barrels of white ash was taken to Arkhangel'sk, an average of 3,637 a year. In 1662, the Treasury was unable to sell any of the white ash it had requisitioned and the exports consisted of 2,040 barrels acquired by foreign merchants in the Russian interior. Typical exports at the beginning of the 18th century were 1–5,000 barrels a year.[60] As with potash, the nobility accounted for the vast majority of white ash production and sales, 53.8 percent of the total in 1662. They were followed by *gosti* and townsmen (26 percent) and the Treasury (10 percent).[61]

Agricultural products continued to account for a large, albeit gradually diminishing, share of Russian exports throughout the 17th century. The most important of these was tallow, which regularly reached one-tenth of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports. In 1643, tallow exports attained 26,250 *pud*. Most of it appears to have originated from the Volga-Oka mesopotamia. The main suppliers of tallow to Arkhangel'sk were: Moscow (26.67 percent of the total), Iaroslavl' (26.67 percent), Vologda (20 percent), and Kostroma, Ustiug, Tot'ma, and Kholmogory (6.67 percent each).[62] Russian merchants in the early 1660s put the approximate annual exports at 50,000 *pud*, yet only slightly more than one-half of this—25,100 *pud*—was exported in connection with the Treasury monopoly of 1662. Most tallow in 1662 came from northern Russia: the districts of Vologda, Ustiug, Viatka, Mezen', Kholmogory, Shenkursk, Galich, and Lal'sk. This, however, may have been an atypically narrow range of towns due to the peculiar circumstances of the monopoly. N.N. Repin attributes the virtual absence of Moscow, Iaroslavl', and other central Russian merchants to increased local consumption, a supply-side crisis connected with the fiscal emergency, low quality in some regions, and efforts by merchants to avoid compulsory sales. The supply-side argument seems the most credible of the three. In fact, J. Kilburger reported in the 1670s that most tallow was obtained in the Kazan', Nizhnii Novgorod, Moscow, Iaroslavl', and Vologda regions and in the 18th century, the

[60] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 136; RGADA f. 159, 1659 g., d. 2199, fols. 24–66.

[61] In 1653–6, however, nobility accounted for only 7.8 percent—or 1,129 barrels—of the total white ash sold for export. This is likely to have been somewhat exceptional, given their central role in ash production. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 137.

[62] RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15.

Volga basin and other parts of central Russia were clearly an important source of supply of the tallow shipped to Arkhangel'sk.[63]

Hog bristles were primarily a product of the northern coastal region. While they were relatively inexpensive and thus an insignificant component in overall Russian exports, A.Ts. Merzon described them as "one of the most important goods" at the Ustiug market which in turn dominated the regional economy of the *Pomor'e*.[64] The Russians further exported substantial quantities of mats made of linden-tree bark. These bast mats appear to have been essentially the sole kind of Russian mat export, although de Rodes claims that the Russians produced mats and carpets of all kinds in the Vologda region where the two main types came from the Vetluzhskaia *Sloboda* and the Puchezhskaia *Sloboda*, respectively. Annual exports regularly numbered in the hundreds of thousands—often in excess of half a million—throughout the century and beyond, even though in value terms they were fairly unimportant.[65]

Unprocessed hemp was exported only rarely through Arkhangel'sk in substantial quantities. Most of the key production regions were in the West of the country and it was difficult to transport the bulky good profitably across the long expanses of the Russian North. Instead, most of the hemp exported through Arkhangel'sk took the form of ropes, cordage, etc. The 3,000 S# of hemp listed by P. Krusebjörn as representative of the situation in the early 1640s, must in fact—judging by all the other extant evidence—be very much an exception for the time, perhaps caused by a specific deal/deals which stipulated delivery at Arkhangel'sk. Neither de Rodes not Prideaux refer to any hemp exports in their accounts a decade later. The first significant mention of hemp exports thereafter dates from 1660 when John Hebdon sold 100,000 *pud* Treasury hemp at Rtl 180,000 to Amsterdam merchants—De Vogelaer & Klenck, together with the Bernards, and Van Lutsen—for exportation through the White Sea port.[66] Russian merchants estimated the annual exports of hemp at some 200,000 *pud* in the early 1660s, which indeed more or less corresponded to exports of confiscated hemp in 1662. However, the figure provided by the merchants almost certainly included exports through the Baltic

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[63] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 177–8; *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 102.
[64] Merzon and Tikhonov, *Rynok Ustiuga Velikogo*, pp. 197–8.
[65] RA Muscovitica, vol. 601; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 141–2.
[66] Gurliand, *Ivan Gebdon*, p. 21.

which still at the time were much more important.[67] Even during the requisitioning campaign, a great deal of hemp left Arkhangel'sk as ropes and yarn. For instance, Pereiaslavl' Zalesskii merchants, seeking to avoid compulsory hemp sales at set prices, claimed instead to have woven bad-quality hemp into yarn, which they then tarred and sold in Arkhangel'sk. Kholmogory evolved into a yarn production center of some importance in the 17th century and most yarn at Arkhangel'sk was sold by local traders in the 1680s, with Moscow and Kargopol' merchants constituting the leading group of outsiders. Kholmogory merchants became involved also in rope and cordage production by the end of the century.[68] The growing Western demand for Russian raw materials must have increased price pressures, however, and during the last decades of the century, unprocessed hemp reappeared on the White Sea market. 80,000 *pud* left Arkhangel'sk in 1673.[69]

Flax exports, in contrast to hemp, remained of marginal importance, although there is some evidence of lively local trade in flax brought by Kargopol' and Viazniki merchants to Kholmogory and Arkhangel'sk in the 1680s. However, practically all of this fiber went into yarn production. Iaroslavl', which was an important center of flax production and processing appears to have converted most of its flax into cloth. One official report even stated that prior to the Great Northern War there was no regular overseas exports of flax and, even in years when some was exported, the quantities were small. 3,571 *pud* was shipped overseas in 1701 and the volumes subsequently rapidly rose, undoubtedly because of the paralysis of Baltic trade during the lengthy military conflict. English flax imports from Russia attained 1,137,990 lbs in 1699 and 3,553,557 lbs in 1700, making flax for the first time the leading British import from Russia.[70]

Linseed, on the other hand, was more frequently available and became a Treasury monopoly already in the first half of the century, although it was apparently not as a rule farmed out to foreigners. In 1651, for instance, all linseed in Arkhangel'sk was sold by an agent of the Treasury, Semen Chirkov of the *Gostinaia sotnia*. By the 1670s,

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[67] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 156; RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, d. 6, fol. 25.

[68] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 147, 149; RGADA f. 214, op. 1, stb. No 665, fol. 15.

[69] RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet.

[70] Much of this may have come from Narva, however, since the port still fell into the sphere of operations of the Muscovy Company. Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 168; Shabrova, *Iaroslavl'*, p. 86; RGADA f. 35, d. 278, fol. 5; PRO Customs 3/1–4.

the monopoly had been farmed out by a Vologda merchant Boris Okolnishnikov and subsequently to his son Vasilii. Between 1688 and 1700, the monopoly was held by *Gost'* Ivan Pankrat'ev. The very fragmentary evidence suggests that export volumes were never very significant and may have declined quite sharply in the second half of the century. The total exports of 9,600 *chetvert'* in 1651 can be compared to a mere 926 *chetvert'* in 1678.[71]

Caviar famously constituted a permanent component of Arkhangel'sk's export basket and large quantities of it were taken especially to the Italian ports of Leghorn and Venice. D. Solov'ev, in fact, claimed that *all* Russian caviar exports went to Italy, which is unlikely to have been far from the truth.[72] The unique nature of the good was naturally enough recognized by the Treasury which capitalized on it by monopolizing caviar sales. As was seen in Chapter 4, this business was typically farmed out to foreign merchants. John Hebdon gained the monopoly in 1655 by promising to export at least 500 barrels a year. Surviving quantitative estimates suggest an average of 400 barrels (some 16,000 *pud*) p.a. in 1670–8. In 1698, however, the total was significantly lower: 113 barrels or 4,520 *pud*. The annual average in 1699–1702 was 160 barrels, or some 6,400 *pud*.[73] In value terms, caviar was an important secondary commodity, often accounting for over 3 percent of the annual total (Table 5.3).

Of some importance in Russian foreign trade were also products of the northern coastal areas. For instance, train oil, at least in the early part of the century, could account for over 2 percent of the combined exports of the Dvina port. Train oil was used at the time both in soap-making and as lamp fuel. While de Rodes put the annual average train oil exports at R 9,000 in the early 1650s, in 1669, Russian merchants sold a "large quantity" of train-oil and oiled hides, on which they paid R 2,344 in duty alone. The total value of these exports is likely to have exceeded R 20,000, although train oil exports apparently declined thereafter.[74] In addition, there were often voluminous fish exports from the coast, typically cod and salmon, either dried or salted. In 1700, fish exports totaled 9,548 *pud*, but the number steadily declined under the monopoly of Menshikov

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[71] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 172–3; RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, d. 5, fol. 1; d. 8, fol. 35v; d. 9, fol. 38v; f. 141, 1678 g., d. 2, fol. 5; *PSZ*, IV, No 2411; VI, No 2963.

[72] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 204.

[73] Gurliand, *Ivan Gebdon*, pp. 6–7; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 202.

[74] *Ibidem*, p. 205; RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, d. 5, fols. 29–30.

& Co.[75] Finally, fish glue was a permanent part of the export bundle, albeit usually in relatively modest quantities. In 1668, the Chancellery of the Great Palace collected R 61 in duties on *karluk* sales. According to Kilburger in 1670s, the Great Palace annually sold up to 300 *pud* of glue. The role of the Treasury appears to have been quite central in glue trade and in 1688, *karluk* was, in fact, made a government monopoly. All glue was first delivered at the Great Palace and then sent to agents in Narva and Arkhangel'sk. In 1701, the monopoly was farmed out to a Muscovite foreigner Pavel Vestov (Westhof) for a ten-year period against a R 10 payment per *pud*.[76]

An export good of special interest was grain which was typically sold by the government in connection with particular diplomatic agreements and almost invariably in order to provide emergency financing for weapons and munitions imports. Grain was supplied to Arkhangel'sk by monasteries and peasants along the upper and middle Dvina, primarily the Ustiug, Sol'vychegodsk, and Vaga regions. Given the heavy government involvement, additional quantities were delivered by chartered merchants on contracts with the Treasury. For instance, in 1651, Ustiug *Gost'* Ivan Usov shipped 2,333 *mery* of rye on two barges, whereas *Gost'* Kirill Bosoi transported 622 *chetvert'*.[77]

Due to the highly politicized nature of grain trade, the shipments to the White Sea tended to be quite large and discontinuous, as was seen in Chapter 3. For instance, the pleas of the Dutch Burgh-Veltdriel embassy in 1630–1 were met with 23,000 *chetvert'* from an Astrakhan' granary, notwithstanding a bad harvest at home. Similarly, the Treasury supplied an impressive 80,000 *chetvert'* to Karel du Moulin.[78] Several other Dutch merchants mobilized enormous resources during the grain boom. In July 1632, Jan and Pieter Gerritsz Hooft of Amsterdam chartered nine ships of 120–150 lasts each to Arkhangel'sk for the purpose of transporting rye. The Marselis company dispatched thirteen ships to acquire 1,450 lasts of rye, to be followed by 10 more (with a total capacity of 1,350 lasts) in 1634. The Marselis still chartered six vessels with a total capacity of over 1,400 lasts for the same purpose as late as 1644.[79]

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[75] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 207.

[76] *Ibidem*, p. 154; *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 104.

[77] *TKMG*, II, pp. 60, 65.

[78] Ivanov, *Anglo-gollandskoe torgovoe sopernichestvo*, p. 359; Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. CCL; *Sbornik IRIO*, CXVI, pp. 64, 79–86, 137, 188–90.

[79] Hart, "Amsterdamse scheepvaart," pp. 272–3; Bogucka, "Zboże rosyjskie," p. 622; De Boer, "Een amsterdamsche "lorrendraaijer" Celio Marselis."

At around the same time, also Sweden and Denmark imported grain from Russia, as the tsar subsidized the anti-Habsburg powers in the Thirty Years' War. The Swedes acquired a total of 10,328 lasts in 1629–33. However, as was seen in Chapter 3, much of this "Swedish" grain was clearly either sold to Dutch merchants right away or, at least, carried on Dutch bottoms.[80] This "Swedish" grain clearly constituted a significant proportion of the purchases of Dutch merchants on the free market. Also the Danish King in November 1626 successfully petitioned the tsar to allow Gabriel Marselis and Albert Baltzar Berns to exports 10 shiploads—or 30,000 *chetvert'* (1,500 lasts)—grain. The grain was shipped in the course of 1627–8. The partners were again authorized to export 40,000 *chetvert'* (2,000 lasts) in March 1629. In 1630, the Dutch merchant David Ruts signed a contract, in the name of the Danish crown, for the exportation of 75,000 *chetvert'* (3,750 lasts) in 1630–2.[81] A total of 47,440 tons of subsidy grain reached the West in 1627–32. Of this, 54 percent of it went to the Swedes, 22.6 percent to the Danes, with another 6.2 percent to Holstein, 12.4 percent to the English, and 4.8 percent to the Dutch.[82]

Grain exports returned to prominence in the 1650s. Prices at the Amsterdam Bourse peaked in 1648–53 and shipping from Arkhangel'sk experienced a protracted boom between 1650 and 1666. Grain exports were clearly the driving force behind the boom, their total value equaling some R 250,000, or some one-fifth of the total, around 1653.[83] Pressed by the rapidly mounting fiscal demands of the Thirteen Years' War, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich willingly authorized growing exports of grain, as well as other goods, often explicitly in return for the arms and munitions that were so desperately needed on the Western front. For instance in 1658, 11 Amsterdam vessels associated with Klenck and De Vogelaer came to buy grain in Arkhangel'sk.[84] In 1659, the De Vogelaer-Klenck partnership (together with the Tensinis, the Scholtens, Nicolaes Bogaert, and Pieter van Lutsen) acquired 80,000 *chetvert'* (4,000 lasts) rye from the tsar through the intermediation of John Hebdon. Seven ships were sent by the company in 1658 to fetch 900 lasts. Following complaints of poor quality,

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[80] Ekholm, "Rysk spannmål," pp. 65, 74–8.
[81] Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 93.
[82] Zhordaniia, *Ocherki*, II, p. 245.
[83] Posthumus, *Inquiry*, I, 19–20; Kotilaine, "Quantifying Russian Exports," pp. 250, 260; RA Muscovitica, vol. 601.
[84] RGADA f. 141. 1658 g., d. 34, fols. 107, 115, 135–9.

the tsar agreed to sell the partners 46–50,000 lasts from his Arkhangel'sk granaries at the price of Rtl 24 a last, instead of the previously agreed Rtl 34.5.[85]

The 1650s were marked by another round of petitions for grain by other Western monarchs, as well. In 1651, both Queen Christina of Sweden and Fredrik III of Denmark sent pleas to Moscow. However, not all requests were fully satisfied. Thus the Danes' request for 1,500 lasts of grain, as well as another 12 shiploads of rye only yielded 10,000 *chetvert'*. The Danes were again allowed to export in 1658/9.[86] Occasional grain exports of some significance took place also in the 1670s, although the boom fell far short of the volumes seen in the 1630s and '50s. One notable exception was the peak year of 1676, when exports totaled at least 1,878 lasts. In 1675–6, the government in fact authorized three Dutch merchants to export substantial quantities. Adolf Houtman exported 20,000 *chetvert'*, Daniel Hartman 10,000, and Werner Muller R 15,000 worth.[87] Demand for grain in Italy constituted another stimulus for Arkhangel'sk's trade.[88]

The Amsterdam notarial records are the most continuous source on Dutch-Russian grain trade. Very rough minimum estimates based on the capacity of Dutch vessels designated as carrying grain suggest that grain exports reached 674 lasts in 1627, 595 l. in 1628, 1,595 l. in 1629, and 3,183 l. in 1630. A local peak of 6,029 l. was reached in 1631, to be followed by 3,685 l. in 1632, 5,893 l. in 1633, and 3,317 l. in 1634. At least 160 l. was carried in 1638 and 485 l. in 1644. The data on the 1650s boom is much sketchier. Grain appeared in relatively small quantities in around 1650 and reached an unprecedented peak of some 7,200 lasts in 1652, possibly for fears of a seizure of Arkhangel'sk during the Anglo-Dutch conflict. Already the following year, the records unfortunately become quite patchy.[89] Very clearly, however, large-scale grain exports continued thereafter. According to de Rodes, the total annual average grain exports of Arkhangel'sk

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[85] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 137; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, p. 127; RGADA f. 141. 1658 g., d. 34, fols. 107, 115, 135–9.

[86] Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor*, I, p. 184; *Russkie akty*, pp. 751, 838.

[87] Belov, "Rossiia i Gollandiia," p. 65; RGADA f. 50, 1671–1675 gg., d. 8, fols. 525–7.

[88] Hart, "De handelsbetrekkingen," pp. 78–9.

[89] Minimum estimates on the capacity of Dutch vessels are: 160 l. in 1650, 1,675 l. in 1651, 7,118.5 l. in 1652, 1,645 l. in 1654, 1,375 l. in 1658, 1,050 l. in 1659, and 105 l. in 1660. The low quantities may seem surprising in light of the fact the J. de Rodes claimed in his report that the annual exports were some 200,000 *chetvert'*, regardless of the harvest. *Sostoianie Rossii*, p. 151.

were some 200,000 *chetvert'*, or roughly 10,000 lasts in 1648–52.[90] Even if we allow for some exaggeration, it was undoubtedly the case that annual grain exports numbered thousands of lasts for several years in a row.

The lure of the Orient was from the very beginning of the main factors attracting Western traders to Arkhangel'sk. Especially silk became one of the central foci of Western aspirations and eventually also of Russian foreign trade. After the post-*Smuta* recovery, the Dutch-driven trade was highly variable in the '20s. Whereas the total Persian silk exports via Russia had totaled some 7,200 lbs in 1623, Dutch silk merchants complained in 1628 that deliveries by the *gosti* to them had been a remarkable 14,000 lbs short of what had been agreed on. Nonetheless, Du Moulin alone sold 11,100 lbs of raw silk for just over *f* 87,400 to the Amsterdam merchant Paulo de Willem in 1629.[91] In 1630, Amsterdam received some 400 bales of silk via Arkhangel'sk, or some 27 percent of the city's annual silk imports. Total silk exports of Arkhangel'sk were around 700 bales in the early 1630s, although this fell to 80 bales in 1635 and nil in 1636. The annual average of Russian silk exports in the mid-century was some 100 bales. However, this level was clearly exceeded in the early 1650s when J. de Rodes placed the average annual silk exports of Arkhangel'sk at nearly five times this level: 36–45,000 *pud* p.a., up to two percent of the total value of exports.[92] After an apparent lull in the 1660s, absolute volumes quite clearly increased again after the Armenian Company (re-)gained its monopoly rights in 1673. There are several recorded instances of Armenian merchants supplying several thousands of roubles worth of wares to Moscow or Arkhangel'sk for exportation through White Sea route in the 1670s and '80s (Table 8.6). The peaks clearly exceeded R 10,000 p.a. The known duties collected from Armenian merchants could reach as high as R 1,753.66 in 1675. The known total silk exports via Arkhangel'sk rose to an estimated total of 300,000 *pud* in 1676.[93]

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[90] RA Muscovitica, vol. 601.

[91] Wijnroks, "Jan van de Walle," p. 55; ARA SG Liassen Moscoviën 7361, 1628; Bushkovitch, *The Merchants of Moscow*, p. 97; GAA NA 663/150, May 1, 1629; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, d. 3, 1629 g., No 2.

[92] Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, p. 183; RA Muscovitica, vol. 601; Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*, pp. 174–5.

[93] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 307; RGADA f. 137, Arkhangel'sk, dd. 13, 15, 17; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 91.

Another Oriental re-export was rhubarb which was often of Siberian origin, although it was usually brought to European Russia by Bukhara merchants. Rhubarb trade was monopolized by the state until 1719 and at least periodically farmed out. I. Isaev of the *Gostinaia sotnia* held the monopoly in 1691–5, after which it went to Hamburg merchant Hans-Mathias Poppe against a payment of Rtl 80,000. Contraband rhubarb remained a constant problem and there were strict regulations after 1697 to control the trade.[94]

The Import Profiles of Russia's Western Trading Partners

There is, regrettably, very little information available on the exact composition of Dutch imports from Russia. However, given the numerical and financial supremacy of Dutch merchants and the *entrepôt* status of the Amsterdam market, the Dutch import profile is likely to have been more or less identical to the overall breakdown of Arkhangel'sk's exports. Amsterdam's supremacy across the spectrum was underscored in 1662 when Dutch merchants acquired the vast majority of the six commodities whose sale was temporarily monopolized by the Treasury. Hendrick Swellengrebel and Johan van Sweeden alone contracted to export more than R 100,000 worth of these goods in the summer of 1662. More generally, Dutch merchants bought nearly 48,000 of the 53,890 *pud* of hemp brought by foreign merchants from the Russian interior. A group of five Dutch merchants, including Swellengrebel and M. Klenck, exported 4,739 *pud* of tallow, 77.6 percent of the total.[95]

There is a considerable amount of data to suggest that the Dutch were to dominant buyers of virtually every Russian export good. Potash is a good case in point. Swellengrebel in 1654 was the pricipal buyer of Treasury potash along with an Englishman. Dutch merchants accounted for 55.10 percent of all Muscovite potash exports in 1653/6.[96] Large transactions remained common even thereafter. In 1665, Hartman and "M. Ardinos" bought 133 barrels of potash from, while

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[94] Kotoshikhin, however, claimed that rhubarb was, in fact, collected by the locals in Siberia and exported through Russia. *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, pp. 106, 288; Kotoshikhin, *O Rossii*, p. 145; Mancall, *Russia and China*, p. 176.

[95] Klenck alone accounted for 2,431 *pud*. Witsen, *Moscovische reyse*, p. XXXCI; RGADA f. 214, op. 1, stb. No 602; stb. No 618, fol. 32.

[96] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 133; RGADA f. 159, 1659 g., d. 2199, fols. 24–66.

"T. Fandiman" paid Prince I. Pronskii R 1,079 for 48 barrels.[97] A Muscovite foreigner Thomas Kellerman in 1678 paid R 1,709 in duties on the potash he had bought in association with Dutch merchants. In 1698, Dutch merchant Abraham Kintzius with his partners signed a contract at the Chancellery of the Great Treasury for the exportation of 3,582 barrels of potash, to be paid for with bills of exchange. The Dutch lead in white ash trade was even more commanding. In 1653–6, they accounted for 99.1 percent of the total exports. In 1662, a Dutchman Van der Hulst bought 1,660 barrels of the total of 2,040 sold in the Russian interior. In 1667, Dutch merchants exported 672 of the 737 barrels of white ash leaving Russia. In 1697, Johan Lups and Christoffel Brants agreed to export 4,600 barrels of white ash p.a. over a three-year period.[98]

In spite of the Dutch commercial pre-eminence at Arkhangel'sk, Muscovite trade continued to be of relatively marginal importance in the large and varied import bundle of Amsterdam. For example in 1636, ships destined for the White Sea accounted for a mere 2.85 percent of the 1,750 vessels departing from the Dutch commercial capital. In 1699, the proportion was just over two percent of the 1,487–1,595 ships belonging to the merchant fleet (*koopvaardijvloot*), a figure which, however, excluded the navy, the United East India Company (VOC), and fishing and whaling boats. The Dutch merchant navy accounted for 65 percent of the total employment of seamen in 1610, a proportion that fell to 55 percent in 163–40, and 45 percent in 1680. However, as was seen above, the ships on the northern route were, on the average, very large. In 1670, Arkhangel'sk shipping accounted for 4,500 lasts of a total 184,000.[99] What these relative modest figure conceal, however, is that Dutch-Muscovite trade was highly specialized and in many cases, the White Sea was the leading, or even the exclusive, source of important goods. Regrettably, the degree of Dutch "dependence" on the Russian market is impossible to determine with the precision, given the unfortunate lack of Dutch customs data.

The evolution of English imports from Russia is much better documented. Initially, the Muscovy Company focussed a rather narrow

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[97] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 101.

[98] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 133–4, 140–1; RGADA f. 137, op. Arkhangel'sk, d. 7, fols. 7, 50; d. 8, fols. 34–5.

[99] Van Royen, *Zeevaarenden*, pp. 14–5; De Vries and Van der Woude, *Nederland*, p. 472.

selection of goods with relatively high value:weight ratios. The London Port Books reveal the best selling Russian wares in England during the early part of the century to have been hides, furs, wax, tallow, train oil, and cordage. The annual value of English imports is unlikely to have much exceeded £25,000 a year even at the best of times and may have fallen below £15,000 p.a. on occasion. Very frustratingly, the available dual series of Port Books—on London and "alien and denizen" merchants—are extremely fragmentary and often ill preserved.[100] Of the various types of hides and leather, *iufti* appear to have been the most common. Known in England as "red Russia hides," they were for much of the century the most important English import from Russia. Over two-thirds of them came from Arkhangel'sk, the rest from the Baltic. The Muscovy Company also imported caviar, albeit mostly for the Mediterranean market.[101]

By the 1660s, English imports came to be dominated by potash, a commodity of particular importance for Britain, given its role in the growing textile industry. The English—first Simon Digby and then the Muscovy Company as a whole—controlled the potash monopoly in 1642–55 and, by all accounts, typically exported at least 200,000 lbs p.a. In 1679, the Company actually required its members to devote at least one-third of their shipping capacity to tallow and/or potash and evidence from subsequent Port Books suggests that the domination of potash was even more complete. Following dramatic growth, the 1699 total was 1,736,480 lbs, whereas 2,682,998 lbs was imported in 1700. The steady upward trend in potash purchases suggests a growing English dominance of the trade since, the twilight

[100] In the last quarter of 1604, the combined imports by English merchants from Arkhangel'sk to London were valued at £7,247. The leading categories were hides (29.6 percent), cordage (19.2), cable yarn (17.9), wax (13.7), and tallow (12.9). In 1621, English merchants brought £7,207 worth of goods from the White Sea to London. The share of furs was 38.4, that of various types of yarn 28.0, and that of hides 13.9 percent. In 1633, the combined value of the cargoes of English ships sailing from Arkhangel'sk to London reached £7,359, of which skins and furs accounted for 28.7 and hides for 28.4 percent. Imports by "alien and denizen merchants" were valued at £15,813, of which the share of cable yarn was 39.5 and that of tallow, 22.6 percent. In 1634, "alien and denizen" imports from Russia totaled £11,883, of which cable yarn accounted for 34.0, hemp for 25.7, and tallow for 10.6 percent. PRO E 315/467, 190/24/4, 190/37/8, 190/38/1, 190/38/5. Valuations by Millard.

[101] *Iufti'* imports from Arkhangel'sk to London reached an early peak of 17,707 in 1640 and, after several lean decades, recovered to 18,492 in 1700. For instance in 1669, only 3,501 *iufti* reached London from Russia, the figure having been as low as 360 six years earlier. Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 355–6, 358–9, 362–4; PRO E190, Customs 3/4; BL Add. 36785, fols. 44–5, 91–2.

of the Muscovite era was otherwise marked by a gradual decline in potash trade. In the closing years of the century flax, hemp, and potash together accounted for some two-thirds of total English imports, although the fibers probably came primarily from Narva.[102]

England is the only country for which we have detailed and comprehensive quantitative data on the relative value of Russian imports, although all of it dates from the very end of the century. In 1699, Russian goods accounted for 1.75 percent of the total value of English imports, a proportion that rose to 2.96 percent in 1700, making them almost equal to Sweden's share. These proportions are likely to have been higher during the early part of the century, even though no comprehensive data exists.[103] For instance, we know that Russia was a somewhat important market for English textiles at the time. B. Supple put Russia's share of the total English cloth exports at just under 2 percent in 1598–1620. However, this figure rose to 3.3 percent in 1628, 3.9 percent in 1632, and 5.4 percent in 1640.[104]

Hamburg's imports from Russia covered a relatively rich assortment of Russian goods. Furs and *iufti* were generally the leading categories. In addition, the city received various other types of leather from Russia: elk hides, seal hides, and generic (cow) "leather."[105] In some cases, Muscovy served as a supplier of great strategic value. Russian train oil accounted for some 30 percent of Hamburg's total train oil imports in 1623. In 1629, the ratio exceeded 50, only to fall back to 30 percent in 1632. A particularly high proportion of Russian train oil was observed in 1633 when it accounted for some 61.5 percent of the total of more than 3,120.5 tn. It is, similarly, likely that Russian tallow dominated among Hamburg's otherwise modest tallow

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[102] The Company's purchases of potash were some 282,960–694,224 lbs in 1647, 290,952 lbs in 1648, and 181,440 lbs in 1649. The English accounted for 13.90 percent—or 1,638 barrels—of Russian potash sales in 1653–6. Potash was the single most important British import from Arkhangel'sk by 1663 with total imports amounting to 720,384 lbs worth £9,648, or some 54 percent of the combined value of Russian goods cleared at London. However, in 1669, potash imports reached only 243,600 lbs., worth £3,045. Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 398, 401, 406–7, 410–3, 413, 419–21, 425; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 133; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, p. 101; PRO E 190, Customs 3; BL Add. 36785, fols. 44–5, 91–2; GHL Ms. 11,741/1, p. 175.

[103] PRO Customs 3/3–4.

[104] Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England*, p. 258.

[105] Harder-Gersdorff's very approximate estimates of Hamburg's *iuft*' imports from Arkhangel'sk are: 3,000 in 1623, 5,760 in '28, 10,800 in '29, and 2,100 in '32. Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübeck und Hamburg," p. 106; Kotilaine, "Quantifying," pp. 280–1.

imports. While relatively small quantities of hemp and sporadically even flax reached Hamburg from Arkhangel'sk—some of it in the form of ropes and yarn—at no point did these represent more than a small fraction of imports from the Baltic via Lübeck. In 1635, Hamburg even supplied King Christian IV of Denmark with Muscovite cable yarn. Hamburgers imported also significant numbers of Muscovite mats.[106] Most of Hamburg's fish imports from Russia tended to be dried cod (*Stockfisch*), occasionally also salmon, probably because of involvement in Kola trade. Small quantities of lard and bacon were also imported, as well as, occasionally, some meat. Hamburg traders were actively involved in Russian grain trade in exceptional years which naturally coincided with shortages elsewhere in Western Europe.[107] Available evidence suggests that the composition of Hamburg's Russian imports did not change significantly in the second half of the century. Both in quantitative and in value terms, hides and leather retained a leading role. *Iufti* were the dominant commodity throughout the last three decades of the century, regularly accounting for at least 35 percent of the total value of imports and in many years significantly more.[108] In contrast, the rise of naval stores was insignificant and even ashes lost importance towards the end of the century. Furs and pelts remained present throughout and, even during the closing decades of the century, often accounted for 5–20 percent of the total in value terms.[109] Next to no comprehensive data exists on the importance of Russian trade for Hamburg. However, we know that in 1647–8, three ships were dispatched to Arkhangel'sk, compared to a total of 1,743 departures. A modest share, therefore, even if the White Sea ships were among the largest available.[110]

Bremen constituted an exception among Russia's Western trade partners in that the city's Muscovite imports were very heavily dominated by a single good, *viz.* train oil which, as a rule, accounted

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[106] Baasch, "Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt," pp. 345–6, 356, 371, 378.

[107] Small-scale imports in the 1620s rose to 349 lasts and 80 sacks in 1631, 160 lasts and 75 sacks in 1632, and 897.5 lasts and 83 sacks in 1633. For much of the 1620s, Muscovite rye accounted for, at best, two percent of Hamburg's total rye imports. This ratio rose to nearly 50 percent in 1633. SAH Cl. VII Lit. E^{a} Pars 1 No 3^{b} Vol. 1 Fasc. 2; Baasch, "Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt," pp. 336–8, 343–4, 389, 412, 414.

[108] RA Bremen-Verden. Reviderade räkenskaper. Tull- och licenträkenskaper; NSASt Rep. 5, Fach 381, Nr. 9–12.

[109] SAH Senatsakten Cl. VI Nr. 9, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1^{c}; Harder-Gersdorff, "Lübeck und Hamburg," pp. 107–8, 144.

[110] Baasch, "Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt," p. 325.

for at least 90 per cent of their total value. Much as in the case of Hamburg, Russia was a leading supplier. It thus appears clear that Russia was a crucial source of train oil for Bremen and would ordinarily have accounted at least for one-third of the total imports, although it is likely that this proportion declined gradually, as new alternative sources of train oil became available towards the end of the century. By the 1670s, Dutch herring oil emerged on the market and, by the end of the century, oil from whale fishing by Bremers assumed an increasing role.[111] Another article that appears with considerable frequency among Bremen's Muscovite imports are mats. However, while their numbers could exceed over 10,000 per year, they were rather less significant in value terms and seldom accounted for more than 5 percent of the total value of Bremen's Russian imports.[112] The mats, as relatively inexpensive goods, were probably imported for the local northwestern German market.

Only three other commodities were imported in any significant quantities. Even then, rye, potash, and *iufti*, appeared only sporadically. There are only two recorded instance of ash imports: 42 vats in 1654 and 80 vats of white ash and 51 vats of potash (destined for Hamburg) in 1673. *Iuft'* exports were much more frequent, but still by no means present every year. By and large, *iufti* were of marginal significance. The only other known imports from Russia consisted of linen cloth and bacon which are both mentioned only once in the Weser records. In addition, the records specify small quantities of meat and "dried goods." The only specific mention of furs and pelts is six vats in 1670, as well as one vat and one pack destined for Hamburg in 1671.[113] In overall terms, the Russian market appears to have been

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[111] Bremen's overall train oil exports were valued at some Rtl 430 in 1654. Imports from Arkhangel'sk totaled 80 last, worth Rtl 147, or some 34 percent of the total. In 1673, the Bremen train oil imports had a combined value of Rtl 1,200. The known imports from Russia totaled 62 lasts, valued at Rtl 114, or some 9.5 per cent. There were considerable year-to-year variations in train oil imports from Russia. 1657, 1659, and 1664 were the low points with imports of 70, 61, and 62 lasts, respectively. The three peak years were 1655, 1665, and 1669 with imports of 200 lasts and 10 barrels, 173 lasts and 1,200 barrels, and 391 lasts, respectively. The 1669 total would have been worth some Rtl 717, some 60 percent of the known 1673 total value of Bremen's train oil imports. NSAOb Best. 20 Nr. D 2, fol. 240; Nr. D 18; Witzendorff, "Bremens Handel," p. 155.

[112] NSAOb Best. 20.

[113] 72 lasts of rye was imported in 1659, followed by at least 20 lasts in 1662. There were only 240 hides in 1656, 305 in 1657, and 720 in 1661. In 1670, a Bremen ship imported 1,140 hides, although these were all destined for Hamburg. NSAOb Best. 20 Nr. D2; Nr. D 18; Nr. D 3, fol. 253; Nr. D 6, fols. 182, 365;

somewhat more important for Bremen than it was for neighboring Hamburg. The three Bremen ships destined for Russia compared with a total of 544 departures in June-August 1630. However, only 13 of these were involved in long-distance overseas (*übersee*) trade, thus considerably boosting Arkhangel'sk's weight. By 1664, there were already 101 vessels in long-distance commerce of which three had the White Sea port as their destination.[114]

Information offered by the Danish Sound customs records on the cargoes of Danish ships to and from Russia is rather sparse and sometimes entirely absent. Typical examples include a ship in 1611 carried 43,000 fish, and another in 1612, loaded with 45 lasts of fish. Even as the Danes operated primarily on the coast and focused on products of the local economy, they did enjoy the right to trade in the interior of Russia. A ship in 1609 carried 335 hides. 60 hides were imported in 1630 and 17,100 in 1635. The 1635 imports included, among other things, 2,320 furs. A Danish ship in 1671 carried 30 dried hides and 50 otter skins, as well as 1.5 S# of wool. In addition, there were small quantities of Russian cloth. Danish ships occasionally carried also some salt, although it is less clear whether this was salt produced in northern Russia or of Western origin and simply used to preserve some of the fish bought in northern Russia. The quantities involved were normally 3–5 lasts p.a.[115]

Western Import Trade at Arkhangel'sk

Arkhangel'sk's pre-eminence in Muscovite international trade obviously made it the leading point of entry of Western imports into the country. Unlikely in the case of Arkhangel'sk's exports, we still possess a handful of original Russian documents on the composition and value of import trade on the White Sea. While the available data covers virtually the entire century, it is arguably even more problematic than the export records. Three more or less complete import registers—covering the years 1604, 1658, and 1710—have survived to this day.[116] In addition, there exist three lists of Russian imports in

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Nr. D 8, fol. 388; Nr. D 16, fol. 476; Nr. D 17, fol. 455; Witzendorff, "Bremens Handel," p. 169.

[114] Müller, "Untersuchungen," pp. 103–4, 121.

[115] Shaskol'skii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 29; *Tabeller*, II/1, p. 100.

[116] RGADA f. 35, op. 1, No 41; f. 141, No 141; ASPF IRI RAN f. 10, op. 3, No 145.

the early 1670s, compiled by the Swedish visitor Johan Kilburger.[117] As in the case of exports, a wide range of more fragmentary sources illustrate the history of particular aspects of Russian import trade.[118]

The chief limitation of the three surviving import ledgers is that, with the arguable exception of the first one, they cover exceptional years when Russia was engaged in large-scale warfare. They cannot, therefore, be expected to accurately reflect the composition of trade in peacetime. Secondly, the three records share many of the shortcomings of late Muscovite trade data more generally. The exact quantities and values of goods are not consistently recorded. In a number of instances, only one or the other exists. It is never possible to exactly determine the total value of imports, or even many individual categories. Moreover, it appears beyond doubt that many goods are simply not recorded at all, either because of smuggling, or because they were not subject to regular customs duties. As was seen in Chapter 4, the Muscovite authorities created incentives—at times total tax exemption—for Western merchants to pay for their purchases in cash. Consequently, the influx of Western silver bullion is systematically underreported. Similarly, Russia was heavily dependent on particular strategically important Western goods and frequently offered preferential treatment to foreigners supplying them. This may explain why the share of recorded military supplies in 1658 and 1710 is very modest (Table 5.4), although—as will be shown below—Russia imported large quantities of weapons and munitions throughout the two military engagements.[119]

Its shortcomings notwithstanding, the available data reveals a great deal of continuity in the composition of Russian import trade. In spite of often sharp year-to-year variation, we do not observe the kinds of marked and sustained structural changes over time as on the export side. The reasons for this are obviously enough connected with the static nature of the Russian demand profile. Shipping goods around the North Cape presupposed reasonably high value:weight ratios to ensure adequate profit margins beyond the considerable transportation costs. Consequently, the only three groups of Muscovite consumers with the requisite income to purchase Western goods

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[117] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, pp. 123–40.

[118] Baklanova, "Privoznye tovary;" Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 226 ff.; Demkin and Preobrazhenskii, *Zapadnoevropeiskie kuptsy*; Demkin,"Rospisi karablem"; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, I, pp. 77–97.

[119] For further details, see: Kotilaine, "In Defense of the Realm."

were: (i) the government, (ii) the Church, and (iii) the top crust of the income and wealth spectrum which in practice consisted of the upper nobility and the most prosperous merchants in the principal commercial centers of the country. As a result, imports tended to be dominated by strategically important commodities required by the state and luxuries consumer by the wealthy.

The basic structure of Western imports was fourfold:

(i) *Specie and Precious Metals*

As was seen in Chapter 2, the Muscovite government—faced with a complete lack of known domestic sources of precious metals—was committed to an active policy of ensuring sizeable trade surpluses which were then settled in Western bullion, typically silver *Reichsthaler*, which were the sole source of silver for Muscovite coin until the 18th century. H. Nolte claimed with little exaggeration that Western bulllion in fact constituted the "economically most significant Russian import" at the time.[120] The road to Moscow was paved with these *efimki*, in as much a substantial specie component in cargoes was a *de facto* prerequisite for Western businessmen gaining access to the Russian interior through letters of privilege that granted them freedom to operate across the length of the Moscow-Arkhangel'sk axis and sometimes beyond. This, as was pointed out, was one of the greatest handicaps of the English merchants operating in Moscow. We possess several petitions by the Muscovy Company to the Privy Council for permission to export bullion to Russia. English legal restrictions on the exportation of domestic silver gave their Dutch rivals a decisive advantage on the Muscovite market. For instance in 1604, the Muscovy Company exported R 10,657 worth of *efimki* to Arkhangel'sk-Kholmogory, whereas the Dutch managed R 27,135.[121]

The surviving data does not offer detailed evidence on the evolution of specie inflows, but a wealth of evidence suggests that one-third of the value of Russian exports was almost variably paid for in cash. In addition, the authorities used a mixture of stick and carrot to increase specie inflows. For instance the 1653 Commercial Code exempted foreign currency sold to the government from customs

[120] Nolte, "The Netherlands and Russia," p. 234.
[121] Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 342.

duties.[122] The New Commercial Code, in contrast, required duty payments even on unsold goods and imposed a rigged exchange rate on such payments which always had to be made in Western silver.[123]

In addition to an evidently small fraction of the Western bullion brought into the country, the available Russian sources record at times substantial imports of precious metals, mainly gold and silver. At least some of the silver may well have been smelted and minted into roubles, but most precious metal imports are likely to have reached the Russian market as luxury items, destined for the court, the Church, and the wealthiest social strata. In individual years, 1604 being a good example in point, a substantial proportion of the imports consisted of gemstones, almost entirely pearls. The destination, again, was likely Moscow and, for the most part, the Kremlin.

(ii) *Non-Precious Metals*

Russia's lack of a developed domestic extraction industry made non-precious metals a crucially important category of imports. To be sure, the Muscovites had a long tradition of producing iron from domestic swamp and lake ore. S.G. Strumilin estimated the total output of such small-scale peasant and artisan ventures at a probably inflated 1,800 tons a year at the end of the 16th century.[124] There was no sustained copper production, in spite of efforts in the Solikamsk and Olonets areas.[125] The government in the case of both metals pursued an active policy of import substitution, hiring Western specialists to prospect for ore and to set up more industrial-type production facilities. After the 1630s, the Tula-Kashira-Serpukhov area of central Russia and the Olonets region emerged as the cradle of Russia's iron industry. Some larger artisan venture were undertaken in the Urals.[126] However, the infancy of the Russian metal industry was plagued with numerous problems and the scale of the production during the period under review was never adequate to meet domestic needs.[127]

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[122] Kozlov and Dmitrieva, *Nalogi*, pp. 103–5; Shumilov, *Istoriia*, pp. 362–3.

[123] *PSZ*, I, No 408, p. 45.

[124] Strumilin, *Istoriia chernoi metallurgii*, pp. 25–6.

[125] The most important facility at Pyskorsk in the Solikamsk region was only created in the 1630s and production, plagued by repeated adversity, ended by the 1660s. Annual production apparently never exceeded a couple of hundred *pud*. Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, p. 456.

[126] Minenko *et al*., "Ural before the Industrial Revolution," pp. 44–6; Fuhrmann, *The Origins of Capitalism*, pp. 136–9.

[127] For a brief overview, see: Kotilaine, "In Defense of the Realm."

The leading categories of imported metals were copper and iron, but also tin and lead appeared fairly regularly. However, the availability of metals—especially iron and copper—on the White Sea route was more limited than in the Baltic where Sweden was one the global giants as a producer of both metals. It is thus likely that metals represented a relatively modest proportion of Arkhangel'sk's imports—probably never much more than 5 percent in value terms, until the outbreak of the Great Northern War terminated trade with Sweden. Cost considerations likely played a role in limited metals trade in the north until it became necessary. Arkhangel'sk's metal imports in 1658 consisted, among other things of some 1,542 *pud* of iron, 485 *pud* copper, 184 *pud* tin, and 600 *pud* lead. These volumes constituted a small fraction of the ordinary peacetime imports on the Baltic route. The levels recorded by J. Kilburger in the early 1670s were still comparable with those observed in 1658.[128] The 1710 totals mark the first recorded instance of a marked departure from these fairly modest figures: 21,347 *pud* copper, over 5,000 *pud* iron, 3,593 *pud* tin, and 22,657 *pud* led.[129] Iron and copper imports thus still fell short of the peace-time imports from Sweden, probably in large part because of increased domestic production.

Russia's metal imports were used for a variety of purposes, but a significant percentage likely went to meet the country's military needs. The Muscovy Company's ability to supply metals must have been an important factor motivating the Russians to preserve their privileges until the 1640s.[130] At least some of the copper is likely to have been used for bronze cannon, a large one of which required three to four tons of bronze.[131] The lead likely found its way to the Artillery in the form of bullets.

(iii) *Strategically important goods*

The underdevelopment of Russian metals production in turn severely curbed domestic weapons and munitions production. As a result, the country was heavily dependent of Western supplies of armaments, especially during periods of open warfare which were common throughout the century. The ability of the English Muscovy Company

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[128] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, pp. 123–40.
[129] Repin, pp. 230, 236.
[130] Floria, "Torgovlia Rossii," p. 150.
[131] Esper, "Military self-sufficiency," p. 194.

to supply *matérial* during the protracted Livonian War must have been a key factor consolidating the Company's position on the Russian market. Unfortunately, the surviving evidence on such trade is largely anecdotal, at least for the first decades of the Company's operations. Nonetheless, large-scale trade evidently took place at least periodically: in 1581, thirteen English vessels carrying mainly military supplies are said to have sailed to Muscovy. Very revealingly, the 1589 letter of privileges issued by the Russians authorized the Company to export wax solely in exchange for gunpowder, saltpeter, and brimstone.[132]

The modernization of warfare in the 17th century initially increased Russian dependency on Western weaponry. Attempts to emulate Western institutions and practices became a key element of Muscovite military reform under the early Romanovs and efforts were made to equip the army with weapons that matched those of their Polish-Lithuanian and Swedish opponents. The rulers of Russia, eager to maximize their tenuous leverage in this lopsided exchange gave armaments the same strategic status in commercial diplomacy that had previously been granted to bullion. They were to be treated as a special goods and a commitment to supply them—especially when they were acutely needed in wartime—could give Western merchants a decisive advantage over their rivals. Merchants could expect special passes to operate in the Russian interior, as well as preferential treatment in purchasing goods from the Treasury, etc. Although Western merchants were the most important source of foreign weapons in Muscovy, the government also periodically dispatched "Muscovite foreigners" (*moskovskie inozemtsy*) abroad for the purpose of buying weaponry. Also Russian diplomats were frequently given instructions to acquire weapons and they often used military supplies as a bargaining chip in negotiations on other issues.

Weapon and munitions imports during periods of warfare could be very substantial (Table 5.5). In individual years they may have been the leading category of imports and enormous sacrifices were made to acquire them. A number of Western merchants clearly specialised in weapons trade and most of them belonged to the elite of Westerners active in Russia.[133]

The vast majority of Russia's weapons and munitions imports reached the country via Arkhangel'sk where arms trade became an

[132] Willan, *The Early History*, pp. 63–6, 157, 176; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 349.
[133] For an overview, see Kotilaine, "In Defense of the Realm."

important element of Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the early part of the century. The Muscovy Company viewed the vagaries of the Time of Troubles as an opportunity to regain favor with the Russian authorities and may have been the leading source of arms at least during some of this period. At the same time, the Dutch, evidently for the first time, emerged as important suppliers of lead, gunpowder, etc.[134]

While the English still provided Russia with R 3,032 worth of gunpowder in 1617 and 494 musket barrels (worth R 370) in 1619, their arms supplies soon began to decline markedly. As was seen in Chapter 3, this quickly became a serious source of tension in the two countries' relations in the post-*Smuta* years. The Russian government wrote to the English ambassador Christopher Cox in May 1624 complaining that "The English merchants did bring heretofore into the Empire of Russia ordinance to sell, and munition, as pouder, Brimstone, and Saltpeeter, but nowe there is none of this brought, but that litle they doe bringe is sould at double price."[135]

As is shown in Table 5.5, the Dutch rose in the 1620s to fill the vacuum left by the Muscovy Company and tapped a growing market as the fiscal consolidation of Muscovy after the *Smuta* permitted a gradual military buildup. The disparity became all the more pronounced by the early 1630s as Muscovy began to prepare for its war of conquest against Poland-Lithuania which had (re)claimed the Principality of Smolensk during the Time of Troubles. In preparation for the Western campaign, the Russians, starting in 1630, began to create regiments of a new kind equipped in the West European fashion and trained by Western specialists.[136]

Estimates of the total value of Muscovite arms purchases in the runup to the war are bound to be very rough, but they probably totaled at least R 50,000, which would have been at least one-fifth of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's annual imports at the time. Even spread over a couple of years, this represented a considerable financial sacrifice for the Russian government. Large-scale grain sales made it possibly to finances these purchases without straining the Treasury to the limit. Indeed, while precise data is not available, grain exports

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[134] Indeed, a March 24, 1614 resolution of the States-General made a special commitment to support the new Russian government by selling them weapons and gunpowder. Kordt, *Ocherk*, p. LXXXI.

[135] PRO SP 91/2, fol. 98^{v}.

[136] Frost, *The Northern Wars*, p. 143.

typically reached up to 20 percent of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports in peak years.

A new round of purchases starting in 1647 effectively marked the beginning of another major round of import-led armament in connection with the Thirteen Years' War.[137] In 1653, a number of Muscovite foreigners were sent to the West to buy weapons. These included Andries Winius, Ivan Marsov, Roman Boldinov, Joost van Kerckhoven, as well as Scribe Golovnin and interpreter Deriabin.[138] In 1658–60, however the Russian government chose a different tack when it appears to have turned almost exclusively to foreign merchants.[139] In 1658, an English merchant John Dumble was engaged to buy or order weapons in England. In 1659, an agent, Torms, and a Dutchman, Johan van Sweeden, were dispatched to the West to buy muskets and sabers.[140] In 1659–62, van Sweeden and his compatriot Andries Swellingrebel emerged as the leading suppliers of Western weaponry to Russia. Even as foreign merchants dominated weapons supplies, the tsar's special commissar, John Hebdon, also acquired large quantities of military supplies in the Netherlands.[141] In 1660, Hebdon dispatched western weapons from Arkhangel'sk to the De Vogelaer brothers in Moscow. In 1661, he operated with his son Richard instead and dispatched muskets from the Netherlands.[142] In 1663, Hebdon bought gunpowder from the Netherlands.[143]

The volume of known military imports (Table 5.5) can be compared against weapons distributed by the Russian arms office before the Lithuanian campaign: 31,464 muskets, 5,317 carbines, and 4,279 pairs of pistols, which left reserves of 10,076 muskets and 12,998 gun barrels.[144] The reliance on Western weaponry was extremely high and, in 1660–1 alone, Russian arms imports from the West attained well over R 100,000. At the time, this would have been at least 15 percent of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports and probably one-quarter of the total imports. Even more than with the Smolensk War, it is possible to speak of large-scale mobilization of

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[137] Sahanovich, *Neviadomaia vaina*, p. 10.

[138] Troebst, *Handelskontrolle–"Derivation"—Eindämmung*, p. 411; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo* II, p. 43; Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 136.

[139] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, p. 43.

[140] *Ibidem*.

[141] Baklanova, Privoznye tovary, p. 72; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, pp. 43–44.

[142] Gurliand, *Ivan Gebdon*, pp. 21, 26.

[143] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, p. 44.

[144] Arsen'ev, *K istorii Oruzheinago prikaza*, pp. 143–44.

very limited financial resources. The Russian dependence on foreign arms imports may have reached its peak in the 1650s and '60s, which were marked by protracted warfare and still very little domestic production of either metals of weapons. As in the 1630s, the Muscovite government once again had the good fortune of being faced with a dramatic increase in the Western demand for grain, something that suggests a likely causal relationship between grain prices and the timing of Muscovite offensives.

Weapons imports continued, albeit on a smaller scale, after the Andrusovo peace with a small number of Western merchants again dominant—many of them involved in the leading Western companies active in Russia. The leading names included Heinrich Butenant, Daniel Hartman, Hart's son-in-law Andries Brest, and Egidius Tabbert.[145] Dutch and Russian strategic interests coincided around the beginning of the 1690s as damage suffered by Dutch ships in the Mediterranean prompted Amsterdam merchants to support Russian in her war against the Ottoman Empire.[146] The 1690s came to be marked by a steady military buildup due to wars in the south, as well as preparations for the Great Northern War (Table 5.4).

(iv) *Consumption Goods*

Roughly one-half of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's imports typically consisted of a range of consumption goods.[147] The most important category by far was cloth, dominated by a variety wool-based textiles, but including over time a growing proportion of silk cloth. Russians also imported paper, the domestic production of which only began—with mixed success—in the second half of the century, spices, fruit, wine, herring, salt, paints and dyes, and a range of relatively unimportant miscellaneous goods.

Cloth was invariably the most important Russian import and by itself accounted for over one-third of the total value of Western merchandise brought to Arkhangel'sk. As was seen in Chapter 3, the English were the pioneers of Russian cloth trade and their exports to the White Sea steadily increased during the first half of the century from just under 2,000 shortcloths in 1598 to 4,662 in 1640. A 1649 petition claims that exports had reached 6,093–9,139 shortcloths

[145] Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, 272.
[146] Belov, *Niderlandskii rezident*, p. 220; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1690 g., no. 4, ll. 1–2.
[147] For an extensive survey, see: Baklanova, "Rpivoznye tovary."

p.a. by 1646, only to subsequently decline to 1,523 in 1648–9. English exports were initially dominated by broadcloth and kersies, but came to include a variety of other types as well by the 1640s. The relative decline of the expensive broadcloths is likely to have been a response to growing Dutch competition. The Dutch exported, among other things, dyed English textiles, although they also seem have supplied a wide array of more expensive cloths: velvet, satin, taffeta, and silk. No quantitative data to speak of survives on Dutch cloth exports to Muscovy. However, while undoubtedly steadily increasing, they are likely to have been below the English levels for at least much of the first half of the century, since Dutch trade relied much less heavily on cloth. Eventually, however, the Dutch must have eclipsed the Muscovy Company's totals by a wide margin.[148]

Russia did not have significant domestic paper production for most of the 17th century, and paper thus remained a somewhat important element of the import bundle.[149] For instance in 1604, it accounted for nearly four percent of the total. Various edibles put together usually accounted for at least seven percent of combined imports. Spices and fruit, alcohol (wine, distilled liquor, beer), and herring were the most important categories. Alcohol imports at least periodically exceeded five percent and the share of herring rose to as much as 13 percent in 1658, although this must have been somewhat exceptional. Paints and dyes at their peak totaled well over a tenth of the total. Even furs were regularly present, in spite of extensive domestic supply, presumably because of the developed Muscovite artisan production of fur coats and hats and the strong domestic demand for them. (Table 5.4)

[148] In 1604, the English totals were still two and a half times the Dutch level. Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 326, 328, 334–5, 337–9; Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, p. 258.

[149] Paper production was established by Vasilii Burtsev, with the help of a Prussian master Frum in the late 1630s. On commission from Patriarch Nikon, Burtsev built another mill in 1655 for the state printing press. It employed six masters but produced low-quality "black" paper only fit for book-binding and closed down in 1667. The powder works of David Bacheracht near Moscow were converted by the state into a paper mill after his death in 1671, until gunpowder production was re-established there in 1682. In 1667, Johan van Sweeden built a paper mill with state financial support and a 10-year charter. After Sweeden died in 1668, his widow Maria carried on paper production with a R 600 government loan and a 5-year monopoly. Fuhrmann, *The Origins of Capitalism*, p. 153.

Concluding Remarks

Arkhangel'sk constituted in many ways a "back door" to the Muscovite market and its prominence in the 17th century stands out as an exceptional period in Russian economic history. After all, the historical pre-eminence of the Baltic route was restored when Peter the Great made St Petersburg the key center of Russian foreign trade. The tempting counterfactual question is how Russian trade would have evolved in the absence of such a strong government preference for the White Sea route.

As with so many other counterfactuals, obvious answers elude us. The drawbacks of the Arkhangel'sk route were obvious and numerous enough. Arkhangel'sk was far away from the Russian center, which made for high transportation costs. The hostile climate of northern Russia seriously limited the flexibility and scale of business operations by necessarily concentrating all trade into a few summer months and forcing the supply side into a rigid annual cycle. In addition, it created risks and losses due to shipwrecks and visiting merchants being forced to spend the winter in Arkhangel'sk. The negative effect of transportation costs on profits was amplified by the weak bargaining power of Russian traders who had few local institutions and resources to fall back on.

However, there are several reasons to suggest that this "aberration" in Russian history was not an unqualified failure. The heavy reliance of the White Sea route clearly suited the interests of many foreign merchants, especially the Dutch and the Muscovy Company. It freed them from the vagaries of the Danish customs policy that constituted an element of uncertainty and an additional layer of costs on the Baltic route. Moreover, trading on Russia's northern periphery stacked the basic terms of trade heavily in favor of West European merchants. For the Dutch, who possessed the largest merchant navy on the face of the earth, trading in northern Russia was technically little different from operations in other parts of the world. The Russians, in contrast, could exert limited influence on prices having hauled their goods down the Dvina to a narrow range of buyers who, up to a degree, were in a position to make take-it-or-leave-it offers, since the existence of the White Sea market was conditional on their presence. For the Russians, the alternative to not selling was an expensive winter of storage at Arkhangel'sk or shipping the goods back to the interior and thus ending up incurring double transportation

costs. Storage was out of the question for many goods vulnerable to quality deterioration, whereas shipping back home eroded the often narrow profit margins even further. This relationship was further formalized over time as Western credit translated into often long-term supply contracts with Russian merchants.

The Russians over time sought to curb the Western supremacy on the market with a variety of measures which were reviewed in Chapter 4. However, the Muscovite State had a great deal to gain from its preference for the northern route. The ascendancy of Arkhangel'sk lent an important stimulus to the overall economic development of northern Russia and promoted the exploitation of the ample natural resources of the vast Dvina-Sukhona basin. The *Pomor'e* evolved into an important economic region with a handful of middling cities. Even from a security perspective, Muscovy had a great deal to gain from a more even pattern of settlement in the North. While Western merchants gained by circumventing the Baltic route, so, in an important way, did Russia. The existence of the Arctic route freed Russia from the numerous risks associated with trading in the highly contested Baltic Sea area. To be sure, White Sea trade was on occasion paralyzed by war and adversely affected by piracy. However, these setbacks did not occur with the frequency or intensity observed in the Baltic. Moreover, more extensive Russian involvement in Baltic trade would undoubtedly have invited even more military threats in an area where they were much easier to carry out than in the distant north. In an important way, whether the Russian government fully realized it or not, Arkhangel'sk trade constituted an important "insurance policy." It provided a more or less steady—and for much of the century, growing—influx of specie, important weapons supplies at critical times, and considerable customs revenues. Overall, Russian foreign trade is likely to have gained a great deal of stability from the strong focus on the White Sea route. Even if the limiting factors may have curbed overall economic gains during good times, the Arkhangel'sk strategy is likely to have contributed to the fiscal consolidation of the Muscovite state by eliminating the kind of fluctuations is trade that would have been inevitable had Russian export had to rely in the first instance on the Baltic and the central European land routes.

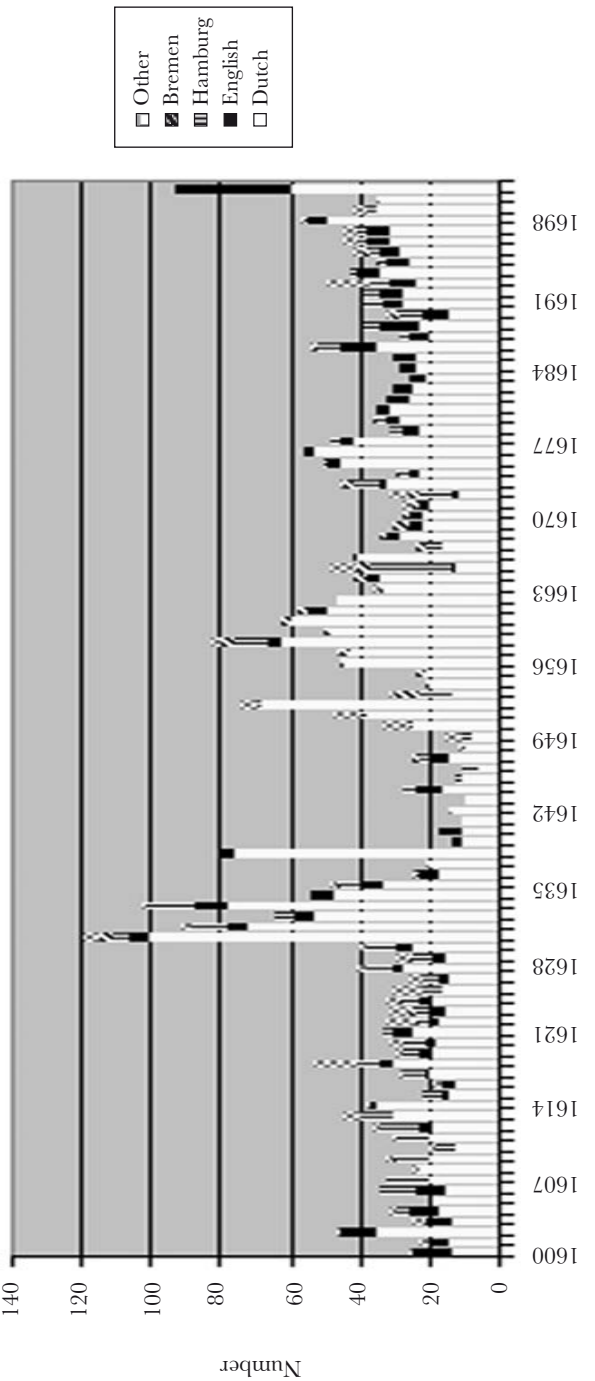
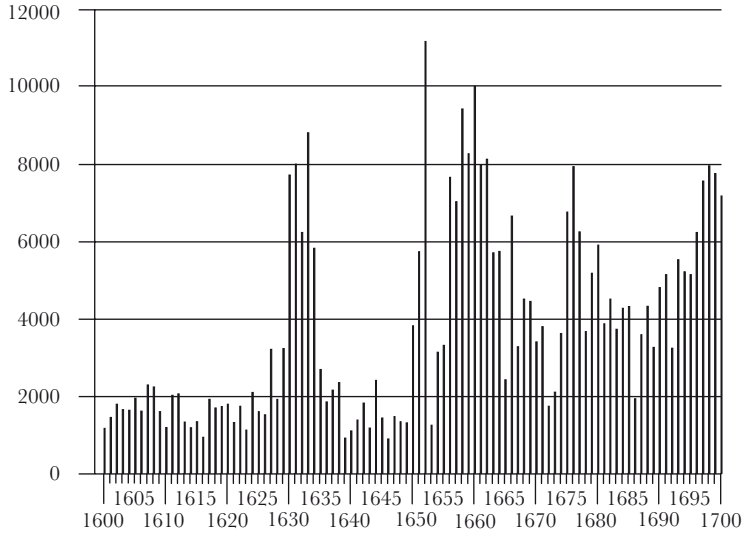


Figure 5.1. Ships calling at Archangel'sk

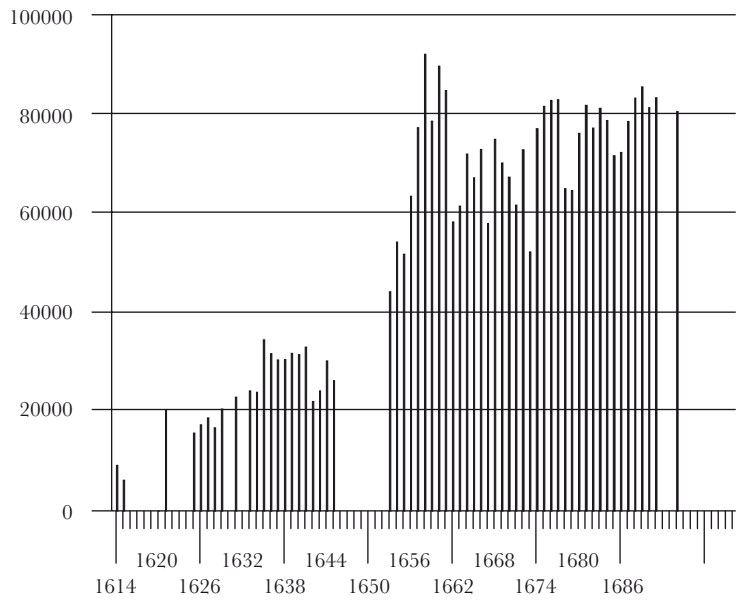
N.B. This graphs provides the annual totals of *recorded* ships. The absence of data in individual countries in particular years does not necessarily entail a lack of shipping but, rather reflects the limitations of the source material.

Figure 5.2. The total capacity of Dutch ships from Arkhangel'sk to Amsterdam, last



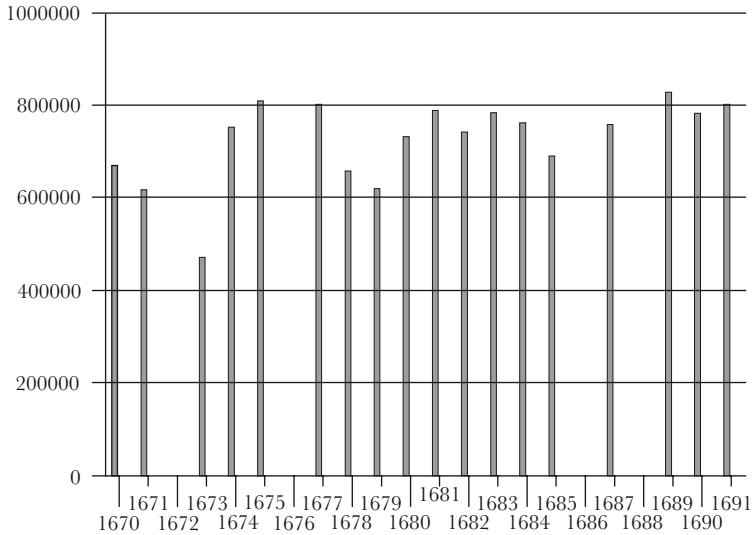
(*Source*: GAA NA; Prof. Emeritus Piet de Buck, Leiden University)

Figure 5.3. Customs receipts at Arkhangel'sk, roubles



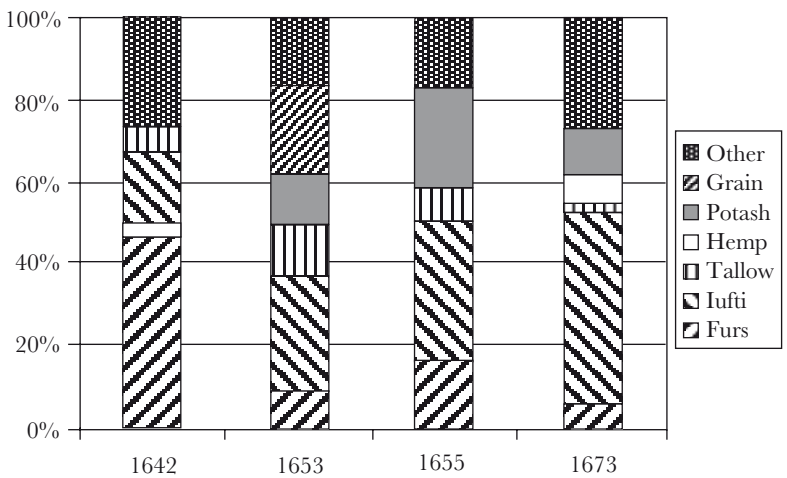
(*Source*: Iziumov, "Razmery," pp. 250–8; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 402)

Figure 5.4. Estimated total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports, 1670–91, roubles[150]



(*Source*: Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 89; RGADA f. 137, op. Arkhangel'sk, dd. 5–9, 11, 13–5, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25–6, 29, 31-a, 32)

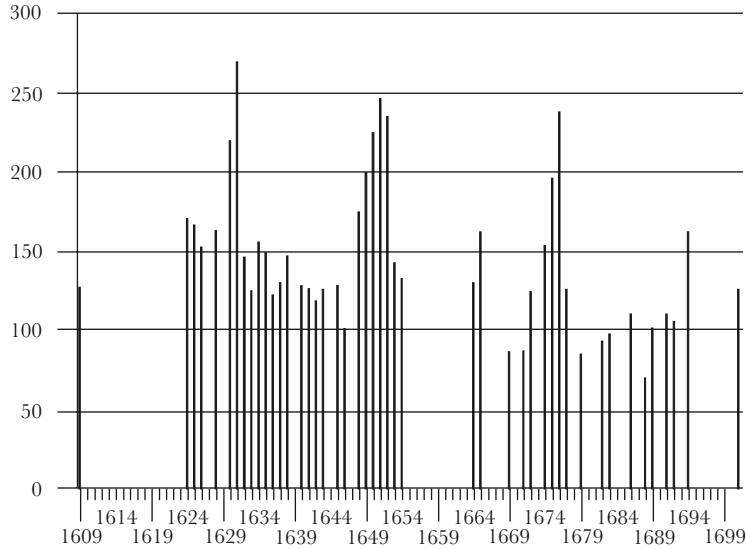
Figure 5.5. Breakdown of Arkhangel'sk's exports, percent



(*Source*: RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; Muscovitica, vol. 601; Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet; *Thurloe Papers*, III, p. 713)

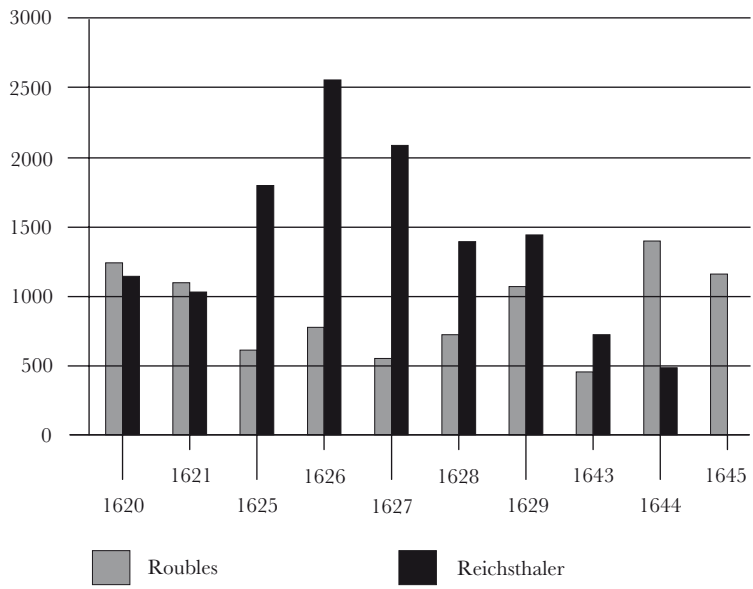
[150] These are average estimates made by N.N. Repin from the duty collection from foreign exporters and Russian merchants bringing their wares to Arkhangel'sk.

Figure 5.6. The price of "Prussian rye" at the Amsterdam market, guldens



(*Source*: Posthumus, *Inquiry*, I, pp. 19–20)

Figure 5.7. Customs duties collected on the Kola coast



(*Source*: Ul'ianov, "Feodal'naia kolonizatsiia," p. 124)

Table 5.1. State purchases of basic export wares for exportation through Arkhangel'sk in 1662

Good	Volume	Suppliers	Percent
Iufti	39,685 *pud*	Iaroslavl' merchants	35.80
		Foreign merchants	18.78
		Moscow	12.75
		Kostroma	10.02
		Vologda	3.64
		Suzdal' and district	5.10
		Nizhnii Novgorod	3.18
		Kazan'	1.45
Hemp	199,153 *pud*	Moscow	34.37
		Foreign merchants	33.74
		Kaluga	10.23
		Vologda	2.75
		Dorogobuzh	1.57
		Viaz'ma	0.82
		Rzhev	0.15
		Viazniki	0.04
Tallow	25,129 *pud*	Vologda and district	38.63
		Foreign merchants	24.31
		Ustiug	9.14
		Viatka	9.42
		Moscow	6.68
		Iaroslavl'	5.24
		Galich and district	1.30
		Gorodets	1.00
Potash	251,202 *pud*	Nobility	62.44
		Townsmen, privileged merchants	24.09
		Treasury	11.87
White ash	8,515 barrels		
Sable skins	15,279	Siberian Chancellery	

N.B. "Suppliers" refers to the home towns of the supplying merchants and, as a rule, not the site of production of the goods they carried.

(*Source*: Repin, "K voprosu," pp. 61 ff., Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 131, Bazilevich, *Denezhnaia reforma*, pp. 65–5)

Table 5.2. Existing estimates of arkhangel'sk's total exports

	c. 1642	*c.* 1653	1655	*c.* 1673
Grain, last		10,000		
Hemp, S#	3,000			8,000
Linseed, last		600		
Ropes/cordage, S#	2,000		1,000 + 1,000 ropes	
Cable yarn/yarn, S#			2,000	2,000
Tallow, S#	2,625	11,508	600	2,000
Wax, S#	300	350	100	
Candles, *arshin*			2,000	
Furs, R	200,000			
Sables		23,160	40,000	13,600
Sable tails/strips		18,748	5,000	4,000
Sable edges		598	1,000	1,000
Sable ends		15,500	40,000	12,000
Fox		15,970	2,000	5,000
Marten		14,400		18,000
Mink		11,480		16,000
Ermine		11,520		24,000
Squirrel		355,950	100,000	450,000
Cat		28,795	5,000	
Wolverine				400
Wolf				800
Mice			4,000	
Iufti	60,000	450,000	5,000 S#	8,000 S#
Elk hides		5,925	5,000	8,000
Buffalo		300		
Morocco leather		2,340		
Ox/cow hides	10,000		200 S#	600 S#
Salted leather		4,500		
Goat skins	30,000	8,978	20,000	10,000
Seal skins	1,300–15,00	31,060		6,000
Linen cloth, *arshin*		325,980	100,000	60,000
Woollen cl., *arshin*		168,500	2,000	30,000
Persian silk, *pud*		36–45,000	200	200
Mats		389,000		200,000
Hats			100,000	
Hog bristle, *pud*	*	5,700	2,000	5,000
Fish glue, *pud*	*			2,000

Table 5.2 (*cont.*)

	c. 1642	*c.* 1653	1655	*c.* 1673
Beaver stones, *pud*	*	70	10	10
Rhubarb, *pud*	*	150	100	
Beav. wool/wombs, *pud*		1,500	400	600
Agaricum, *pud*		60	200	200
Muscus, *pud*				3.75
Isin glass, *pud*		250		15
Train oil, barrels	4,000	6,000		3,000
Caviar, *pud*	12–14,000	20,000	18,000	12,000
Bacon/meat, S#		5,500	400 + 500 gammons	
Down/feathers, *pud*			2,102.5	
Pitch/tar, barrels	2,000	*c.* 2,400	2,000	1,000
Potash, barrels		3,000[a]	6,000[b]	3,000
White ash, barrels				3,000

* Total combined value approx. R 11,000.
[a] A total weight of 12,000 S# (1,930 tons).
[b] A total weight of 18,000 S# (2,893 tons).

(*Source*: RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; Muscovitica, vol. 601; Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet; *Thurloe Papers*, III, p. 713)

Table 5.3. The composition of Arkhangel'sk's total exports in value terms

	c. 1642		*c.* 1653		1655		*c.* 1673	
	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%
Grain			250,000	21.47				
Hemp	15,000	3.48					56,000	7.29
Linseed			14,400	1.24				
Ropes/cordage	14,000	3.25			6,200	0.94		
Cable yarn/yarn					16,500	2.50	5,200	0.68
Tallow	26,250	6.10	126,588	10.87	54,000	8.17	18,000	2.34
Wax	15,000	3.48	15,750	1.35	4,000	0.61		
Candles					100	0.02		
Furs	200,000	46.46						
Sables			64,857	5.57	105,500	15.96	13,450	1.87
Fox			11,978	1.03	1,000	0.15	4,000	0.52
Marten			6,480	0.56			7,200	0.94
Mink			4,592	0.39			6,000	0.78
Ermine			864	0.07			2,280	0.30
Squirrel			5,688	0.49	2,000	0.30	12,000	1.56
Cat			3,600	0.31	500	0.08		
Wolverine							400	0.05
Wolf							480	0.06
Mice					1,000	0.15		
Iufti	90,000	20.91	335,125	28.77	225,000	34.04	360,000	46.85
Elk hides			23,700	2.03	20,000	3.03	32,000	4.16
Buffalo			270	0.02				
Morocco leather			940	0.08				
Ox/cow hides	3,500	0.81			4,000	0.61	10,800	1.41
Salted leather			3,150	0.27				
Goat skins	9,000	2.09	2,922	0.25	6,000	0.91	7,500	0.98
Seal skins	750	0.17	4,809	0.41			900	0.12
Linen cloth			16,299	1.40	1,250	0.19	1,500	0.20
Woollen cloth			6,740	0.58	100	0.02	1,200	0.16
Persian silk			13,500	1.16	8,000	1.21	8,000	1.04
Mats			6,224	0.53			6,000	0.78
Hats					2,500	0.38		
Hog bristle	Comb'd	2.56	25,650	2.20	600	0.09	20,000	2.60
Fish glue	total of						30,000	3.90
Beaver stones	11,000		7,000	0.60	800	0.12	800	0.10
Rhubarb			7,500	0.64	4,000	0.61		
Beav. wool/wombs			6,750	0.58	600	0.09	36,000	4.69
Agaricum			300	0.03	200	0.03	600	0.08
Muscus							1,500	0.20
Isin glass			300	0.03			15,000	1.95
Train oil	10,000	2.32	9,000	0.77			7,500	0.98
Caviar	14,000	3.25	30,000	2.58	22,500	3.40	(23,250)	(2.87)
Bacon/meat			33,000	2.83	2,200	0.33	(16,000)	(1.98)
Down/feathers					1,925	0.29		

Table 5.3 (*cont.*)

	c. 1642		*c.* 1653		1655		*c.* 1673	
	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%
Pitch/tar	2,000	0.46	4,000	0.34	1,800	0.27		
Potash			120,000	10.30	162,000	24.51	86,400	11.24
White ash							21,000	2.73
Total value, R		430,500		1,164,676		660,975		768,400(+)

N.B. The figures in brackets are the estimated values of caviar and salmon, dried cod, and meat. Caviar was farmed out at Rd 3.875 a *pud*. Thus the actual value is likely to have been even higher. Toll payments on fish and meat totaled R 800 and were presumably levied at the standard 5 percent rate. The value of masts will have been in excess of R 1,000, since the basic government duty was Rd 10 per mast. The percentages in brackets are from a projected total of R 810,000.

(*Source*: RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; Muscovitica, vol. 601; Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet F IV:96: Handel med Ryssland 1670-talet; Birch, 1742, p. 713)

Table 5.4. The composition of Western imports via Arkhangel'sk[a]

	1604		1658		1710	
	Roubles	Percent	Roubles	Percent	Roubles	Percent
Cloth/textiles	51,652	33.83	82,691	39.76	578,913	47.93
Precious stones	23,886	15.64	1,100	0.53		
Precious metals, bullion	46,658	30.56	17,650	8.49	18,542	1.54
Non-precious metals/products	6,430	4.21	7,036	3.38	207,930	17.22
Paper	5,840	3.83	1,804	0.87	19,271	1.60
Spices/fruit	6,805	4.46	4,625	2.23	31,859	2.64
Wine	2,685	1.76	12,924	6.21	71,312	5.90
Herring	305	0.20	26,990	12.98	1,307	0.11
Other foodstuffs	1,032	0.68	798[b]	0.38	25,380	2.18
Paints/dyes			25,847	12.43	101,960	8.44
Furs			9,243	4.44	29,624	2.45
Military supplies	3,956	2.59	4,340	2.09	16,883	1.40
Other goods	3,428	2.25	12,330	5.93	104,828	8.68
Sum total	152,677[c]		207,968		1,207,809	

[a] The sums given in this table should be viewed as approximate. In many cases, the value of particular commodities is not explicitly given in the sources. The degree of underrepresentation is difficult to quantify but is unlikely to have much exceeded one-quarter of totals calculated.

[b] This total excludes a large amount of salt, 180 lasts, the value of which is not given.

[c] This total exceeds the figure given by B.N. Floria (R 105,344) which was based exclusively on goods whose prices were given in the document.

(*Source*: Floria, "Torgovlia Rossii," p. 146; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, p. 323; Repin, *Vneshniania torgovlia*, pp. 230–2, 235–8; RGADA f. 35, op. 1, No 41; f. 141, No 141; ASPF IRI RAN f. 10, op. 3, No 145)

Table 5.5. Imports of Western arms and munitions via Arkhangel'sk

Date	Source[a]	Goods Supplied	Approx. Value, R
1604	Muscovy Company	34,812 lbs gunpowder	2,902
1626	5 Dutch merchants, 1 Hamburg merchant	196 *pud* copper iron	902 1,643
	2 Dutch merchants	403 *pud* sulphur	241
	Muscovy Company	118 *pud* lead Copper	475 1,441
1630	Muscovy Company	708 *pud* tin	3,118
	The Netherlands,Hamburg	Iron	374
	Karel du Moulin (Netherlands)	4,000 *pud* copper, 4,000 *pud* Swedish iron, 1,500 *pud* sulphur	21,075
	David Ruts (Netherlands)	4,000 *pud* iron, 1,500 *pud* copper	4,200
	Alexander Leslie, Paul de Willem, Jan van Lier (Netherlands)	2,000 swords, 750 pair pistols, 5,000 muskets, 2,000 suits of armor, 100,000 lbs matches, 500 carbines, 200 partisans and halberds	*c.* 20,000
1631	Thomas Wich (England)	2,000 muskets	
	Karel du Moulin (Netherlands)	20,000 *pud* iron, muskets	
	Thomas de Swaen (Netherlands)	50,000 muskets, partisans, halberds, pistols, etc.	
1631–32	Du Moulin, Ruts (Netherlands)	Iron: 5,000 *pud* (1631), 25,000 *pud* (1632)	17,929
1632	John Cartwright (England)	5,000 swords	5,000
1633	John Cartwright (England)	2,000 swords, 1,000 muskets, 3,000 cartridges, 1,000 bolts, 600 pairs of pistols, 400 pairs of barrels	
	Elias Trip, T. de Swaen (Netherlands)	10,000 *pud* gunpowder, 15,000 iron cannon balls, 3,000 saber belts (contract)	
1634	T. de Swaen (Netherlands)	12 copper cannon, 58,300 iron cannon balls, 141 partisans, 301 halberds (from Trip's contract)	

Table 5.5 (*cont.*)

Date	Source[a]	Goods Supplied	Approx. Value, R
1636	Zacharias Zachariasz (Netherlands)	30–42 (?) cannon (based on a 1634 contract by Trip to deliver 72 cannon)	
1647		5,000 muskets, 2,721 musket barrels, 2,267 carbines, 1,344 carbine barrels, 2,348 pairs of pistols, 12,578 swords, etc.	40,000+[b]
1654		4,014 swords, 1,163 suits of infantry armor, 528 carbines, 539 pairs of pistols, 1,410 pairs of holsters; 25 chests and 5 barrels of weapons	
1655	Ivan Amirev, Hendrik Bos (Netherlands)	20,000 muskets (petition to the States-General)	
1656	Ivan Marsov (Netherlands)	4 pairs of pistols carbines	117
1658	John Hebdon (Netherlands)	17,344 muskets, 1,059 barrels of gunpowder, three boxes of partisans	
1659	H. Swellengrebel (Netherlands)	1,000 pairs of pistols 2,500 muskets	2,300 3,250
	Swellengrebel, Van Sweeden (Netherlands)	2,000 pairs of pistols	
1660	J. van Sweeden (Netherlands)	6,000 muskets, 1,000 pairs of pistols, 1,000 carbines, 1,000 swords, 1,000 suits of armor	13,200
	Swellengrebel, van Sweeden (Netherlands)	20,000 muskets, 6,000 carbines, 6,000 pairs of pistols	
	Swellengrebels (Netherlands)	12,500 muskets, 2,225 carbines, 2,049 pairs of pistols	24,578
	H. Swellengrebel (Netherlands)	(15,000 carbines, 15,000 pairs of pistols, 5,000 muskets) Contract	65,000
	John Hebdon (Netherlands)	12,800 muskets 4,566 *pud* gunpowder	10,249 15,068

Table 5.5 (*cont.*)

Date	Source[a]	Goods Supplied	Approx. Value, R
1661	Swellengrebel, van Sweeden (Netherlands)	10,000 carbines, 10,000 pairs of pistols	
	J. & R. Hebdon (Netherlands)	muskets	36,200
1662	H. Swellengrebel (Netherlands)	3,000 carbines, 3,000 pairs of pistols, 5,000 muskets+	21,165+
	Swellengrebel, Van Sweeden (Netherlands) Swellengrebels (Netherlands)	8,602 pairs of pistols, 8,602 carbines, 8,500 muskets 1,000 carbines, 1,000 pairs of pistols	
1663	John Hebdon (Netherlands)	gunpowder	Rd 18,690
1670	Willem de Hartuch (Netherlands)	475 carbines, 475 pistols	487
1671	Daniel Hartman (Netherlands)	arms	
1680		7,318 gunlocks/bolts, 7,318 pairs of holsters	14,713
1681	Heinrich Butenant (Hamburg)	2,611 complete sets of cavalry equipment (each inc. a carbine and a pair of pistols)	
	Egidius Tabbert (Netherlands)	800 muskets, 1,800 sets of cavalry equipment	
		1,500 musket, pistol, and carbine bolts	8,565
1682	Egidius Tabbert (Netherlands)	4,000 Spanish musket bolts	2,000
1678–82	Daniel Hartman (Netherlands)	pistols, carbines, muskets	42,175
1687	Egidius Tabbert (Netherlands)	2,087 *pud* sulphur	1,662
1688	Thomas Kellerman (Moscow)	2,000 sets of cavalry equipment	(8,500)
1689	Thomas Kellerman (Moscow)	100 sets of cavalry equipment	427
	Egidius Tabbert (Netherlands)	carbines, harquebuses, pistols	2,930

Table 5.5 (*cont.*)

Date	Source[a]	Goods Supplied	Approx. Value, R
1687–9	Daniel Hartman (Netherlands)	600 muskets 1,000 suits of armor	960 8,525
1690	The Netherlands	2,000 carbines and pistols	
1696	D. Hartman and E. Tabbert	muskets	36,000
1698	Egidius Tabbert (Netherlands)	10,000 *pud* lead (for the Cannon Chancellery)	
1695–9	Andries Brest (Netherlands)	13,000 muskets	
	D. Hartman (Netherlands)	3,500 muskets	
	Rudolf Meijer (Netherlands)	5,625 muskets	
	A. Dix and E. Tabbert (NL)	1,000 muskets	
	B. Andrews	800 muskets	
	P. Westhof	2,100 muskets	
1700	Christoffel Brants (Netherlands)	3,997 muskets	4,796
	Zacharias Dix (Netherlands)	10,000 bayonet blades	1,600

[a] The name of the country, given in brackets, denotes the country of origin of the equipment and thus not necessarily the nationality of the merchants supplying it.
[b] Estimated based on the median values reported in: Hellie, *The Economy and Material Culture*, pp. 232–3.

(*Source*: Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, pp. 42–5; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*, pp. 82, 93, 95; Arel, *The Muscovy Company*, pp. 323, 350; Epifanov, "Uchenie," p. 85; Sahanovich, *Neviadomaia vaina*, p. 10; Repin, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 272–3; Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor*, I, pp. 184–5; Baklanova, "Privoznye tovary," p. 72; Belov, "Rossiia i Gollandiia," p. 72; RGADA f. 50, op. 1, 1687 g., No 3, l. 66)

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHANGING FORTUNES OF THE BALTIC ROUTE

The Baltic region was historically Russia's "window on Europe," long before Peter I coined his famous phrase. It was the starting point of the ancient route from the "Varangians to the Greeks" and subsequently in the sphere of operations of the Hanseatic League which kept bases in Novgorod and later also Pskov. The importance of the Baltic for Russian foreign trade built in the first instance on geographic and historical ties between the Estonian-Livonian ports and the northwestern Russia cities, most notably Novgorod. However, the potential of the route was further enhanced by its relatively proximity to central Russia, a state of affairs that eventually provided the rationale for Peter I's plan to transfer Russian trade from Arkhangel'sk to St Petersburg.

This chapter surveys the evolution of Russian transit trade through the Baltic in a chronological manner. This approach is made possible by the extraordinary wealth of data on the Baltic ports and northwestern Russia alike, even if virtually all the actual customs books for the important Russian border points have been lost. As compared to the White Sea route, the reversals of fortune in Baltic trade were more numerous and far sharper. After all, the Baltic was a contested terrain and vulnerable to recurrent warfare. In spite of this, however, a clear positive trend marked the evolution of Russian export trade, something that sheds important light on Russia's overall economic development as well as on some pivotal moments, in Muscovite policy-making.

The Calm and the Storm: Russian Transit Trade in the Baltic at the Beginning of the Century

The dawn of the 17th century was preceded by a decades-long struggle over the lands of the disintegrating Livonian Order. This conflict manifested itself with particular intensity on Estonia's northern coast which had been the main outlet Russian exports for much of the

16th century. The historic dominance of Reval was seriously challenged when Ivan IV made the newly-conquered "Rugodiv" a Muscovite port of emporium in 1559 and the city quickly evolved into an international port of considerable significance. Fragmentary data points to lively traffic in Russian Narva: after a tentative start, there were 98 departures by ships passing through the Danish Sound in 1566, followed by 76 and 59 in each of the two subsequent years, even if the totals thereafter declined to the range of 1–26 vessels a year. In addition, in 1567, 33 Lübeck ships came to Narva, a figure that rose to 40 by 1570. Other data suggests that the number of Lübeck vessels may have, at least at times, been much higher.[1]

Narva's export volumes reached impressive proportions during the peak years of the Muscovite period. Known flax and hemp exports through the Danish Sound totaled 15,248 S# in 1567 and were surpassed only by Danzig in the Baltic area. Tallow exports of 5,998.5 S# in 1565 accounted for nearly 95 percent of the total exports of the Baltic region, highlighting the degree of Russian dominance in this trade. Wax exports in 1566 amounted to 1,143 S#. The same year, a remarkable 15,637,000 hides and skins—81 percent of the total for the Baltic—passed through Narva.[2] According to a petition presented by a group of Russian merchants to Aleksei Mikhailovich, the annual tax receipts at Narva totaled some R 50,000 during the Muscovite occupation. However, this figure is unlikely to have been matched in more than one or two of the peak years in the '60s.[3]

The flourishing commerce was soon enough challenged by arrival of Swedish pirates. Moreover, Erik XIV's efforts to undermine Narva were further aided by Ivan IV's *oprichniki*, who in 1570 raided the city, as well as the main centers of its hinterland, Novgorod and Pskov. Homes, warehouses, and stores were systematically looted and vast quantities of merchandise spoilt or burnt. By 1574, Narva was again intermittently in the middle of a war zone. In July 1579,

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[1] Lukas Engelstad in 1566–7 put the annual number of ships visiting Narva at 300, which suggests that the number of Lübeckers may have been at least comparable to that of more long-distance visitors. Köhler, *Die Narvafahrt*, pp. 78–9, 157; Wijnroks, "Mezhdunarodnaia konkurentsiia," p. 14; Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, pp. 97, 100.

[2] Gilles Fletcher claimed that Narva's wax exports during the Russian period were some 50,000 *pud* p.a., a figure that was said to have plummeted to a mere 10,000 following the Swedish conquest in 1581. Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, p. 50; Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 96.

[3] Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 96.

the Swedes overran Ivangorod and put siege on Narva, albeit unsuccessfully.[4] The devastation in Narva found a counterpart in the progressive depopulation of the Russian northwest more generally, something that significantly undermined the regional economy. The central Novgorod lands lost 50–70 percent of their population by the early 1580s.[5] These political and demographic developments conspired to cut short Rugodiv's golden age. In the end, the famous economic boom of Muscovite Narva does not appear to have lasted for longer than four years, even if it took over a decade thereafter for trade dry up almost completely.

In spite of the deepening crisis on the supply side, the basic geographic factors that had militated in Narva's favor during the Russian occupation remained unaltered even as borders were redrawn in the wake of the Swedish conquest of 1581. While there was a decline in Narva's exports from the peak years of the 1560s, this hardly amounted to a collapse, especially if comparisons are drawn with the more average years after 1570. In spite of important year-to-year fluctuations, there was a secular upward trend in Narva's total exports in the 1580s and '90s. In the best years, fibre exports could exceed 7,000 S# and tallow 3,000 S#. The sales of leather and hides peaked at more than 80,000 p.a.[6] The most dramatic change was a sharp decline in trans-Sound shipping as political turmoil in the '70s caused a diversion of especially English and Dutch trade to Arkhangel'sk. In contrast, intra-Baltic trade with Lübeck remained strong and may have taken over some of the markets previously dominated by the North Sea powers. In that case, the loss in Narva's exports between the '60s and the turn of the century may even have been less than 50 percent. Some diversion clearly happened inside Russia, as well. Wax exports at Narva declined to insignificance in the 17th century. Similarly, tallow became much rarer.[7] Both goods, however, continued to exported via Arkhangel'sk.

The new century witnessed an escalating dispute between Narva and Reval. The judicial wrangles notwithstanding, the first decade of the 17th century was one of the economically most successful

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[4] Russow, *Chronica*, p. 165; Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, pp. 101–2.

[5] Goehrke, *Die Wüstungen*, pp. 100–1, 109–10, 113–4.

[6] Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, pp. 54–5, 310; RA Österjöprovinsernas tull-och licenträkenskaper, vol. 8–11.

[7] Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, pp. 55–6.

Narva experienced before the outbreak of the Great Northern War. Fibre exports regularly totaled 6,000 S# p.a. and sometimes exceeded 10,000 S#. While this still fell short of the peak levels attained during the Muscovite period, it attests to the relative success of the city in exploiting its geographic advantages. Tallow exports were far smaller than in the second half of the 16th century, yet in good years approached 2,000 S#. Leather exports usually exceeded 100,000 hides p.a., sometimes even 150,000, a level that was not to be seen again until the end of the century. Squirrel pelts were the most common type of furs exported through Narva and were frequently sold in tens of thousands, peaking at nearly 177,000 in 1605. Other types of fur typically numbered in hundreds, although in 1605 their total reached some 13,000 pelts.[8]

As Narva gradually regained its footing, Reval went through a time of great confusion. Commercial considerations had been high among Reval's reasons to justify the acceptance of Swedish overlordship. However, the results of the shift of allegiance left a great deal to be desired once the government's attention and hopes shifted to Narva. It took Reval three years of active lobbying after 1581 to wrest its monopoly status in Russian trade back from Narva. Even then, however, trade by foreign merchants in Narva continued and was even tolerated by the Swedish Crown. The two neighboring cities were effectively left to play a zero-sum game, much as they had before the Livonian War, given that they devoted minimal energy to generally stimulating Russian trade in the area.[9]

Even as numerous problems loomed in the horizon, the overall strength of Russian export trade made the beginning of the 17th century a period of expansion also for Reval. In typical years, some 60–70 groups of usually 3–4 Muscovite merchants each passed through the city customs. They normally brought their wares on sledges in the winter months, when snow made transportation via the preferred land route faster and cheaper than carriage transport in the summer. In addition, a significant proportion of the Pskov goods shipped to Narva were transported on to Reval for sale to foreign shippers.[10] The main focus of Reval's eastern relations was the Novgorod region,

[8] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 15.

[9] Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, pp. 318–9; Köhler, *Die Narvafahrt*, pp. 22–6.

[10] Attman, *The Struggle*, p. 185; Melander, "Ruotsin hallituksen ja Tallinnalaisten kauppatuumat," p. 29.

followed by Pskov. Other cities with regular relations with Reval were the smaller northwestern Muscovite towns Oreshek (Nöteborg) Tikhvin, Ladoga, and Korela (Kexholm) which, with the exception of Tikhvin, actually became Swedish under the Stolbovo Treaty. In addition to merchants from the Russian northeast, some traders from the central regions of the country occasionally journeyed to Reval. There are recorded instances of visitors from Moscow and Iaroslavl'.[11]

The wares involved in Reval's eastern dealings were little different from Narva's export profile. In quantitative terms, the most important good was flax. During the first decade of the century, the annual flax sales of Muscovites visiting Reval regularly approached, and sometimes exceeded the 1,000 S#-mark. The total exports of the port were typically only 10–20 percent higher. Most of the differential was probably due to local Estonian and Livonian production, but some of it was clearly attributable to purchases by Reval or other Western merchants in Russia or imports via Narva. A product of only slightly lesser importance was hemp. Russian visitors usually sold up to 850 S# of hemp in a given year and the city's overall hemp exports seldom significantly diverged from the Muscovite supplies (Fig. 6.3).[12] Russian tallow remained significant totaling up to 500 S#—worth T 10,000—p.a. In addition, there were sometimes significant amounts train oil: as much as 150 barrels in 1608, for example. Wax was available much more sporadically and typically in very limited quantities. Reval remained an important exit point for various types of leather. In most years at the beginning of the century, the Russian sales exceeded 1,000 hides but apparently never reached 2,000. The same applies to furs, although the frequent appearance of even the most valuable Siberian furs highlights the extent of Reval's hinterland.[13]

As Eastern transit trade through the Estonian ports remained strong, the turn of the century appears to have been much less successful from the viewpoint of Russian economic ties with Polish-

[11] Kotilaine, "Tallinna kaubandussidemed," pp. 33–5.

[12] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 3.

[13] Imports from Narva were quite considerable in some years. Flax imports frequently exceeded 1,000 S#, while hemp volumes varied between 130 S# and 1,250 S#. Tallow imports at the very beginning of the century were as high as 711 S#, although they subsequently seldom exceeded 100 S# p.a. Unspecified "leather" was imported at the rate of 250–15,000 p.a., complemented by smaller quantities of other types of leather. Kotilaine, "Tallinna kaubandussidemed," pp. 36–7.

controlled Riga.[14] The absence of river connections with the Pskov region curbed large-scale commerce in bulky goods. Moreover, trade suffered a great deal from multiple taxes and corruption, as well as administrative overzealousness, which frequently led to arrests and confiscations of merchandise.[15] Particularly revealing was the Riga authorities' gradual loss of interest in Muscovite trade. In 1601, the city council responded to Tsar Boris Godunov's decision to allow Riga merchants to trade freely in Novgorod, Pskov, Moscow, and other Russian cities by refusing to compensate the mediator for his expenses. In 1604, the new rights were pronounced worthless in light of general passivity of Riga's own merchants. A further blow came due to the Russian Time of Troubles as the local governor Jan Chodkiewicz closed down all links with Russia in 1610. Even in this atmosphere of tension, some trade nonetheless took place, occasionally involving quite significant shipments. Between December 1589 and August 1590, 38 merchants passed Neuhausen (Est. Vastseliina) on their way to Riga with Rtl 7,544 worth of goods. In 1600, Riga authorities confiscated R 2,000 worth of goods belonging to a Pskov merchant Timokha.[16]

Riga's commercial ties with the Smolensk area, which remained in Muscovite hands until 1611, appear to have been lively, even through trade was mainly intermediated by Witebsk and Połock merchants. A unique 1605 customs book for Witebsk records a number of instances of exports to Riga, although the origins of the commodities—whether Belorussian/Lithuanian or Muscovite—are normally not specified. River exports not explicitly identified as being of local Lithuanian origin totaled: 16 barrels of potash, 265 lasts and 26 barrels of ashes, 123.5 bundles of hemp (735 *kamień*), 110 barrels of linseed, 59 barrels of hemp seed, 56 barrels of peas, 69 barrels of wheat, one barrel of grouts, 11 bags of hops (263 *kamień*), 95 fox skins, 7 *kamień* of wax, 17 *iufti*, 2 beaver skins, 7 marten skins, and two rafts of timber.[17] Much of this undoubtedly originated from Russia.

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[14] Doroshenko, "Protokoly," pp. 141–2; Doroshenko, *Torgovlia*, p. 93; Jenšs, "Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība," p. 163; Jenšs, "Moskovskoe torgovoe podvor'e," pp. 75, 78.

[15] LVVA 673–4: a. 20, Nos. 9–12.

[16] 26 of the merchants were Muscovites—four from Pskov and one from Novgorod—and they mainly brought their goods on sledges in the winter. Jenšs, "Rivalry," p. 152; LVVA 673–4: a. 19, No. 186.

[17] Doroshenko, *Torgovlia*, p. 91; VUB RS F4–13157; Meleshko, "O torgovle."

Put together, the Baltic ports—especially Narva and Reval—posed a considerable challenge to Arkhangel'sk in the first decade of the 17th century. Their total fibre exports exceeded 10,000 S# in the best years and clearly accounted for the vast majority of the Russian export trade of naval stores at the time. The number of hides and skins was in some years in excess of 200,000 which was almost certainly considerably less than in Arkhangel'sk, but very likely at least one-third and possibly as much as one-half of the total shipped on the Northern Dvina route. However, there were several categories of goods where the Baltic ports fell far short of Arkhangel'sk, the most important being furs, tallow, and wax. The lack of accurate data makes it difficult to attempt a comparison of the total value of Russian exports on the two routes. However, the Baltic total is likely to have been at least one-half of the total value of goods exported on the White Sea route and possibly even more.

The halcyon days of the post-Tiavzino years came to a rather abrupt end with the deterioration of Swedish-Russian relations and Russia's descent into a rapidly worsening internal chaos at the close of the first decade of the century. In 1610, Jakob De la Gardie called on governors in Reval and Viborg to confiscate all Russian wares and to imprison Russian merchants, an order implemented with considerable delay and hesitation. Once peace was broken, the Swedish military pushed deep into northwestern Russia. Novgorod was stormed on July 16, 1611 and a treaty signed nine days later envisaged the appointed of one of Gustav Adolf's sons as the local grand duke.[18] The Swedish conquest of Novgorod erected a barrier between the occupied area and its traditional sphere of influence. To the supply-side shocks was added trouble on the demand side, as well. The 1611–3 Kalmar War between Sweden and Denmark put a temporary end to traffic through the Danish Sound, leaving the eastern Baltic ports effectively dependent on the Lübeckers and local merchants. Only one Dutch ship departed from Narva in 1613. Even three years later, the total was only two, even though situation in the Danish Sound had normalized with the Peace of Knærød (Knäred) in January 1613. At the same time, trade with the rest of Sweden

[18] Almquist, *Sverge och Ryssland*, pp. 196, 232; Kirkinen, *Karjala*, II, pp. 238–45, 252–9; Kovalenko, "Dogovor," pp. 131–4; Varentsov and Kovalenko, *Khronika*, pp. 30–52.

appears to have collapsed, as skippers were unwilling to undertake journeys during the war, given the potential risk to their lives.[19]

The damage done by the war became immediately obvious. While 31 groups of Russian visitors had come to Reval in 1610 carrying well over T 33,000 worth of goods, the following year, there were only four groups with cargoes worth T 6,331 (Table 6.1). The combined annual flax and hemp exports of Reval fell to well below 1,000 S#, whereas tallow exports seldom exceeded 100 S#. Only leather and furs declined somewhat less sharply. The devastation befell Narva with even greater force and, in March 1610, the City Magistrate even had to impose limitations on family celebrations in an attempt to conserve resources.[20] To make matters worse, the ailing city experienced another terrible misfortune with the great fire of August 1610. Most of the overwhelmingly wooden buildings burnt down and five years later, Dutch ambassadors arriving in the city still described it as largely destroyed.[21] The combined flax and hemp exports, which during the first decade of the century had invariably exceeded 10,000 S# a year, fell in the 1610s to sometimes clearly less than 1,000 S# and never much more than 1,500 S#. Much of Narva's fibers were imported down the river from the Pskov region which was cut off from the Baltic littoral by the Swedish military intervention. In the area of hide and leather exports the decline was even more precipitous. All of the Russian merchants recorded in the customs books came from the Swedish-occupied areas, mainly Novgorod, but also Oreshek. The collapse of Narva's eastern trade resulted in trade def-icits quite unusual for the city. In 1612, the deficit totaled D 5,429, or one-quarter of the value of exports. The 1613 deficit, D 20,678, already narrowly exceeded the total value of exports.[22]

Two Novgorod customs records—the only ones surviving from the 17th century—shed valuable light on the state of northwestern Russian commerce during this critical period and highlight the problems experienced by the leading center of the Russian hinterland of the Baltic ports. The first one of the records, dating from 1610/1, reveals some of the basic parameters of Novgorod's trade during the months leading up to its takeover by the Swedish army and immediately

[19] Piirimäe, "O sostoianii," pp. 85–7; EAA 278–1–XXIV:69, fols. 37–8.
[20] Hansen, *Geschichte*, pp. 72–3.
[21] Karling, *Narva*, p. 74; Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, pp. 143–4.
[22] Piirimäe, "O sostoianii," p. 104; EAA 278–1–XXIV:69, fols. 37–8.

thereafter. There appear to have been no foreign visitors in Novgorod that year, but the city attracted Russian merchants from a large area (Table 6.2). In particular, Vologda and Iaroslavl' merchants, who subsequently tended to focus their operations very heavily on the Northern Dvina axis, played an important role in Novgorod's trade. While comparable data for subsequent years is not available, it seems inevitable that the orientation of those cities away from the northwest was enhanced by the adverse demographic and economic effects of the Time of Troubles. The total value of trade attained R 33,929.

In terms of the basic bundle of goods sold, Novgorod's trade in the early years of the century did not differ markedly from subsequent decades. Significant quantities of fibers were brought to the city. Flax imports totaled 10,003 bunches (*sviazki*), compared to 1,526.5 bunches of hemp. Similarly, hides and leather were brought in large numbers. A total of 24,809 hides and skins were recorded in the book, nearly nine-tenths of them carried by outside visitors. Fur trade still played an important role, with a total of 39,028 skins, two-thirds of them supplied by outside merchants. Probably primarily local squirrel skins dominated with a total of 31,943 sold. This compares to 3,499 hare skins, 950 martens, 526 minks, 500 ermine, 792 sables, 272 beavers, 66 otters, 23 wolves, 21 bears, 23 lynx, 6 wolverines, two cats, three polecats, and 14 sable bellies.[23] The numbers of the more valuable Siberian furs were thus very modest.

The 1613/4 customs record reflects the situation in Novgorod during the third year of the Swedish occupation and reveals the extremely disruptive effect the occupation had on the city's Russian hinterland. There were now only 36 instances of visits by non-Novgorod merchants, all of them from the occupied territories: 18 from Ivangorod, 8 from Viaz'ma, 4 from Staraia Russa, and one from Iam. In addition, there were seven peasants from rural areas. The total value of goods carried by visiting merchants was R 1,884.13. The 83 recorded entries on 99 Novgorod merchants represent goods valued at R 3,534.60. The total turnover of the market had thus declined rather precipitously to just 16 percent of the level recorded immediately before the Time of Troubles. Available data on customs duties collected in the city confirm this impression. The total receipts in

[23] V.A. Varentsov offers a more detailed treatment of the wares traded in Novgorod in 1610/1. Varentsov, "Torgovlia," pp. 102–9.

1610/1 were R 989.875. This figure more than halved to R 412.41 in 1613/4. The situation does not appear to have improved markedly during the rest of the Swedish occupation. Between March 14 and August 23, 1617, a mere R 136.93 was collected in Novgorod.[24] Even the fiasco of the Time of Troubles still had a silver lining, however. For instance, Novgorod merchant Ivan Kharlamov fled to Reval during the conflict, apparently with his relative and business partner Rodion. Even though Kharlamov eventually declared his desire to return to Russia, he evidently established lasting connections with Reval and the Swedish authorities. In 1629, his sons Andrei and Fedor were among the first Russian merchants to receive the privilege of free trade in Swedish possessions.[25]

The Time of Troubles saw the establishment of Swedish control over Ingria. The fortress of Nyenskans was built at the confluence of the Rivers Neva and Okhta in 1611. The strategic importance of "Kantsy"—as the Russians took to calling it—gave a head start to its development as port. In May 1615, Afanasii Brazhnikov collected customs duty from merchants passing through Nevskoe ust'e on their way to or from Oreshek or Novgorod. The settlement was already visited by 16 vessels: one from the Netherlands, four from Viborg, two from Reval, two from Narva, one from Stockholm, two from Norrköping, two from Novgorod, and one each from Ladoga and Ivangorod. Imports included not only Western textiles, vodka, wine, beer, salt, and spices, but also foodstuffs such as rye, rye flour, malt, peas, meat, tallow, butter, and dried fish, quite possibly intended largely for the Swedish occupation army in the Novgorod district.[26]

In spite of the general skepticism in the opening years of the century, some Riga merchants also began to entertain hopes of restoring their eastern trade. Attempts were made in 1606 and 1611 to bring about free trade with Russia. Heinrich Flagel was granted a special right to trade with Pskov free of duty and the authorities stressed the need for a new departure in Riga's eastern trade after the *Smuta*. A delegation of the Livonian cities to Zygmunt III in late 1612 called for a complete diversion of this Arkhangel'sk's trade to the Baltic and Riga's envoy I. Ulrich upheld the city's right "since

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[24] RGADA f. 96, op. 1, Stb. No 7, fol. 453.
[25] Varentsov, "Genealogiia," pp. 144–5.
[26] RA Ockupationsarkivet i Novgorod, vol. 201. Reproduced in: Kovalenko, *Novgorodskaia tamozhnia*, pp. 18–32.

the days of King Stefan" to free trade all the way to Siberia.[27] While Livonia concluded short-term truces with Pskov, Pskovians were only allowed to visit Riga from 1614 on with a special royal letter. Normalization of relations was further delayed by continued raiding and looting by of the Pskov district by a guerrilla leader Lisowski. The Poles also repeatedly banned the export to Russia of weapons, gunpowder, copper, and grain.[28]

The Slow Normalization: Trade between the Stolbovo Treaty and the Second Northern War

The Stolbovo peace treaty of March 14, 1617 marked not only the restoration of normal commercial relations between the two neighbors, but also the return of Novgorod to Russian sovereignty, although the entire Gulf of Finland littoral now fell into Swedish hands. A recovery in trade with Russia was almost immediate. Trade with Narva's Russian hinterland began to revive even before the formal signing of the peace treaty. During the final two months of 1616, 7 Pskov and 4 Novgorod merchants came to Ivangorod.[29] In July 1619–June 1620, imports from Russia already accounted for 75.4 percent of the total value of Ivangorod's trade, which attained R 6,725.[30] The Russian visitors in 1616–20 came almost exclusively from Pskov and Novgorod. Of the total toll payments of R 126 made in July 1619–June 1620, Pskov merchants accounted for 29.6 percent, Novgorod merchants for 14.7 percent, and a Pechory trader for 7.8 percent.[31]

Problematically, however, the boom appears to have run out of steam quite soon. 1618 was the peak year during the period covered by the surviving sources. There were over 100 Russian visitors and the total fiber exports exceeded 1,500 S#. Leather exports,

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[27] Doroshenko, *Torgovlia*, pp. 71–2, 75; Denucé, *De Hanze*, pp. 12–34; Koppe, "Antwerpener Handelsunternehmungen," pp. 226–36; Jenšs, "Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība," p. 157; Jenšs, "Rivalry," p. 151; LVVA 673–4: a. 20, Nos. 62, 73, 87.

[28] Jenšs, "Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība," pp. 156–7; Jenšs, "Rivalry," pp. 151, 156; LVVA 673–4–449, 459.

[29] RA Österjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 20.

[30] Doroshenko, "Russkii ėksport," pp. 344–6.

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 344.

similarly, rose above 1,500 hides. By 1619, however, the situation changed completely. The number of Russian merchants was just over 30 and the total fiber exports barely in excess of 350 S#, even though the total number of hides remained effectively constant (Table 6.3). Some of the decline in the numbers of Russians is readily attributable to the increasing role of the local Ivangorod and Narva merchants in this trade. However, the total volumes of goods imported were clearly disappointingly low. Unfortunately, the surviving data does not permit us to assess the duration of the decline. While some of it may have been a temporary drop due to a bad harvest, there is no indication of a subsequent recovery on a significant scale. Alternatively, it is possible that Russian traders depleted their reserves from the war years.

Also Reval's burghers embarked on the new era with considerable optimism and a certain recovery did indeed take place. Already in 1617, Russian merchants brought T 1,068 worth of goods to the Estonian port. In 1618, there were 34 Russian visitors with T 7,580 worth of goods. A temporary decline to T 2,069½ in 1620 was followed by a robust recovery to T 12,179—brought by 46 merchants—in 1622 (Table 6.1).[32] While some progress was clearly being made, there was little cause for true celebration. In spite of the positive trend, the volumes involved fell far short of pre-*Smuta* imports from Russia. Moreover, next to no local Baltic merchants undertook trips to Muscovy. In 1618, the *voevoda* of Pskov complained that no Swedish merchants had visited the city since the end of the war. The only Reval merchant to have been to Russia in 1617–20, according to surviving records, was a certain "Petr Petrov syn Fanartsov."[33]

The passivity of Baltic merchants was undoubtedly at least partly due to the lack of adequate facilities for them to stay in and store their goods at. Some hope of improvement in this situation came in the summer of 1618, when Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich officially promised to build Swedish guest houses in Novgorod, Pskov, and Moscow. In the end, however, the implementation of these plans was delayed.[34] Only in the early 1620s do more Revalers seem to have resumed trade connections with Russia. New routes through Neuschloß (Est.

[32] EAA 1–2–767–9.

[33] Shaskol'skii, "Rol' Tallinna," p. 90; RGADA f. 96, 1619 g., No 1, fol. 94; 1620 g., No 1, fol. 80–4.

[34] RGADA f. 96, 1629 g., No 1, ch. II, fol. 294–8.

Vasknarva) and Magerburg (Est. Narva-Jõesuu) allowed Revalers to save money by circumventing Narva. However, a sharp decline in customs receipts in 1622 persuaded the king to ban the use of these "unusual" routes.[35] What few policy-makers appear to have understood at the time is how utterly at variance the Swedish hopes for a recovery of trade were with the realities on the ground to the East of the Ingrian-Livonian border. The toll that the years of warfare had exacted of the ancient Novgorod lands was devastating indeed. Great Novgorod itself, the one-time center of trade with the Baltic, now lay in ruins and was hardly in a position to supply the Baltic provinces at the prewar level, let alone increase its exports. Given the seriousness of the situation, the post-*Smuta* years saw concerted efforts on the part of Russian government to revive Novgorod's trade. In compensation for the destruction caused by the Time of Troubles and the Swedish occupation, the city was exempted from duty payments to the central Treasury for a period of three years. As a result, there was a marked increase in toll receipts. In 1620, the local officials collected R 775.99 and the following year, this figure already reached R 1,084.18.[36] However, these levels were still very modest compared to more "normal" times (Figure 6.5).

The situation in Pskov was much less serious than in Novgorod and a unique customs record from 1623/4 reveals lively trade. The document in question covers transactions at the German guesthouse where foreign merchants conducted their business dealings.[37] Exports by Russians, in contrast, took place through the Great Customs, for which the only surviving data concerns the total customs duties paid: R 1,445, as compared to R 1,199 collected at the German guesthouse.[38] The 1623/4 customs record contains a total of 35 entries: seven on trade with Lübeck, seven on Dorpat, six on trade with a Dutch merchant "Eggebrecht Thölof," six on transactions with Narva, five on Ivangorod, and one entry on a Połock merchant. The total value of the recorded export trade was R 10,773.40, which suggests that the overall exports of Pskov—i.e. including trade by Russians through the Great Customs—may have been in the order of R 20–

[35] Soom, "Ivangorod," p. 220.
[36] Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 47; RGADA f. 137, Novgorod, No 13b, fol. 14; (*Opis' Novgoroda*, II, pp. 181–2).
[37] TLA 230–1–B.H. 21, fols. 2–8.
[38] RGADA f. 137, op. 1, Pskov, ll. 6–8.

25,000 during the year (Table 6.4).[39] The document reveals the near-total orientation of Pskov toward the Baltic. However, it also highlights the peripheral nature of the Pskov market in the 1620. The export volumes are unlikely to have been much more than one-tenth of those of Arkhangel'sk. The surviving customs data points to only a gradual recovery in the 1630s and '40s (Figure 6.6).

The failure of the hoped-for renaissance of Russian transit trade to materialize unleashed a virulent distributional conflict with all the Swedish-controlled ports now seeking to secure the largest possible piece of the much-diminished pie. This dispute became particularly acute between Reval and Narva. Riga, which fell into Swedish hands in 1621, in contrast played a secondary role in Muscovite trade and was coping with a serious disruption in its own trade flows, given that it no longer enjoyed its previous position as the unchallenged outlet for northeastern Lithuanian goods, which had constituted the main source of its prewar prosperity.[40] The Neva estuary, in spite of the many hopes associated with it, saw relatively little concrete development. As battle lines were being drawn between Reval and Narva, the former enjoyed some decisive benefits over its much younger and smaller rival. Narva's geographic advantages were indisputable, all the more so at a time, when the center of its Russian "backyard," Pskov, was much strengthened *vis-à-vis* war-ravaged Novgorod. Reval, however, could draw on legal advantages and even an arguable moral superiority, given its history as the first bulwark of Swedish rule in the Eastern Baltic. The result of this uneven struggle—the institution of Reval's Toll Lease (Chapter 3)—was one of the most peculiar episodes in local history, as well as the evolution of the Swedish commercial program more generally.

In spite of the serious reservations entertained by the Swedish government about the new policy, the immediate effects of the *Zollarende*

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[39] The "market share" of Lübeck merchants was 29.1 percent and their exports consisted of 500 S# of flax and 160 elk hides. Dorpat received 260 S# flax, 200 sables, and 10,300 squirrel skins and had a share of 16.5 percent of the total. Sales to Narva merchants consisted of 313 S# flax and 1,000 pairs of gloves and accounted for 14.2 percent of the total value of exports. 332:2 S# of flax went to Ivangorod, whose share was 14.1 percent. The Dutch purchases consisted of 230 S# flax and 100 S# hemp, a share of 11.4 percent. Reval merchants acquired 80 elk hides, 148 S# flax, and 20 S# tallow, a share of 11.0 percent. 20,000 squirrel skins were taken to Połock and they accounted for 3.7 percent of the total. TLA 230–1–B.H. 21, fols. 2–8.

[40] Kotilaine, "Riga's Trade," p. 130.

were astounding. Reval, which had stagnated for years, became once again a center of Russian trade, as is clearly revealed by the 1623/4 customs record. While the beginning of the year had been quite ordinary, a whole new picture emerged after St Bartholomew's day. Flax, hemp, leather, and furs became available in large quantities, and this trend intensified in 1624 (Figure 6.3/4). For instance, a Lübeck ship sailed off at the end of April with, among other things, Rtl 4,445 worth of furs and pelts: 25,000 squirrels, 1,500 fox, and 240 marten skins, numbers that Reval had not seen in years. The combined value of toll revenues reached Rtl 5,419:39.5. For the first time, even some silk was brought in from Russia, even though Reval's attempt to assume a key role in the silk trade remained a pipe dream.[41]

Toll records covering the two-year period following St Bartholomew's day 1624 have regrettably not survived to this day. However, it seems reasonable to assume that export volumes during this period did not depart markedly from the immediately preceding or following years. There was a general upward trend in the quantities of Russian wares. The total flax exports during the calendar year 1623 were 1,343.5 S# and 700 bundles. During the first eight months of 1624, exports rose to 3,722.75 S#, and in 1627, they attained 5,282.5 S#. Tallow trade expanded at a comparable rate. In 1623, total exports reached a mere 83.55 S#. In 1624 (up to St Bartholomew's), they were 173.25 S#, and in 1627, already 522 S#.[42]

Political and diplomatic sources, on which the existing secondary literature on the 1620s is almost exclusively based, generally treat the *Zollarende* as an almost disastrous failure. Evidence gleaned from quantitative economic sources calls for some caution, however. The main success of the toll lease was seen in the dramatic increase in fiber exports. Some of the years represent the peak of Reval's flax and hemp exports for the entire century. During at least three years, the total fiber exports exceed 4,000 S# which compares to a pre-lease peak of some 3,000 S# in 1600. In the 1630s, the exports varied between 800 and 1,900 S#, whereas the maximum level during the remainder of the century fell short of 3,000 S#. Export trade in

[41] In 1624, Reval's silk exports were at least 1,700 # and still at the end of 1626, they attained 156 #. TLA 230–1–A.g. b) 6, fols. 46, 88.

[42] For more information, see: Kotilaine, "Noch mal," pp. 66–8.

leather and hides, on the other hand, was a major disappointment, although the volumes involved were still significantly greater than immediately before or after the lease. In 1628, a total of 20,000 hides were exported, a level that was not attained again until the early '50s. Nonetheless, these totals still fell significantly short of the beginning of the century when over 50,000 hides were shipped out in the best years (Figure 6.3/4).

The changing composition of the export bundle was naturally a major warning signal to Reval. Since the best results of the lease years were confined to flax and hemp, one could not count on continued success in the future. Reval's "Russian" flax and hemp came primarily from the Pskov and Novgorod districts which both had more convenient and cheaper access to the Baltic. Concentrating this trade in Reval was inefficient and unlikely to last, should the generous judicial provisions ever be modified. The weakness of leather trade undoubtedly had to do with the devastation experienced by Novgorod which was historically the main local center of leather production.

The financial net balance of the *Zollarende* was positive. The gross toll receipts were T 17,407 in 1623/4, 19,298 in 1626/7, 14,799 in 1627/8, and 17,808 in 1628/9. The net receipts of the city of Reval were T 5,429:12 in the two first years (T 2,733 in 1623/4), T 2,769:12 in the third year, T 3,649:12 in 1626/7, T 1,399:18 in 1627/8, and T 2,904:10 in the final year. While respectable, these receipts paled in comparison with the city's income before and after the Toll Lease. During the year following St Bartholomew's 1622, Reval earned some T 4,950 in toll revenues. In 1630, the total reached T 7,769:6.[43] Given the circumstances, it was hardly surprising that Reval ultimately gave up its privileges without much resistance. Additionally, even though the Crown had a secure source of income in the annual lease payments, the results of the *Zollarende* were clearly below its expectations. In the end Reval's resources had been insufficient to bring about an overall recovery in Sweden's trade with Russia.

The abolition of the toll lease had a negative effect on Reval's trade. Throughout the 1630s, Reval's exports of leather and hides

[43] Blumfeldt, "Statistilisi lisandeid," p. 6; TLA 230–1–B.a., fols. 136v–148; A.g. b) 4–9.

steadily diminished to a fraction of the volumes observed during the lease. The negative trend was accentuated by the repercussions of a major fire in Novgorod in 1633. A similar trend was evident in fiber trade, even though local Estonian production ensured a higher minimum. Moreover, many Russian merchants remained clients of Reval burghers, having run up debts in the 1620s. The export totals of fibers varied between 800 and 2,000 S# and, in the context of the whole century, these figures were at least average.[44]

It is difficult to accurately measure the decline in Narva's trade in response to the Toll Lease. The Danish Sound customs records are the only reasonably continuous source for the period and they suggest that Narva's trade remained minimal until the very end of the 1620s. The situation began to change in 1629 when Reval's privileges came to an end and 507 S# of fibers passed the Sound (Figure 6.3). By 1631, these levels rose to 2,598 S#, only to fall back somewhat until a new peak of 3,399 S# was attained in 1638. By that time, total fibre exports—including shipping within the Baltic—already exceeded 5,000 S# p.a. Clearly the removal of the artificial legal constraints that the Toll Lease had represented allowed Narva's trade to return to its normal course and the rate of recovery was remarkable enough to underscore the costs incurred by the artificial diversion that the lease had represented. In contrast, Narva saw essentially no leather exports in the 1620s and the numbers in the 1630s remained highly volatile and relatively low. It should be noted, however, that the data on leather exports is a poor indicator of the overall state of this trade, since most of Narva's leather trade was internal to the Baltic region, indeed virtually monopolized by Lübeck. Nonetheless, it must be concluded that the 1630s remained overall a decade of rather sluggish growth for the city, in spite of A. Olearius' optimistic testimony in 1636. Olearius noted that over 60 vessels arrived in the port during his 22-week stay and he predicted a rosy future for Narva's trade, not least due to plans at the time to clean up the Narova estuary.[45]

The Swedish takeover of Riga was accompanied by an escalation of the festering dispute over trade routes between the Livonian port

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[44] Shaskol'skii, "O deiatel'nosti," p. 191; RGADA f. 96, 1634 g., No 5, fols. 146–53; 1648 g., No 1, fols. 234–8.

[45] Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, pp. 154–8.

and its Pskovian hinterland. As a result, the land route probably stagnated during the early years of Swedish rule. The 1623/4 customs record of the Pskov German guest house does not contain names of any Riga merchants, but we do know that Ivan Mikliaev was sent to sell Treasury sables in Riga in 1627. An indication of the significance of the overland route is given by a surviving 1642 Neuhausen customs list of goods passing from Russia to Sweden, typically to Riga. The volumes traded were fairly modest.[46] The most valuable category was sable furs which accounted for 65.4 percent of the total. The relatively small-scale trade was thus dominated at the time by long-distance imports, rather than products of the local northwestern Russian economy.

As the Gulf of Finland ports were mired in their tug-of-war over the right of emporium, important changes were taking place on the supply side. Northwestern Russian merchants became once again active participants in Russian foreign trade. Perhaps the most important event in local commercial history in the 17th century was the establishment—within half a decade of the peace treaty—of direct commercial ties with Stockholm. Using river vessels (*karbasy*), northwestern Russian traders extended their traditional trips along the coast of the Gulf of Finland to the Swedish capital. The earliest recorded evidence of Russians visiting Stockholm through Nyen appears in 1622 and pertains to Makar Zagorskii of Novgorod who spent three months in the Swedish capital. Regular trading appears to have begun in 1626.[47] Novgorod merchant Bogdan Shorin came to Stockholm in 1627 with a consignment of hemp. He repeated the trip the following year with Fedor Kharlamov and supplied silk to the royal court. The same year, Semen Glazkov of Moscow and Maksim Voskoboinikov of Novgorod also sailed to the Swedish capital. Apparently Glazkov, as well Ladoga merchant Ivan Lekshin,

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[46] 36 S# of flax, 10 S# of wax, 210 *iufti*, 7 morocco hides, 2,700 cow, ox, and calf hides, 7 horse hides, 2,300 sheep skins, 120 pairs leather gloves, 4,260 sables, 2,600 sable bellies, 260 marten, 560 ermine, 600 musk rats, 90 fox, 3 lynx, 47 otter, 49 beaver, 27 wolf, and one bear skin, 12,925 *arshin* Russian sheet and linen cloth, 180 ell ticking, 30 pieces of woollen yarn, 36 # of silver wares, D 860 worth of fine silk cloth, 72 *fuder* fish, as well as sundry goods, which paid D 81:60 in duty. Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 58; Jenšs, "Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība," p. 159; Jenšs, "Rivalry," p. 154; Jenšs, "Moskovskoe torgovoe podvor'e," p. 74; TLA 230–1–B.H. 12; RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 27.

[47] Shaskol'skii, "O sud'be," p. 338; *SRP*, I, pp. 23, 25–7; RGADA f. 96, 1622: no. 1, fols. 232–9; Shaskol'skii, "New phenomena," p. 45.

and Novgorod merchants Ostratko Bogomolov, Stepan Bobrov, Ivan Gavrilov, etc., returned from Stockholm in October 1629.[48] In 1628, the Novgorod visitors included Fedor and Andrei Kharlamov, Bogdan Shorin, and Dmitrii and Vasilii Voskoboinikov.[49]

The beginning of trade with Stockholm was not greeted with unqualified enthusiasm by the Novgorod authorities. In fact, the Kharlamov brothers Andrei and Fedor were arrested for a while after Shorin and Kharlamov's journey in 1628. Voskoboinikov, who was Kharlamov's son-in-law, was similarly detained and aroused the authorities' suspicions by telling of the splendid reception of Shorin and Kharlamov and of letters of privilege that they were granted by the Swedes. This led the Russian authorities to suspect the merchants of treason, although they were eventually acquitted in a turn of events which entered the chronicles as a miracle.[50]

The First Baltic Boom

After an at best tentative recovery during the two decades following the restoration of peace, the 1640s saw a remarkably robust expansion in Russian transit trade through the Baltic provinces. This was due to a fortunate coincidence of a number of factors. The economic reforms championed by Axel Oxenstierna significantly increased the attractiveness of the Eastern Baltic to Russians and Westerners alike by reducing the cost of doing business and simplifying the regulatory framework governing trade. At the same time, economic recovery to the east of the border was gathering pace. The customs receipts of Novgorod increased by an impressive 154.3 percent between 1644 and 1656. The increase on 1631 was 244.2 percent. In Pskov, the rate of increase was somewhat slower with the total yield rising by 70.0 percent in 1647–1656 and by 111.1 percent between 1631 and 1656 (Figures 6.5, 6.6). This upswing was reflected in a dramatic increase in customs duty collection in the Swedish Baltic ports.

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[48] RGADA f. 96, 1628 g., No 1, fol. 44; pr. 2, fols. 307, 310–2, 1629 g., No 1, ch. II, fols. 334–42; *SRP*, I, pp. 75–8, 85–8, 95, 100; ASPF IRI RAN f. 109, No 463, fol. 1; Shaskol'skii, "Ustanovlenie," p. 150.

[49] Varentsov, "Genealogiia," p. 145; RGADA f. 96, 1629 g., No 1, ch. 2, fols. 308–12.

[50] Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 53, 71.

Philip von Krusenstiern wrote in 1661 that the total *Lizent, Portorium*, and excise duties had historically yielded Rtl 3–4,000 in Reval, under Rtl 5,000 in Narva, and under Rtl 3,000 in Nyen. However, in 1654 the total of the *portorium* alone was over Rtl 12,000 in Reval, over Rtl 20,000 in Narva, and over Rtl 15,000 in Nyen. The combined receipts from the three categories of duties in the three cities amounted to some Rtl 70,000.[51]

In 1648, the Swedish resident in Moscow, Karl Pommerening, informed the government that "more goods were being sent from Russia to the Baltic Sea than before."[52] These now included previously rarely seen commodities from central Russia, such as potash. For instance, B.I. Morozov in 1650 sold 30 barrels worth R 780 to the Baltic, followed by 75 barrels at R 1,970 four years later. I.D. Miloslavskii in 1654 sent R 5,874 worth of potash to Narva.[53] New opportunities for Baltic cities were created after the English were expelled from the Russian interior in 1649 and reduced their involvement in Arkhangel'sk's trade. These problems were made considerably worse by the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch naval war in 1652, which led to a total collapse in White Sea trade until peace was restored in 1654.[54]

By the 1640s, the leading Novgorod merchants were once again operating on a truly large scale and the Swedish ports were attracting some visitors also from the Russian center. The impressive scale of Russian-Baltic trade is evinced by the fact that the known total value of wares lost by Russians merchants on the Baltic route—whether to confiscation of theft—reached R 78,911.54 in 1650. This figure included R 50,000 worth of furs and other "expensive goods" carried by Fedor Fedorov on Novgorod and R 27,000 worth of raw silk (600 *pud*) belonging to Petr Mikliaev of Pskov. In spite of this scale of losses, Russians continued to be drawn to the Swedish Baltic provinces by the exceptional profit margins offered by such trade. Prices for many Russian exports were typically 160–320 percent higher than in the Muscovite interior. Ė.D. Rukhmanova's estimates point to a margin of 241 percent for potash and 165 percent for

[51] RA Handel och sjöfart, vol 17 (*EFSR*, p. 146).
[52] Kurts, "Doneseniia," p. 89.
[53] Rukhmanova, *Bor'ba Rossii*, p. 48; RGADA f. 96, 1650 g., No 1, fols. 37–8; 1655 g., No 1, fols. 43, 57–8.
[54] RA Muscovitica, vol. 600.

hemp.[55] Other opportunities for profit were created by an increasingly common triangular trade pattern of exchanging mainly northwestern Russian hare and other furs for flax, hemp, hides, and soap in Moscow and Iaroslavl', and then selling these goods in Nyen and Stockholm. The journey to central Russia was often repeated on the return home, since Swedish copper and iron were in high demand in the capital.[56] It is quite possible that profits made in Stockholm paled in comparison with the margins fetched in Moscow. Great consternation was always caused by the Swedish government's occasional decisions to ban exports of copper coin to Russia, as is demonstrated by complaints of certain Novgorod and Iaroslavl' merchants to the Swedish Council of State in 1659.[57] Also other evidence speaks of steadily more frequent and valuable consignments.[58] The steady expansion of trade was seriously disrupted only once when Stoianovs and the Mikliaevs saw their houses burnt by a mob in the 1650

[55] One-third of the lost wares belonged to the Russian Treasury. Rukhmanova, *Bor'ba Rossii*, pp. 44, 47, 52.

[56] The Stoianovs regularly visited fairs in Olonets, Staraia Russa, Smolensk, Moscow, and elsewhere. Semen Stoianov traded in Nyen, Narva, and Riga with Fedor Emel'ianov of Pskov, to whom he was related by marriage. The Koshkin family bought flax and hemp not only in the surroundings of Novgorod but also in the Rzhev, Zubtsov, and Kaluga regions. Zertsalov, "O nepravdakh," pp. 25–8; RGADA f. 96, 1620 g., No 1, fol. 169; Bakhrushin, "Torgi," pp. 194–206; *Kareliia*, pp. 354–9; *Knigi*, pp. 17–23; Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 58, 60.

[57] Further pleas ensued when, in 1686, the government initially imposed higher rates on copper pipes to Russia. Eventually, all exportation of these pipes was banned. Russian boatmen occasionally also complained that their boats were detained in Nöteborg, where they were required to pay a 35 kopeck duty in addition to the 50 kopecks exacted in Nyen. Often Nyen customs officials refused to take customs duties in copper money and insisted on receiving *riksdaler* or ducats, instead. Letters by Prokofei Dorofevich Gibloi of Novgorod, July 28 and 30, 1632, RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15; *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. XLVI; RGADA f. 96, kn. 108, fols. 73–87, 90–92, 101–5; kn. 113, fols. 1–3, 5–8.

[58] In 1633/4, a Muscovite foreigner Andreas Kellerman sold R 10,000 worth of sables in Riga. Ivan Stoianov sold furs in Sweden and Denmark in 1639/40. He took a smaller contingent worth R 3,040 to the Swedish Baltic ports in 1648. In 1650, Fedor Fedorov brought R 50,000 worth of wares to Riga. Petr Mikliaev and Konstantin Kharlamov brought R 27,000 worth of silk (600 *pud*) to the Baltic in 1650. The merchandise was to be sold in Narva, Reval, and Riga, as well as Lübeck and Hamburg. In 1651, Mikliaev and Mit'ka Voskoboinikov sold 372 *pud* of Treasury silk in Reval. The Baltic commercial operations of the Moscow merchant Fedor Ozorin in 1655 attained an impressive R 10,000, much of its Treasury goods. Among other hings, Ozorin conducted potash business for Miloslavskii and Morozov. Similarly, Semen Khudeiarov of Iaroslavl' appears to have traded on a large scale in Reval in 1653–5. In 1658, he was sent there to buy R 600 worth of copper. Rukhmanova, *Bor'ba Rossii*, pp. 80–1.

uprising.[59] Also Swedish merchants operated in central Russia with increased frequency. A 1653/4 list of goods brought by Swedes to Moscow and Iaroslavl' puts the known value of the cargoes at more than R 6,200, although the real figure may have been as high as R 10,000.[60]

The most impressive success story of the era for the Swedish Baltic provinces was undoubtedly the rise of Nyen. The 1640s and early '50s saw the new, and still quite modest, foundation emerge as one of the leading centers of Russian transit trade in the Baltic. Nyen's rise was primarily due to its position as a key nod on the Stockholm route. What had started out rather tentatively in the 1620s now became established as large—and growing—numbers of Russian merchants crossed the Baltic on an annual basis. Shipping on the Nyen-Stockholm axis reached maturity when the Swedes finally delivered on their commitment, made at Stolbovo, to construct a formal guesthouse for Russian merchants in Stockholm. A 1635 plea by Mikhail Fedorovich was followed by the construction of the "Russian Yard" (*Ryssgården*) two years later.[61] A report by the Novgorod merchant Semen Stoianov claimed that the customs duties paid by Russian merchants in Sweden proper in 1645 already totaled R 5,000. In 1646, Novgorod merchants wanted to exchange their receipts into bronze and arranged a swap with the local magnate Louis De Geer. The 15,000 *pud* of bronze supplied to the Russians was valued at R 45,000, which makes Stoianov's claim seem like an underestimate.[62] An April 1648 report by Novgorod merchants claims that 15 of them traded regularly in Stockholm at the time. The initially dominant role of Novgorod merchants came to be challenged, first by Tikhvin and then increasingly by Olonets traders by the beginning of the

[59] Varentsov, "Genealogiia," pp. 146–7.

[60] The goods carried included 5,788 pud of iron (R 2,985), 195 pud of copper (R 1,170), and 33 barrels of foreign beverages (R 1,650), as well as 16 sleigh-loads of various other goods. Rukhmanova, *Bor'ba Rossii*, pp. 66–70; RGADA f. 96, 1653 g., No 5, fols. 1–14.

[61] Lang, *Stadsgården och Ryssgården*, pp. 8–9.

[62] Zertsalov, "O nepravdakh," pp. 25–8; RGADA f. 96, 1617 g., No 15, fols. 96–7; 1648 g., No 1, fols. 234–48; 1654 g., No 3, fol. 48; 1663 g., No 1, fols. 404–8; kn. 84, fols. 77–8; kn. 89, fols. 56–9; 1674 g., No 1, fol. 41; kn. 100, fols. 213–5; kn. 103, fols. 201–2; 1698 g., No 1, fols. 122–3; ASPF IRI RAN f. 132, karton 3, No 94; karton 29, No 63; karton 32, No 184, fols. 3–4; karton 39, No 265, fols. 1–2; karton 49, No 127.

1630s.[63] The cargoes of the leading Northwestern Russian merchants could already reach impressive proportions, judging by recorded losses. For instance, Tikhon Iakimov of Novgorod in 1655 took R 3,327.50 worth of goods—mainly furs and handicrafts—to the Swedish capital. Semen Stoianov, Fedor Slonets, and Fedor Prokof'ev of Novgorod in 1656 shipped R 3,352 worth of potash, white ash, hemp, and tallow, whereas *Gost'* Vasilii Stoianov carried R 2,359 worth of meat.[64]

There were also periodic, albeit mostly unsuccessful, attempts by Russian merchants to take their wares beyond the Baltic ports to Western Europe. In the early 1640s, Iaroslavl' merchant Anton Laptev, managed to break the "Baltic barrier" and proceeded with a load of furs and pelts through Riga to Amsterdam. In 1647, a group of Russian merchants visited Lübeck where they sold furs. Another Russian repeated the experience in 1649. In 1650, Adolf Ebers of the Swedish guest house in Novgorod caught wind of plans by Novgorod merchant Stoianov to export a large amount of silk to Western Europe. The Swedish government only permitted such long-distance trade under special agreements with the Russian government and exclusively in Treasury goods to Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. Apparently this happened a number of times between the 1630s and the 1650s.[65]

One of the only two surviving complete customs books for Nyen—from 1652—reveals the scale of the city's trade when the boom of the mid-century was in full swing. The register lists 27 departures by Russian boats of which eight came from Novgorod, seven from Tikhvin, seven from Ladoga, and six from Olonets. With the exception of one Ladoga vessel going to Åbo and a Novgorod boat sailing for Narva, all had Stockholm as their destination. The customs duty payments made by Ladoga vessels (one-half of the *Portorium* duty) totaled approximately Rd 320.9, as compared to Rd 254.7 for

[63] RGADA f. 96, 1648 g., No 1, fols. 234–8.

[64] In addition to his exports of R 1,727 worth of white ash and R 650 worth of potash to Stockholm, Stoianov the same year sold R 2,539 worth of elk and goat hides to Georg Tulder. Stoianov further received R 14,500 for the purpose of buying foreign specie. He also imported 9,471 muskets via Nyen and Narva. Rukhmanova, *Bor'ba Rossii*, pp. 57, 59, 77; RGADA f. 96, 1659–66 g., No 44, fols. 115–8.

[65] Shaskol'skii, "New phenomena," p. 49.

Tikhvin vessels, Rd 159.4 for Novgorodians, and Rd 93.2 for Olonets boats. Exports of the leading categories of Russian goods by Russian boatmen were still quite modest in 1652: 119.5 S# flax and just over 290 S# hemp, 177.8 S# tallow, and 4,154 *iufti*.[66] Nyen, like the other Baltic ports, benefitted greatly from the paralysis of Arkhangel'sk's trade in the early 1650s. For instance, Johann de Rodes alone sent 4,000 *pud* (400 S#) of potash through Nyen to the Swedish capital in 1655.[67]

Also Narva, freed from the shackles of the *Zollarende*, was set to capitalize on the recovery of Russian trade. The city's income rose from D 7,919 in 1644 to D 38,339 in 1654, primarily because of sharp upswing in customs receipts.[68] The volumes of the leading export goods increased severalfold. Total annual fiber exports of just over 3,000 S# in 1640–1 rose to well over 5,000 S# by the 1650s, even if this level was only comparable to the figures seen in 1638–9. The recovery was much more pronounced in leather and hides. They grew from a relatively modest at 1,200–2,800 hides p.a. in the late 1630s to exceed an annual total of 20,000 by the 1650s (figure 6.1/2).[69] Even as the trend—especially in leather and hides—was strongly positive, the era of the "First Baltic Boom" in Narva serves as a sobering reminder of the limited potential of the *Derivation* policy at the time. The fiber exports at their peak rose to one-half to two-thirds of their pre-*Smuta* levels. In contrast, leather exports, even at their peak, were a mere fraction of the totals seen during the first decade of the century.

The Narva Council, in its endeavors to restore the city's fortunes, managed to attract some new merchants to settle there, thus enhancing its chances of success as a center of Russian transit trade. Perhaps the most important case in points were Laurens and Lewin Numens who arrived from Lübeck at the end of the 1630s. The two brothers appear to have been the first Narva burghers to became active in large-scale trade in Russia. Lewin formed ties with Moscow merchants around 1650 and imported several large consignments of potash, rhubarb, *iufti*, and raw leather. Particularly large amounts of

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[66] In addition, there were, among other things, 3,831 hides of other types of leather and 2,031 sable skins and five linings. KARA FR 130.

[67] RGADA f. 96, kn. 43, fols. 88–92, 220–6.

[68] Soom, "Jakob Fougdti tegevus," II, pp. 65, 80, 83.

[69] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 28; AHA NoF Comptoirgeldbücher; RAD Øresunds Toldkammarens Arkiv.

Russian imports arrived, on Lewin Numens' initiative, in the winter 1653–4 when he paid an impressive Rtl 7,000 for the traveling expenses of merchants in Moscow, Novgorod, and Pskov. While potash dominated among the imports, substantial quantities of rhubarb and caviar were also traded. Indeed, it appears to have been Russian caviar that eventually rescued Laurens Numens from financial ruin after several misfortunes.[70] A growing number of Narva merchants undertook trips to Russia. In 1648, foe example, Jürgen Tunder and some other Narva merchants owed R 449.28 in outstanding customs duties to the Pskov German house.[71] Little detailed data has survived on Ivangorod's trade in the boom years. However, a summary from 1642 indicates that, while Narva's burghers were not entirely unjustified in coveting their neighbor, Ivangorod's importance had declined at least somewhat from its glory days. Especially the total fiber volumes were rather surprisingly small and undoubtedly indicate the growing importance of Narva in this area.[72]

The transit trade boom managed to transform even the general gloom of the post-*Zollarende* Reval. Reval's leather exports more than trebled between the typical levels of the early to mid-1640s and the mid-'50s (Figure 6.4). The same was true for fiber exports and the peak levels of 3,000 S# fell short only of the Toll Lease years during the century as a whole (Figure 6.3). A handful of surviving lists on Reval's imports of "Russian goods" points to impressive totals at the time. Annual totals of flax in 1638–47 invariably exceeded 500 S# and peaked at nearly 2,000 S# in 1648. Hemp imports were more modest, but still reached 345 S# in 1642. The number of raw and processed hides increased tenfold in the course of the decade

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[70] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 178–80; Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus," p. 59.

[71] RGADA f. 96, 1649 g., No 1, ch. I, fols. 105–11; Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 87.

[72] In the course of 1642, 543 S# of flax and 104 S# of hemp were brought to Ivangorod. The cloth imports consisted of 1,340 *arshin* linen cloth, 1,307 *arshin* woollen cloth, and 5,060 *arshin* ticking. Similar, leather and hide imports were astonishingly low: 610 *iufti*, 320 ox hides, 148 sheep skins, 52 morocco hides, and 350 tails pieces, as well as 10,200 pairs of Russian gloves and 1,296 pairs of shoe soles. Only fur imports continued to be impressive: 3,560 sable skins, 4,360 bellies, 7,663 feet, and 2,846 tails, 3,080 marten skins, 4,720 mink skins, 3,600 ermine, and 133,600 squirrel skins. In addition, there were three lynx skins, 17 wolf skins, 20 otters, 130 musk rats, and 3,600 cat skins. RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 27.

from 1,400 in 1638 to 14,170 in 1648, by which time 12,620 of them were *iufti*. Even the usually modest fur imports reached a respectable 1,680 sables, 6,200 minks, and 2,876 cats during the peak year of 1648. The total value of these "Russian" goods was Rtl 10,592 in 1640, or 11.5 percent of the total value of Reval's exports.[73] However, the corresponding number by 1648 would already have been 5–10 time higher. It is, moreover, likely that the lists of Russian goods significantly underestimated the totals of goods originating from Muscovy. Many Muscovite wares reached Reval through the intermediation of Narva, Dorpat, or Nyen and tended to lose their "Russian" label there.

Johann de Rodes himself, on reaching Moscow in 1650 as the new Swedish commissar, immediately bought 60 bales (300 *pud*) of raw silk from the tsar's warehouse for sale in Reval. A total of 50 bales belonging to him were registered as going to Lübeck and Amsterdam in 1650. The same year, just over 2,000 # of silk (some 10 bales) were taken to Stockholm.[74] De Rodes also interested the Reval merchant Michael Paulsen in silk trade. Paulsen, who was a member of the Reval Council and eventually served as a burgomaster, became the city's leading Russia merchant in the middle of the century. In 1650, he acquired a large quantity of silk from Russian merchants operating at Arkhangel'sk and sent at least three bales to Amsterdam. In 1651, he bought—on credit—62 bales (353 *pud*) raw silk in Novgorod for an impressive Rtl 32,793. His purchases further included some wax and 390 pounds of rhubarb worth Rtl 1,560. Most of the silk went to Amsterdam, but at least one bale to Stockholm.[75]

His various problems notwithstanding, the continuing Dutch interest spurred Paulsen on in his endeavors. Through the mediation of de Rodes, Paulsen—with a group of other Revalers—ordered 107 bales of raw silk from the tsar's warehouses at a price of Rtl 40,000, to be delivered in Reval in the spring of 1653. Although he still had not repaid his earlier loans, the Reval Council had agreed to

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[73] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 27.

[74] TLA 230–1–A.g. b) 15.

[75] Apparently, however, the quality of at least some of Paulsen's silk was inferior, which led to complaints by his Dutch customers. Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, p. 176; *idem*, *Der Handel Revals*, p. 87; TLA 230–1–A.f. 105; A.g. 15, no 30; b) 16, no. 29; A.b. 64: February 6, 1652.

guarantee his 2-year loan of Rtl 32,000. Following an intervention by Governor Oxenstierna, de Rodes eventually sent Paulsen 40 bales valued at Rtl 22,950. Paulsen sold 32 bales in 1653, mainly to Lübeck, but also to Amsterdam. De Rodes, in contrast, sold 67 bales to Lübeck that same year.[76] The limited means of the local burghers continued to create problems for Russian silk trade in Reval, however. Paulsen's partners were unable to repay de Rodes a Rtl 19,000 loan by the latter's death in 1656 and Paulsen himself defaulted on his loans, attributing this to low grain prices.[77] Some Revalers also purchased large quantities of potash in Russia. Evert Kahl, together with four others, in 1656 imported 200 barrels valued at Rtl 17,715.[78]

In spite of the upturn in trade, relations with Russian merchants remained strained as Reval burghers were slow to give up their protectionist instincts and, in practice, continued to impose obstacles on free trade among foreigners.[79] Moreover, the peak of Muscovite exports in the 1650s was also characterized by major cases of cheating and deception by Muscovite visitors, in part due to the arrival of new goods and the local merchants' lack of experience in large-scale Russian trade. In 1649, a group of Reval merchants bought a large quantity of rhubarb from two Russians. However, it subsequently turned out that, in fact, the purchase was not rhubarb but *Rheum raponticum*, which sold for much less and left the Revalers with losses of several thousand *Reichsthaler*.[80] Apparently, the Russians were not alone in dishonest dealings. A Russian merchant by the name of Iakov Vasil'evich Filatekov in 1660 accused Hans Ohm Sr. and Jr. of paying for sables with false copper *dengi*. The Revalers claimed to have received the money from Dutch merchants, thinking it was genuine.[81]

Even though Reval's eastern trade clearly continued to be plagued by persistent problems, the successes of the First Baltic Boom generated a heady spirit of optimism in the area, occasionally resulting

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[76] TLA 230–1–A.b. 70: February 22, 1658; A.b. 64: May 28, 1652; A.g. b) 18.

[77] TLA 230–1–A.b. 67: April 25, 1655; 70: February 22, November 13, 1658; B.L. 4.

[78] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, p. 176; Weinmann, *Reval*, p. 27.

[79] TLA 230–1–A.b. 64: May 25, 28, 1651; B.L. 4; B.h. 13; B.s. 15; A.b. 66 (June 14, August 4, 1654), B.s. 10; Weinmann, *Reval*, p. 30; *Die Quellen*, II, p. 164; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik," p. 197.

[80] TLA 230–1–B.H. 13; Soom, *Der Handel Revals*, pp. 102–3.

[81] TLA 230–1–A.b. 72: May 2, June 2, August 10, October 9, 1660.

in truly preposterous proposals. Dutch merchant Johan van Wickevoort, who operated in Pernau and eventually became a burgher of the city, proposed a truly fantastic plan in 1650 for a waterway between Pernau, Dorpat, and Pskov. However, his canal projects were far beyond the technical abilities and financial resources of the Swedish government at the time. There were simultaneous projects for the development of weaving industry in the port.[82]

The development of Riga's foreign trade continued to be quite distinct of that of its neighbors on the Gulf of Finland. Of considerable importance for Riga's eastern trade was the question of accommodation for Muscovite visitors. In 1612, the Magistrate permitted Muscovites to stay with certain Riga landlords, although plans were in the making for a formal guesthouse. Yet the first mention of such a house only dates from 1642 and it may have been established as late as 1648. It was located outside the city wall and evidently offered highly inadequate facilities. Its two bedrooms were designed for only eight people, although they eventually came to accommodate 14. Russians were not able to visit the city and thus were unable to collect money owed to them by Riga merchants, at times on the scale of hundreds of *Reichsthaler*. The only recourse were Riga's courts of law. Friction often resulted from the visitors' ignorance of the rules of the Muscovite house: the 1654 *Ordinanz* was not translated into Russian.[83]

Muscovite merchants frequently complained about the housemaster Jürgen Strieß (Jurij Stris/Strisch) who, since assuming his post in 1650, regularly abused his position as the person in charge of recording all interactions and of dividing up the Muscovite goods among Riga merchants. Strieß charged a one percent commission of all transactions he brokered, along with additional fees for all written documents. In addition, he took Mk 10 per week from each Russian and three *grosz* for each horse, even though these fees were subsequently modified. In general, Strieß tended to overcharge for things, and demanded an additional commission on finding buyers and debtors. He expected "gifts" and bribes and discriminated against

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[82] Soom, *Die Politik Schwedens*, pp. 197, 235–7; Soom, "Die merkantilistische Wirtschaftspolitik Schwedens," pp. 205–6.

[83] Jenšs, "Moskovskoe torgovoe podvor'e," pp. 74–6; "Die vormalige Russische Herberge in Riga," *Rigaische Stadt-Blätter* (1812), pp. 43–4; Doroshenko, *Torgovlia*, p. 162; LVVA 9–1–3, fols. 176, 404; 4, fol. 162.

guests who refused to offer them to him. The generally arbitrary behavior sometimes gave way to outright theft and physical violence. Strieß' high-handedness led the Pskov *Voevoda* Prince Vasilii Petrovich L'vov to lodge formal complaints in 1648 and 1652. The Riga Council tended to stand by their man, however, and at least some Russians were fined for slandering and assaulting Strieß. In 1654, Pskov *Voevoda* Ivan Ivanovich Saltykov demanded Strieß' dismissal. The Council fined Strieß Rtl 30 but did not remove him from his position.[84] Given the importance of geographic obstacles, it is difficult to imagine that a different policy would have produce significantly better results. As it was, Riga remained of marginal importance in Russian transit trade.

The overall significance of the First Baltic Boom was considerable. While it was amplified by a number of one-off factors, it also reflected the steady recovery of northwestern Russia. This, in turn, created the prospect of Novgorod and Pskov regaining their status as commercial centers of national importance which would attract more trade from central Russia. The main gains during the 1650s were experienced in fiber trade which now began to approach the more "normal" levels of the beginning of the century. The scale of leather and hide trade was more modest. This may have been in part because of the greater mobility of these goods which could thus more easily be transported to Arkhangel'sk instead. However, factors having to do with the local northwestern Russian economy seem more compelling in light of the available evidence. Leather production in Novgorod and Pskov remained relatively modest in the first half of the century and a far cry from situation in the 16th century. Moreover, the steady, and relatively gradual, positive trend in hide exports suggests that the expansion was driven by the local supply conditions rather than growing diversion from the center. Overall, the total customs receipts collected in Novgorod and Pskov attained an annual average of just under one-fifth of the total for Arkhangel'sk in 1653–6.

For the Russian government, the boom in Baltic trade constituted a serious problem, especially since it coincided with a period of sustained weakness at Arkhangel'sk. Moscow was faced with a very concrete threat of a serious realignment of Russian foreign trade flows, a large-scale diversion from the government-sponsored White Sea

[84] LVVA 7349–3–17; *Rigaische Stadt-Blätter* (1812), pp. 44–5.

route to the Swedish-controlled ports. This in turn presented the prospect of an important part of the Russian economy increasing its dependency on Sweden. On the other hand, at a time of a serious fiscal crisis brought on by the Thirteen Years' War, the fiscal relief promised by control of the Baltic ports is likely to have played an important role in determining the nature of Russia's 1656 offensive on Sweden.[85] Indeed, Philip von Krusenstiern later speculated in a July 1661 report that the tsar may have had quite immediate short-term economic considerations in mind in deciding to attack Sweden in 1656. He noted how Rd 5–600,000 worth of Russian goods were exported through Narva in 1654 and suggested a remarkable career for the new local Shipping and Trade Company, modeled on Dutch companies, had not the Russian attack intervened.[86]

Von Krusenstiern's suggestions appear all the more reasonable in light of the progress of the Russian offensive. The first phase of the Thirteen Years' War had already left some of the leading fiber and timber producing areas of the D´wina valley in Muscovite hands, thereby significantly enhancing Russia's potential for trade. The decision to make Riga the primary target of the Muscovite offensive on Livonia made eminent sense, given that the city served as the outlet for an enormous and, at least by Russian standards, prosperous hinterland. A.L. Ordin-Nashchokin, who appears to bear the primarily responsibility for the decision, was fully aware of the long-term potential of the Baltic for economic development and trade creation arguing that the lands were "of great value" and conducive to greater commerce "with the English and the Dutch."[87] This position remained evident even later when Nashchokin, after the Muscovite failure to capture Riga, sought to persuade the tsar to return to offensive. In an October 1658 plan for a winter campaign, he underscored the rewards awaiting after a successful conquest: "in the spring a great profit will be made for your Treasury from merchants," i.e. the arrival of Lithuanians and Western ships.[88] Control of the Livonian port would have given Russia a source of customs revenues which, in normal times, was in excess of those generated by Arkhangel'sk. The *Portorium* duties collected in Riga in the early

[85] Kotilaine, "Opening a Window," p. 499 ff.
[86] RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 17.
[87] RGADA f. 96, 1660 g., No 2, fol. 419.
[88] RGADA f. 210, Moskovskii stol, No 279, 1657–60 gg., fols. 131–2.

'50s had approximated Rtl 40,000 p.a., while the *Lizent* receipts hovered between Rtl 130,000 and 190,000.[89] These figures compared to total customs duty receipts of roughly R 30,000 in Arkhangel'sk (Figure 5.3). The number of ships visiting Riga in 1653 was 875 large vessels and 382 smaller boats, which was clearly far above the tally for Arkhangel'sk, even if we allowed for the fact that ships in the Baltic tended to be smaller. Quite obviously, gaining Riga would have revolutionized the fiscal balance of the Muscovite state by potentially adding annual revenues of over R 100,000.

The scale of Riga's export trade was impressive. The *Portorium* duties collected in the port accounted for over two-thirds of the total for the Swedish eastern Baltic ports in the 1650s. Riga's combined fiber exports in 1652 were 23,098 S# flax, 63,303 S# hemp, and 319 S# ticking. This far exceeded the combined total for Reval, Narva, and Nyen of 2,954 S# flax, 3,204 S# hemp, and 1,015 S# ticking.[90] The conquest of Riga would have fundamentally transformed Russia's position on the global fiber market, especially since virtually none of Riga's exports came from Muscovite lands but, rather, from Lithuania and, secondarily, from Livonia. In addition, control of Riga would have elevated Muscovy to an important supplier of grain, timber, hides, tallow, and various other goods.[91] Kliuchevskii was right to claim that: "[Nashchokin] insisted that a trifle must not be allowed to obscure the view of the main object, that Narva, Oreshek, and the rest were unimportant and that the essential thing was to penetrate to the sea and acquire Riga, the port that opened the most direct and nearest route to western Europe."[92]

The economic boom of the mid-century came to an abrupt end with the Russian onslaught on Sweden's Baltic provinces in 1656. Destruction during the war naturally adversely affected commerce in the Baltic region. It immediately severed the rather tenuous connection between Reval and its Muscovite hinterland, a setback amplified by a devastating plague epidemic in 1657 which ravaged the city for half a year. Similarly, Khovanskii's troops burnt down

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[89] Piirimäe, "Tendentsiia," pp. 106, 109.

[90] Dunsdorfs, "Der Außenhandel," p. 477; TLA 230–1–A.g. b) 16; AHL NoF 15; RAD Østersunds Toldkammarens Arkiv; KARA FR 130.

[91] Kotilaine, "Opening," pp. 509–12.

[92] Kliuchevsky, *A Course in Russian History*, p. 369.

Narva's suburbs and military activity completely paralyzed local export trade for a couple of years. Many merchants emigrated and one misfortune followed another when the largely wooden city burnt down in 1659, something that put its very survival in question. Also Nyen suffered a great deal during the war when the Russians temporarily managed to push through the Swedish lines to the coast and largely destroyed the port.[93] The effect of the war was particularly pronounced in Livonia, which was the main focus of Russian operations. The Russians conquered Dorpat and the offensive in the Düna valley ultimately left most of Riga's immediate hinterland in Russian lands. The Swedish-occupied Düneburg (Latv. Daugavpils), as well as Kokenhusen (Latv. Koknese) were conquered in the summer of 1656.[94]

The Russians, however, sought to normalize commercial exchange without delay. Of particular importance in developing Riga's trade with Russia was Ordin-Nashchokin who served as the *voevoda* of Kokenhusen (renamed Tsarevichev-Dmitriev by the Russians) in 1656–61. He sought to build on the commercial ties that had been established during the Muscovite occupation of the middle D´wina since 1654. For instance, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's 1654 decree granted Witebsk merchants the right to duty-free trade down the Düna and many of them apparently made use of thus privilege. In a 1658 "Report of the subjugation of the Livonian cities," he recognized that acts of violence committed by Russians had generated widespread distrust and resentment among the local population. He instead called for more benevolent treatment of them, as well as a peace treaty between Sweden and Russia.[95] In April 1658, he appealed to Riga Governor Simon Gründel-Helmfeldt to permit Riga merchants to trade freely in the Russian-occupied areas. However, Nashchokin had since 1656 sought to centralize the sale of Muscovite tar, flax, and hemp to German merchants, evidently in an attempt to maximize foreign specie receipts in the midst of a deepening

[93] Shaskol'skii, "Vosstanovlenie," p. 61; Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 169; Erpenbeck, "Die Engländer in Narva zu schwedischer Zeit," p. 484.

[94] Adashchik, "Torgovye sviazi," p. 574.

[95] Reliving his days as a Pskov merchant, Nashchokin himself supplied Riga burgher Hendrik Aleghir with 82 lasts of potash (worth Rtl 3,168), as well as tar, in 1655–6. Doroshenko, "Protokoly," p. 134; Kurskov, "A.L. Ordins-Naščokins," pp. 246, 251; Adashchik, "Torgovye sviazi," p. 574; RGADA f. 141, 1656 g., No 34, fols. 1–3.

monetary crisis.[96] Surviving records of the Riga commercial court (*Wettgericht*) describe activity by the tsar's agents in Druja, Jakobstadt (Latv. Jēkabpils), and Kokenhusen starting in the summer of 1657. Relations were established with Riga merchants Dreyling and Post, as well as Dutch and English commercial agents.[97]

When the Sky Was the Limit: The Expansion of Russian Transit Trade in the Baltic between the Kardis Treaty and the Great Northern War

The formal preconditions for a recovery in Russian-Baltic trade were created with the Valiesaar truce signed in December 1658. The agreement essentially restored the prewar rules and regulations governing commerce. The Russian Diplomatic Chancellery in early 1659 instructed the local administrators at Novgorod, Pskov, and Iur'ev-Livonskii (Dorpat) to reopen the border for trade. Pskov and Novgorod merchants requested permission to visit the Baltic coast within weeks of the armistice. Similarly, the Iur'ev *voevoda* in February informed Moscow of the eagerness of the local burghers to restore their old ties with Reval and Riga. Local peasants were anxious to resume trade across the border.[98] This enthusiasm notwithstanding, the initial recovery of trade was quite tentative. Novgorod sources from the immediate post-Valiesaar period point to very limited trade with Stockholm, for instance. The value of the goods brought from Stockholm in 1659 totaled R 4,543 (out of a total trade volume of R 90,860). The following year, this figure rose to R 6,590 (out of R 131,800) and in 1661 it attained R 7,125 (out of R 142,500). These numbers may reflect an exceptional situation, however. Apparently the Swedes were letting their own Eastern Baltic subjects

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[96] RGADA f. 96, 1660 g., No 1, fols. 157–62; Kurskov, "A.L. Ordins-Naščokins," p. 252 ff.

[97] Existing evidence on Muscovite wares floated to Riga are: some 625 S#+ of hemp (115 bundes, 200 S#, and further unspecified consignments) in the summer of 1657, white and potash in the autumn of 1658, six rafts of timber, 107 last potash. 500 S# pure hemp, and 200 S# flax in May 1660. The tsar's agents, in turn acquired wire, salt, herring, and other wares in Riga. In May 1661, 16 rafts carrying timber from Porech'e reached Riga. Doroshenko, "Protokoly," p. 143.

[98] Shaskol'skii, "Vosstanovlenie," p. 61; RGADA f. 64, No 26, 1659 g.; f. 96, kn. 40, fols. 486–92; 1659 g., No 1, fols. 30–1; ASPF IRI RAN f. 109, No 308, fols. 1, 4–5.

trade in *Ryssgården* and the Russians were left with the worst possible facilities.[99]

In the absence of a formal peace treaty, there remained serious limitations on trade. The Russian authorities continued to control exports so as to gain the maximum leverage on copper purchases from the Swedes, copper of course being desperately needed to supply the northwestern Russian mints. At one point in 1660, it was actually forbidden for individual Russian merchants to sell flax and hemp to foreigners. During the year, Ordin-Nashchokin sold at least 900 S# of Pskovian fibers to a Lübeck merchant at R 10 a *Schiffpfund*. Half the earnings were spent on 100 S# copper. Novgorod *Voevoda* G.S. Kurakin in April 1659, moreover, forbade the exportation of gunpowder, lead, grain, and meat, because of the ongoing war against Poland.[100] A particular problem in reviving Russian commerce concerned guest houses which, according to the truce treaty, were to be returned to their legitimate owners. However, neither side seemed to be in any hurry to settle the issue. To make matters worse, for instance Riga's Muscovite House had burnt down during the Muscovite offensive. The Swedes took the initiative by selecting new heads for the guest houses in Moscow and Novgorod. However, the Russian side rejected both appointments on the grounds that the Valiesaar treaty did not address the question of commissars at guest houses and the issue thus had to await the conclusion of peace.[101] In addition, the question of regulating prewar debts proved highly contentious. While the Russians did, in fact, return to Adolf Ebers the value of goods which had been confiscated from him in Novgorod at the outset of the war, the Swedes proved reluctant to make concessions in this area. The government demanded in the summer of 1659 that the case of Paulsen's debts in Novgorod be reopened. Also de Rodes' case was revived, his widow having been detained in Moscow since her husband's death in 1655, due to outstanding debts of R 40,000. The dispute continued unresolved until 1671 when the

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[99] Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 61; RGADA f. 137, op. 1, Novgorod, d. 65, fols. 5^{v}–9^{v}; d. 67, fol. 5^{v}–7^{v}; d. 70, fol. 2^{v}–4^{v}; d. 91; fol. 7; f. 96, 1663 g., No 1, fols. 409–10.

[100] RGADA f. 96, 1659 g., No 5, fol. 154; 1660 g., No 1, fols. 157–62; ASPF IRI RAN f. 109, No 184.

[101] Nordwall, *Svensk-ryska underhandlingar*, pp. 75, 91; Forsten, "Snosheniia," May 1898, pp. 71–4; RGADA f. 96, 1659 g., No 1, fol. 103.

Russian government finally wrote off the debts.[102] On the ground, commerce was burdened with repeated raids of merchants and violations of the line of demarcation in Livonia. Voin Nashchokin in August 1658 complained of Swedish violations of the truce terms. He demanded that those guilty of raiding Russian barges and traders traveling to Riga should be punished. In 1659–60, Nashchokin repeatedly complained to Duglas of continued Swedish interference with Russian trade with Riga, as well as of incursions to the Russian-controlled territories.[103]

Perhaps the greatest check on commerce were the dislocations caused by the war. The disastrous effects on the ground were aptly described by Ordin-Nashchokin at the Kardis peace negotiations. Regaining Ingria had been a central goal of Russian revanchists since the Neva valley was lost in the Stolbovo treaty. Nashchokin now treated this demand with considerable scepticism. He claimed that regaining Ivangorod "would yield no profit" and he further reminded of the numerous pre-*Smuta* disputes between Narva and Ivangorod which, he suggested, regaining the pre-Stolbovo border would merely rekindle. While controlling Narva would be much better in principle, even that city, he claimed, had now been deserted. No goods were coming in from Novgorod and foreign ships had stopped visiting. Moreover, Narva, as well as Nyen, had only small Swedish merchant populations and would not, he claimed, ultimately be able to compete with the more powerful cities Riga, Reval, Pernau, and Hapsal (Est. Haapsalu) (*sic*!), which were bound to remain in Swedish hands. Nashchokin had a low opinion of the resourcefulness of Russian merchants and did not rate highly their chances of posing a challenge to the wealthier Swedish ports.[104]

The June 1661 Kardis peace, which effectively restored the pre-1656 *status quo* in every respect, presented an opportunity for Sweden to revive the war-ravaged Eastern Baltic economy and to resume her *Derivation* policy more generally. For Russia, Kardis was above all an exercise in damage limitation. The enormous fiscal burden and the military needs of the still ongoing Thirteen Years' War forced Muscovy to look for acceptable ways to put an end to the

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[102] ASPF IRI RAN f. 109, No 156, 180, 185; RGADA f. 96, kn. 43, esp. fols. 5–9; kn. 53, fols. 246–50, 377–83.

[103] Kurskov, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie vzgliady*, p. 426.

[104] Petrov, *Gorod Narva*, p. 170; RGADA f. 96, 1659 g., No 5, fols. 136–9.

diversion that the ultimately unsuccessful Swedish war had presented and to formalize the truce agreed at Valiesaar three years previously.[105]

Even after the judicial basis for regular commerce had been reestablished, the recovery of trade in the postwar years was very gradual. This was in part because of various misfortunes plaguing northwestern Russia. In particular, the early 1660s were a time of considerable adversity to Pskov with two major fires. The first one of them took place in April 1662 at the "German" guesthouse, whereas the second—a year later—devastated the main guest house and the market. The authorities agreed to compensate foreign merchants who had lost property and, not surprisingly, the official correspondence during the ensuing years was filled with claims and counterclaims about insufficient damages.[106] Further trouble was caused by the 1662 government monopoly of key exports. Once the decree reached Pskov, all previously sold monopoly goods were seized by the authorities. However, the Swedish government issued a formal protest and in May the monopoly was lifted. The foreign merchants turned to the Diplomatic Chancellery with pleas for compensation for the losses they had experienced. In fact, many of the confiscated wares had been destroyed in a fire at the German guest house.[107]

Within a decade, the situation in the northwest had changed quite fundamentally. We are fortunate in having a virtually complete customs book for Pskov from the period, the only one of its kind for a major northwestern city in the post-*Smuta* period. The 1670/1 register reflects an important point in the city's history—a time of relative stability after the initial stages of the post-Kardis recovery. The most detailed and informative part of the book is the customs register for the German guesthouse, which was the site of operations of foreign merchants. Data on the Great Customs—through which Russian merchants had to pass—tends to more summarized. Overall, the book reflects a situation much reminiscent of that observed at

[105] Already the month the treaty was signed, 29 Witebsk burghers requested permission to visit Riga to buy goods and reclaim their debts. Adashchik, "Torgovye sviazi," p. 574.

[106] Iurasov, "'Knigi'," p. 36; RGADA g. 96, kn. 63, fols. 243, 263–5.

[107] An enquiry in July revealed that the total volume of confiscated goods consisted of 379:14 S# of hemp and 334:16 S# flax sold to Baltic merchants. RGADA f. 96, op. 1, kn. 75, fols. 226–67.

the dawn of the 17th century. Narva was clearly the dominant direction of Pskov's foreign trade. In 1670/1, there were 26 merchants from Narva, 25 from Lübeck, and 11 from Riga. Exports to Narva accounted for 56 percent of the goods sold at the German guest house. Riga's share was close to 24 percent. Lübeck merchants accounted for nearly 15 percent of the total.[108]

The 1670/1 customs record also constitutes a valuable document on the dimensions of Pskov's Muscovite hinterland. The section on the Great Customs contains entries on 127 Russian traders. The total, extrapolating for 9 missing pages, is unlikely to have exceed 150. Pskov's own merchants accounted for 86 percent (109 entries) of the total number of Russians trading in the city. There were 18 merchants from elsewhere in the country, mainly from central Russia: four from Moscow, six from the Iaroslavl' area, one from Kostroma, Uglich, and the Nizhnii Novgorod region each. Three merchants came from the northwest: two from Pechory and one from Porkhov.[109] The document thus reflects the gradual expansion of the city's sphere of influence eastward, even if the total number of central Russians was still relatively modest.

Hemp and flax maintained their dominance as the most important export commodities of Pskov. In 1670/1, 3,052.44 S# of fibers were sold at the German guesthouse, 59.4 percent of the total turnover. The vast majority of Pskov's fiber exports went to Narva, including 72.2 percent of the flax and hemp sold at the German guesthouse in 1670/1. It is reasonable to assume that close to that amount was exported by Russian merchants. Narva's total fiber exports in 1671 were 4,790.97 S#.[110] This would seem to suggest that Narva probably did not get much more than one-quarter to one-third of its flax and hemp from Novgorod, whose overall turnover of trade was still only just over one-half of that of Pskov (Figure 3.2). F. Wesseling took a total of 729.1 S# of hemp and flax to Riga during the year. This figure is known to have increased to some 5,000 S# (worth Rtl 55,000) by 1697.[111]

The second most important category of Pskov's exports was hides and leather, most notably *iufti* which alone accounted for over 30

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[108] Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 57, 62, 204.
[109] *Ibidem*, pp. 177–8.
[110] EAA 1646–2–345.
[111] RGADA f. 96, kn. 126, fol. 20.

percent of the total value of sales of Russian goods at the German guesthouse. The sales through the Great Customs were evidently not much less, amounting to at least R 5,670.10, i.e. at least 73 percent of the guesthouse sales. The total *iuft'* exports reached at least 480 S#. At least 160 S# of Pskov's *iuft'* exports went to Narva, whose total export amounted to 46,606 hides. Exports to Riga were at least 91.65 S#.[112] A large share of Pskov's *iuft'* exports was supplied by central Russia. For instance, Iaroslavl' merchants G. Alekseev and I. Fedoseev exported a total of R 2,105.40 worth of *iufti* to Riga. G. Gavrilov, who was an agent of A. Luzin of the *Gostinaia sotnia*, similarly, took R 2,392.90 worth of *iufti* through the customs.[113] The exports passing through the German guesthouse are summarized in Table 6.5.

The recovery of Russian transit trade in the Baltic began to gather pace as the 1670s wore on. Especially the evolution of Narva's trade in the postwar years must count as the greatest triumph of Swedish commercial policy. The ambitions of the Stockholm political establishment finally began to seem within reach as the closing decades effectively brought about a second coming of the Rugodiv of the 1560s. Narva's fibre exports, having reached 5,000 S# p.a. by the early 1660s, steadily rose to pass the 10,000 S# mark by the end of the 1670s. Already in the early 1680s, export levels surpassed 20,000 S# and, by the end of the century, they peaked at over 35,000 S# (Fig. 6.1). The same pattern was replicated by leather exports, although the expansion was far less continuous. A local peak of some 50,000 hides was attained in the early 1670s, after which export levels fell again. A robust recovery began in the late 1680s. Exports initially rose to 60,000 hides p.a., and already by the mid-'90s, levels as high as over 180,000 hides were recorded. In the 1690s, annual exports typically totaled at least 100,000 hides p.a. It is likely that the pace did not slow down in the second half of the '90s, for which the available data is more fragmentary (Fig. 6.2). The *Portorium* duty collected on 204 outgoing ships in 1699 was Rtl 12,788:8½, an impressive 35 percent higher than the Rtl 9,481:30 3/4 collected on 154 departing vessels in 1695.[114] The total value

[112] Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 109–10; EAA 1646–2–345.
[113] Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 234.
[114] EAA 1646–1–1086, 1646–2–349.

of exports (excluding silk) in 1695 neared Rtl 500,000, or some R 250,000. In practice, of course, the expansion of trade was even greater, since the rapidly growing silk trade was exempt from customs duties. By 1699, total exports approximated R 400,000, or roughly one-half of the typical levels of Arkhangel'sk at the time.

Narva's elevation to a key center of Muscovite foreign trade was accompanied by a a striking increase in the number of Dutch, English, Scottish, and French ships by the mid-1670s, from some 5 per cent to a surprisingly stable 35–45 per cent of the total number of ships visiting Narva. By the end of the period the Dutch and English clearly dominated. Some of the trans-Sound ships were actually Swedish ships destined for Gothenburg, although most domestic vessels tended to go to Stockholm. At the same time, Narva's own shipping increased from three percent of the total number of ships passing the Sound in 1661 to an impressive 23 percent in 1669.[115]

One of the crowning achievements of the Swedish *Derivation* policy at the end of the century was the diversion of virtually all of the Persian silk trade that had previously gone to Arkhangel'sk. 1688 appears to have been the last year when Armenians visited the White Sea port. All their trips to the West were subsequently taken through Narva. The first substantial consignment of silk—200 bales—was brought to Narva in 1689 and by the same autumn, another group of 20, with 300 bales, was already waiting in Astrakhan'. There was evidently some initial hesitation on the part of the Muscovite authorities in approving the merchants' petition to proceed to Novgorod. However, the Armenians eventually reached Narva in July 1690 with 194 bales of raw silk and 40 S# *iufti*.[116] During the ensuing three years, Armenians paid duty only on wares they had bought in Muscovy and their numbers quickly rose. At the beginning of the 1690s, 20–30 Armenians a year would typically come to Narva. By 1696, Castellan Christoph von Kochen put their numbers at 50. They initially stayed in the basement of the City Hall, until the Magistrate in 1690, rented a new building for them. Even this proved inadequate soon enough and construction on the "Persian House" was begun, although it was not completed until the end of the decade.[117]

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[115] Piirimäe, "Sostav," pp. 41–2.

[116] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 91–9; Troebst, "Die Kaspi-Volga-Ostsee-Route," p. 167.

[117] Troebst, "Narva," pp. 168–9; Troebst, "Die Kaspi-Volga-Ostsee-Route," p. 167; Herzig, "The Iranian Raw Silk Trade," pp. 80, 87.

The estimated value of the raw silk exports by the early 1690s was quite considerable: Rtl 1–200,000 for 2–300 bales of raw silk. In 1696, there were already 503 bales of raw silk, valued at some Rtl 300,000, as well as another 33 bales brought in by Russian merchants.[118] There may have been years when silk accounted for over one-third of the total value of Narva's exports. Some of this trade spilled over to Reval. The surviving customs books record at least 730 # of silk in 1693, 2,380 # in 1697, 12 bales in 1699, and 31 bales and one bundle in 1700.[119]

The establishment of Narva's forest industry lent another major stimulus to export trade towards the end of the century. From the beginning, the local mills offered a wide array of products of which single and double deals were by far the most numerous category.[120] The most valuable type of unprocessed timber consisted of masts, exported since the 1680s at the rate of 15–290 a year.[121] Most of the timber used by the industry came from Muscovy, most notably the Somero district, and especially the town of Osmino on one of the Luga's tributaries. It is possible that additional imports came from the Pliussa and Piata valleys. Most of the logs were sold by local peasants, but also landlords such as Fedor Vasil'evich Eletskoi who sold Tunderfeldt 267 masts in 1698.[122]

Narva's dramatic expansion was echoed in the Neva port of Nyen, and especially on the Nyen-Stockholm axis, although the Swedish government was far less successful in creating a prosperous merchant class in Nyen than in Narva. Probably largely as a result, there is little evidence of substantial localized commerce between northwestern Russia and Nyen.[123] Russian merchants visiting Nyen rented rooms

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[118] Troebst, "Narva," p. 168; *ARO*, No 86, pp. 213–24.

[119] Liiv, "Tallinna ajalugu," p. 29; TLA 230–1–A.g. b).

[120] Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus."

[121] *Ibidem*, pp. 60–1.

[122] Soom, "Narva metsakaubandus," pp. 65–6, 71; Soom, "Der ostbaltische Holzhandel," p. 95.

[123] A list of R 190 worth of goods brought to Nyen in the summer of 1663 by Tikhvin townsmen Timofei Nikitin and Grigorii Koneval reveals a typical bundle of Russian exports: soap, *iufti*, furs, and handicrafs. Another Tikhvin merchant sold 222 *arshin sermiaga* cloth at the same fair. In 1664, Mikifor Korostelev of Rybnaia sloboda brought 200 *pud* of *iufti* to Nyen. Novgorod merchant Fedor Larionov arrived in 1672 with 172 S# of hemp, 1,500 *arshin* of *sermiaga*, as well as some horse hair, soap, and 35 barrels of butter. Nyen merchants themselves also ventured out to Russia, at least on occasion. However, the scarce surviving data offers no evidence of substantial interactions, the largest ones totaling some hundreds of

in houses of local inhabitants and stored their goods in three warehouses built expressly for the purpose, since Nyen, unlike the bigger cities in the region, lacked a special Russian guest house. Many Russian merchants evidently stayed in Nyen for years on end with basically no obligations, including tax payments. Several of them took trips along the coastline of the Gulf of Finland, buying hides, tallow, honey, etc. and selling them to foreigners together with their Russian wares.[124] Even merchants from the Russian interior, e.g. Moscow and Iaroslavl', set up offices in Nyen for the maintenance of long-term relations. They would normally bring their wares to the Neva estuary and sell them either to Russian boatmen on their way to Stockholm or to foreign captains visiting the city.[125]

Nyen's real significance in Russian transit trade continued to be almost exclusively based on the trade of northwestern Russian merchants with Stockholm. The closing decades of the 17th century saw a steady expansion in their numbers and the scale of their operations. A June 1661 *skazka* puts the number of Novgorod merchants active in the Swedish capital at 22. The number of Tikhvin merchants was almost comparable and reached 21 in 1662. 20 Tikhvin merchants visited Nyen and Stockholm in 1685, 31 in 1687, 40 in 1688, and 34 in 1690.[126] According to a report by Olonets merchants in June 1663, 25 of them had at least occasional contacts with Stockholm.[127] Customs official Ivan Dolgii suggests in his plea of 1690 that Olonets merchants annually exported R 200,000 worth of various goods to Sweden on at least 20 vessels, although this sum almost certainly involved an element of exaggeration.[128] Other Russian

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roubles. For instance, a Nyen merchant of Russian ethnicity, Ivan Andreev, visited Novgorod in 1662 with R 333 worth of salt, R 5 of pearls, and R 550 of specie. ASPF IRI RAN f. 132, op. 1, karton 7, No 96, fols. 1–2, 4, 6–7; karton 8, No 51, fol. 4; RGADA f. 96, 1663 g., No 1, fols. 453–65; 1664 g., No 1, fol. 92; kn. 103, fols. 143–8; kn. 108, fols. 90^{v}–92^{v}; Rukhmanova, "Russko-shvedskaia torgovlia," p. 159.

[124] Hipping, *Neva i Nienshants*, pp. 65, 119–20; Bakhrushin, "Torgi," p. 177; *Sbornik dokumentov*, No. LII, LIV, LXIX.

[125] Hipping, *Neva i Nienshants*, p. 105; Rukhmanova, "Russko-shvedskaia torgovlia," p. 160; Shaskol'skii, "New phenomena," p. 51.

[126] RGADA f. 96, 1648 g., No 1, fols. 234–8, 1663 g., No 1, fols. 404–8; Serbina, *Ocherki*, pp. 262, 270, 278.

[127] RGADA f. 96, 1663 g., No 1, fols. 421–7; Zertsalov, "O nepravdakh," pp. 25–8.

[128] Shaskol'skii, "Ob osnovnykh osobennostiakh," p. 14; RGADA f. 96, 1649: d. 1., pt. II, fol. 49; kn. 89, fols. 17–28; kn. 108, fols. 23–7; kn. 113, fols. 85–8.

merchants visiting Stockholm came from large settlements on the shores of Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega, *viz*. the villages of Oiatskii, Sermaksa on Ladoga, and the Oshtinskii and Mergorskii *pogosty* on Onega. There were also occasional visitors from Iaroslavl', Rybnaia sloboda (Rybinsk), Pereiaslavl', Ustiuzhna, Kargopol', Rzhev, and Moscow.

Three important documents shed light on Nyen's transit role in the trade with Stockholm in the 1670s. The 1673 record is a brief "approximate" summary, excluding all furs and pelts, of goods sold at *Ryssgården*. The 1675 document appears to be an extract from a *Stora sjötullen* customs book and lists the exact holdings of 14 boats coming from Russia with merchants' names and the exact quantities and values of their cargoes. Six of the ships came from Novgorod, four from Olonets, and four from Tikhvin. The total number of Russian merchants involved in the trading in 1675 was an astounding 110. The Tikhvin merchants accounted for some D 112,370 of the total value of Russian exports. The share of the Novgorod merchants was D 94,720, while the sales of the Olonets group totaled D 67,840. The total value of the sales in 1675 was D 284,842:24, which compared to the incomplete total for 1673 of D 212,456.[129] The second surviving customs books for Nyen—from 1679—lists 32 Russian boats. Twelve of these were from Novgorod, ten from Olonets, nine from Tikhvin, and one from Sermaksa.[130] 25 of the Russian vessels were going to Stockholm, three to Åbo two to Narva, and one all the way to Torneå (Finn. Tornio) at the northernmost tip of the Gulf of Bothnia. One Novgorod boat only visited Nyen and then turned back. The total value of goods carried by Novgorod merchants was in excess of Rd 16,100, as compared to Rd 13,920.25 carried on Tikhvin boats, Rd 10,891 exported by Olonets vessels, and Rd 1,579.5 taken by the Sermaksa vessel.[131] The combined value of these goods was just over 20,000 in rouble terms.

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[129] The most important merchants operated on a very large scale indeed. Timofei Koshkin sold goods valued at D 12,388, Ivan Popov of Olonets for D 11,789, and Tikhon Iakimov of Novgorod for D 10,841. RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15.

[130] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 32.

[131] Peasants of the northern Karelian *Pomor'e* (White Sea coastal region)—especially from the holdings of the Solovki monastery along the Rivers Kem' and Sune—began to trade with Stockholm. These peasants included some wealthy individuals who traded in local handicrafts and primary products, e.g. Nikifor Lopintsev who in 1692 sold 3,800 *pud* of cod, 5 pud of dried pike, 120 elk hides, tallow, nuts, etc. RGADA f. 96, 1692 g., No 2, fols. 22–3.

Remarkable as these totals may seem, they still represent the early stages of a dramatic expansion in Russian trading activities in Stockholm. The total of the so-called Russian Scales (*Ryssvågen*) duties collected in 1675 was D 325:18, a figure that rose to D 617:8 in 1679. The duty receipts varied within the limits of D 369:17 and D 980:10 in the 1680s and in the 1690s they already peaked above the D 2,500 mark (Figure 6.8).[132] Trade thus essentially tripled in the 1680s and further doubled in the '90s, highlighting the dramatic proportions of the diversion of Russian trade to the Baltic at the end of the century.

Even if Nyen still continued to lag behind Narva in its importance, it very clearly became the second most important transit port for Russian trade in the Baltic region. By 1679, Nyen export volumes were already quite substantial. While flax trade was insignificant, there were 2,307.1 S# hemp, 463.85 S# tallow, and 10,880 *iufti*, figures that now placed the Neva port firmly ahead of Reval in importance.[133] The end of the century saw further dramatic expansion in all categories. Sales of Russian goods at *Ryssgården* in Stockholm peaked at over 1,000 S# of flax, nearly 6,000 S# hemp, over 1,500 S# tallow, and over 16,000 *iufti* in 1690s (Table 6.6).

The extraordinary dimensions that Russian trade with Stockholm eventually attained become evident from a September 1700 report of the Russian Resident in Sweden, Prince Andrei Khilkov. Khilkov stated, at the outbreak of the Great Northern War, that there were 150 people with wares valued at R 100,000 waiting to get royal passes for the return trip to Russia. 150 people on 16 *karbasy* had already left earlier with their wares valued at R 200,000.[134] The remaining Russians were arrested by the Swedes and their wares confiscated. Olonets merchants Ananii Chablin and Lazar' Anan'ev claimed that the total value of the confiscation goods in fact amounted to R 300,000. The same figure was given by Tikhvin merchant Varlam San'kov who, along with his comrades, returned from detention in Sweden in 1711. This suggests that the annual total of Russian export trade with Stockholm may have peaked at close to half a

[132] SSA Stadskamrerarens, drätselkommissionens samt drätselnämndens och dess avdelningars arkiv 1639–1921 G.I.b.
[133] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 32.
[134] Bakhrushin, "Torgi," p. 206.

million roubles by the end of the century. Even allowing for some exaggeration, this figure reflects consolidation of the Stockholm route as one of the most important foci of Russian foreign trade.[135] It is quite conceivable that at the very close of the century the Nyen-Stockholm axis equaled Narva in importance and that the two together now eclipsed Arkhangel'sk.

Reval's role in Russian transit trade in the second half of the 17th century stands out as one of the failures of the *Derivation* policy. In spite of occasional efforts by the government to revive the city's commerce with Muscovy, Reval by and large failed to share in the upswing experienced by its neighbors. In 1680, the City Council wrote to the king that trade with Russia had not met expectations, as the Russians were "reluctant to enrich the alien Swedish land."[136] At the same time, however, Reval merchants partook in the success of Narva's trade where many had agents.

The slight secular decline of fiber trade in the second half of the century is a telling indication of Reval's failure to replicate the export performance of its eastern neighbors (Fig. 6.3). Throughout the post-Kardis years, flax and hemp exports remained below the peaks of the 1620 and '30s. The story with hides is somewhat different, however. Leather exports at best stagnated into the 1690s, when they suddenly increased very dramatically. The totals recorded at the close of the decade represented a peak the entire century. In 1697, Reval exported 74,804 hides, of which 38,935 were *iufti* and 21,539 ox and cow hides. In 1698, there were still 31,971 *iufti* and 25,021 ox and cow hides. By 1699, the total had already declined sharply to 28,831, although it was still higher that any known annual figure between the mid-1650s and 1697 (Figure 6.4). We do not have customs data for 1696, but we do know that the total leather exports in 1695 were just over 15,000 hides, a fairly typical figure for the second half of the century as a whole. It is thus quite possible that the peak lasted for only three years and at most four. It clearly represented a spillover from Narva where several Reval merchants were active anyway. It may have been caused by attempts by Reval's burghers to find a substitute for the precipitous drop in grain sales, as the "Great Famine" prompted the government to impose several

[135] Rukhmanova, "Russko-shvedskaia torgovlia," p. 159; RGADA f. 96, 1698 g., No 1, fols. 122–3.

[136] Liiv, "Tallinna ajalugu," p. 23.

export bans which effectively terminated normal grain trade in 1695.[137] Whether the sudden increase in leather exports ultimately constituted a temporary diversion of Narva's export trade or the first indications of a new beginning for Reval's Russian transit trade, remains an unanswerable question. The downturn of 1700 was clearly due to the outbreak of the war and the adverse impact of the grain crisis on the financial health of Reval's burghers.

Data on Riga's trade in the immediate post-Kardis years is very scarce. However, we can assume that the evolution of Russian trade broadly reflected the trends observed in the Gulf of Finland. A 1664 register of overland trade lists, among other things, 9,227 *iufti*, Rtl 650 worth of silk, 1,099 pairs of gloves, 120,418 *arshin* linen cloth, and 685 bars of soap.[138] The 1670/1 customs data for Pskov's German guesthouse records at least 792.1 S# flax and hemp, 28.2 S# tallow, 916.7 *pud* (some 5,500 hides) *iufti*, and at least 5,000 mats destined for Riga.[139] These figures, while not insignificant, fell far short of the totals observed in the Gulf of Finland.

A more systematic attempt to stimulate trade on the Pskov route came with the approval in 1676 of Adolf Lüders and Friedrich Wesseling's project (Chapter 3). Under the arrangement, Wesseling stayed in Pskov for 10 years and sent Muscovite wares to Lüders in Riga who then exchanged them for Western European products.[140] In spite of policy innovation, available data on trade on the Pskov route suggests relative stability, rather than a steady expansion (Table 6.9). The local peak of 1681–2 was only matched by the exceptional year of 1686, with total imports of Rtl 58,482, after which trade declined. The total value of *Oktroi* imports again reached Rtl 62,606 in 1695 (Figure 6.9). The only commodity which appears to have become available in steadily growing quantities was Muscovite *iufti* (Fig. 6.10). Otherwise, the available trade data suggests that institutional reform was relatively powerless against the geographic handicaps of the Pskov route.

Whereas the hoped-for take-off on the Pskov route arguably fell short of expectations, commercial relations with Smolensk and adjacent

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[137] Liiv, *Die wirtschaftliche Lage*, pp. 248–50, 252–6.

[138] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 41; Kotilaine, "Riga's Trade," p. 142.

[139] PGOIAKhMZ f. 608, No 397; Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, pp. 107–8, 110, 112.

[140] Jenšs, *Der Handel Rigas*, p. 127; Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga," p. 281.

regions steadily intensified, especially after the restoration of peace in the late 1660s.[141] A surviving list of so-called *ukaznye tovary*, sold to Połock merchants between September 1, 1661 and January 11, 1662 highlights the pivotal role of Belorussian merchants. A total of 680 S# of hemp, as well as 24.5 S# of tallow, reached Riga from Smolensk. A report by *Wojewoda* Wolkoński in May 1662 reveals that efforts to enforce the state monopoly of key exports in neighboring Witebsk were unsuccessful, apparently due to serious shortages.[142] The Muscovite government fully recognized the importance of Smolensk's trade with Riga and for instance para. 18 of the 1686 Russian peace treaty with Poland-Lithuania stresses the importance of keeping the Riga-Smolensk route open for trade.[143]

Riga's hemp trade with the Smolensk area had clearly established itself on a substantial scale by the 1670s and exports totaled some 6,400 S# (worth R 22,670.85) in 1673/4, 4,660 S# (R 17,205.33) in 1675/6, some 5,170 S# (R 21,317.165) in 1676/7, and 5,240 S# (R 16,455.38) in 1678/9. Some hemp was bought directly from smaller regional towns. For instance, 353.9 S# from Dorogobuzh in 1674/5 was followed by 634.9 S# (worth over R 1,900) in 1677. A group of eleven Witebsk merchants exported a total of 624.75 S# of hemp, as well as some linseed, hemp seed, and hops from the Belaia region in February–March 1678. Thus the annual exports of western Russian hemp to Riga may have exceeded 7,000 S# in the best years. Secondary imports from the Smolensk area included linseed and hempseed, as well as various kinds of grain. In 1675/6, 736.5 *solianki* of linseed and 185.5 *solianki* hemp seed reached Riga. In addition, there were 640 *solianki* of rye, 1,750 *solianki* of barley, and 105 *solianki* of oats. The total estimated value of the grain approached R 10,000, a not insignificant figure which is unlikely to have represented the normal state of affairs. However, a minimum of 1,110 *solianki* of grain passed trough Smolensk also in 1678, at least some of it clearly intended for the Riga market.[144]

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[141] RGADA f. 145, 1668 g., stb. No. 6, fols. 317–8; 1669 g., stb. No 1, fols. 22–3.

[142] RGADA f. 214, stb. 1470, fols. 15–32, 39–44, 48–9; Kurskov, "A.L. Ordins-Naščokins," pp. 258–9.

[143] RGADA f. 79, op. 3, No 141, fol. 42.

[144] RGADA f. 145, kn. 12, ch. 1–2; 1676 g., stb. No. 19, fol. 21^{v}, 1677 g., stb. No 6; 1678 g., stb. No 10, fols. 2–9, 11–8.

Fragmentary data on shipping on the lower Düna suggests that hemp trade with Western Russia remained strong into the 1690s and came to involve growing numbers of Russian merchants. 27 entries from the 1680s and '90s in the Riga *Wettgericht* records (involving seven Smolensk merchants) point to the arrival of 21 barges (= *c.* 4,200 S#) of pure hemp, five barges of hemp seed, and two barges of linseed, as well as some rye.[145] By the '90s, the number of vessels arriving from Muscovy appears to have been in the range of 5–10 percent of the total river traffic on the lower Düna. Wares consisted mainly of hemp whose volumes reached over 7,000 S# in 1699.[146] Problematically, the sources only identify the point of origin of the barges reaching Livonia. Thus it is impossible to ascertain how much Russian hemp was re-exported from Witebsk by Lithuanian merchants (Table 6.8).

Riga also received naval stores from the Smolensk area—albeit on a somewhat less regular basis. The local forests were almost entirely controlled by the Russian Crown which relied on the labor of the local court villages. This trade had grown in importance due to the gradual exhaustion of the best timber of the Belorussian forests along the Düna. The Muscovite exports primarily consisted of two types of oak timber: the *Wagenschoß* (*vanches*), which were 14–15-foot pieces used in shipbuilding and sometimes for making barrels, and *Faßholz* (*vasil'ka*), smaller 80–90-inch oak pieces used for making large barrels.[147] There exist some half-dozen lists of Porech'e and Kasplia timber transported to Riga (Table 6.9). They reveal a highly imperfect market for Muscovite timber with only a handful of buyers in most years, typically Lithuanian noblemen or Witebsk burghers.[148] In addition, we know that Russian government receipts from timber sales to foreigners attained Rtl 3,923 in 1688, Rtl 2,053 in 1689, and Rtl 3,286 in 1690.[149] The available evidence suggest that the productive

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[145] Doroshenko, "Protokoly," p. 141.

[146] RA Livonica II, vol. 342.

[147] Especially starting in the mid-1690s, there were also two other varieties: so-called "Dutch" timber (*Hollansch Holz, golenderka*) which measured 58–60 inches, and "French" timber (*Fransch Holz, frantsuskaia*) which came in two versions measuring 48–58 inches ("large" or double) or 38–42 inches ("small" or single). Pāvulāne, *R gas tirdzniec ba*, p. 152. The Russian documents equate one piece of *Wagenschoß* with four pieces of *Faßholz*, or 8 pieces of Dutch timber, or 16 pieces of large French timber. RGADA f. 145, op. 1, 1692 g., No 19, fol. 14^{v}.

[148] For examples, see: Kotilaine, "Riga's Trade," pp. 149–50.

[149] RGADA f. 145, op. 1, No 19, fol. 143^{v}; No 28, fols. 4, 96.

potential of the western Russian timber industry gradually increased towards the end of the century.[150] The Smolensk region also supplied masts. In 1679/80, some 82–168 masts were shipped to Riga. Hamburg merchant and Danish royal factor Heinrich Butenant von Rosenbusch tried to stop these exports, since he claimed that they undermined his monopoly position (since 1680) as an exporter of Russian timber via Arkhangel'sk. However, Butenant himself shipped 21 masts from Smolensk to Riga in 1688, 52 in 1689, and 72 masts in 1690. 50 masts followed in 1691, 43 in 1692, and 34 in 1693. The Russian government in 1693 farmed out the monopoly to a Dutch merchant Daniel Hartman for a decade. Hartman was to pay Rtl 5 a mast to the Treasury, one more than Butenant. However, the annual export volumes remained fairly modest. Hartman cut 21 masts in 1694, 24 in 1695, 28 in 1697, and 31 in 1698.[151]

The situation with potash appears to have been largely analogous to timber, with at least occasional large shipments. The total potash imports in 1676/7, '77/8, and '78/9 were worth R 1,510, 1,740, and 1,520 respectively. In 1676, 109 barrels (323.65 S#) from Porech'e arrived in Riga. Russian specie receipts from potash sales in the Smolensk region in 1676/7 reached Rtl 747.75. In 1678, two Smolensk burghers sent over 50 barrels of potash (140 S#, *c.* R 700) to Riga. In 1679, 168.45 S# of potash (R 880.15) was sold by the tsar's administrative office, presumably for export to Riga. Another 123 S# (R 642.67) came from Porech'e.[152] These figures were clearly a pale imitation of those observed in Arkhangel'sk. Also grain trade continued in the 1690s. In 1690–2, Rtl 397 worth of wheat was exported from Porech'e, followed by a barge worth Rtl 300 in 1694. Porech'e merchants paid a total of Rtl 1,087.5 for two barges of wheat in 1695.[153]

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[150] RGADA f. 79, op. 1, 1700 g., fols. 3–4.

[151] Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskie kuptsy*, II, pp. 22–3; RGADA f. 145, op. 1, No 19, fols. 218^{v}–219^{v}; No 28, fol. 95–95^{v}, 133; No 32, fols. 16^{v}, 70–1, 121–2, 169–169^{v}, 205.

[152] In 1681, local Muscovite potash sales totaled at least Rtl 2,250, followed by Rtl 260.5 in 1684, Rtl 1,280 in 1685, at least Rtl 590.75 in 1686, at least Rtl 200 in 1687, and at least Rtl 304.75 in 1689. RGADA f. 145, op. 1, kn. 12, ch. 2, fols. 355–6^{v}, 771; No 14, fols. 149–50; No 17, fols. 10–13, 59; No 18, fol. 18; No 19, fols. 41^{v}, 67^{v}, 72, 85, 96, 139, 205, Mitiaev, "Oboroty," p. 59.

[153] RGADA f. 145, op. 1, No 32, fol. 16^{v}, 127^{v}.

Ultimately, Riga clearly joined its Estonian and Ingrian neighbors in reaping substantial benefits from the *Derivation* policy, even if the nature and magnitude of the boom was less spectacular than in Narva or Nyen. The annual volume of Russian exports to Riga regularly attained R 40,000 and more in the 1670s–90s but is unlikely to have exceeded R 100,000 more than very occasionally, perhaps among other things at the end of the century for which we lack complete records. The regularization of trade led to mutual credit-giving on a substantial scale. A surviving petition from Wesseling to the City Council in December 1700 reveals that the combined debts of Muscovite merchants amounted to Rtl 23,023 1/3 consisting mainly of unpaid credit predating 1699. However, another document puts the outstanding debts owed to 32 Riga merchants involved with Muscovites at Rtl 81,745 at the outbreak of the war.[154]

Overall, the period of peace between the Kardis peace and the outbreak of the Great Northern War just under four decades later stands out as an economic golden age for Sweden's Baltic provinces. While this development was primarily due to the improved health, and steady further expansion, of the northwestern Russian cities, one of the forces driving the "Second Baltic Boom" was a growing diversion of trade from central Russia. The head of Pskov customs in 1666 described a transition in the nature of the city's trade with Sweden from exclusively locally produced commodities to goods—especially *iufti* and tallow—produced in Moscow, Iaroslavl', and elsewhere.[155] The 1670/1 Pskov customs record lists 18 merchants from out of town carrying a total of R 7,912.9 worth of goods. There are six entries on merchants from Iaroslavl' or the region who accounted for 48 percent of this total. The share of the Moscow merchants was 39 percent. The others came from Kostroma, the Nizhnii Novgorod district, Uglich, Porkhov, and Pechory.[156] In 1675, Iaroslavl' merchants took D 23,329.5 worth of goods to Stockholm, including 1,489 *iufti* and 1,065 other hides and skins.[157] There is a certain amount of other—mainly anecdotal—evidence to suggest that

[154] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 42; EAA 278–1–XXII:151 Extract aller aus Riga ausgeschifften Wahren 1683; LVVA 673–4–226, fols. 3–5.

[155] RGADA f. 96, 1666 g., No 1, fols. 4–5; ASPF IRI RAN f. 132, op. 2, No 1337, fol. 200.

[156] Chistiakova, "Pskovskii torg," pp. 216–7.

[157] Shabrova, *Iaroslavl'*, p. 221; RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15.

the diversion soon made itself felt even beyond the leading cities of the center.[158]

This growing diversion from central Russia manifested itself in a particularly marked increase in *iuft'* trade where overland transportation was economically viable. In 1691, Moscow, Iaroslavl', Kostroma, Nizhnii Novgorod, and Kazan' merchants, instead of journeying to Arkhangel'k, took over 2,000 S# of *iufti* through Novgorod to Sweden, some through Nyen, some through Pskov to Riga. Available data on the annual *iuft'* exports of Narva, Nyen-Stockholm, Reval, and Riga in 1689–90 was just under 2,000 S#, or some 74,000 hides. A diversion of this magnitude was thus of enormous importance for Baltic leather trade. A collective plea to Tsars Ivan V and Peter I by merchants from Moscow, Iaroslavl', Novgorod, and elsewhere blamed the shift to the Baltic on unfair terms of trade at Arkhangel'sk which, they said, were bringing "only poverty and destitution" to Russian merchants. In response, the tsars initially allowed free passage of *iufti* to the West with low customs duties, although a sharp increase in exports to twice the expected volume in 1691 caused them to reassert control so that only *iufti* that had remained unsold in Arkhangel'sk could be taken to Sweden or Lithuania instead. Even then, however, *iufti* could be sold to western Russian merchants who could then export them at only 4/7 of the new higher rates. While this would have deprived the central Russians of the extraordinary profits involved in this border trade, it is likely that transaction prices in Russia reflected the likelihood of high profits, at least to a degree.[159]

The rate of growth of northwestern Russian trade in the second half of the century by far exceeded that observed on the Arkhangel'sk route. The total value of Pskov's exports in 1670/1 was R 50,862. Novgorod's exports, assuming they represented a comparable share of the city's trade, would have been roughly one-half of this. Thus the total value is likely to have been under R 80,000. However, judging by the data on toll receipts, Pskov's exports are likely to risen to some R 80,000 by 1692 (Fig. 6.6). Novgorod's, in contrast, should have been in the order of 130–150,000 (Fig. 6.5). Thus, the combined figure by the early 1690s almost certainly exceeded R 200,000.

[158] Demkin, *Russkoe kupechestvo*, p. 17.
[159] RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15.

Extrapolating from trade data for the Swedish Baltic ports, we can assume that the export trade of northwestern Russia at the end of the century is likely to have peaked at R 1,000,000 p.a., or perhaps even exceeded it. During the dramatic expansion of the 1690s, Russian export volumes on the Baltic route thus came to catch up with, and almost certainly overtake, Arkhangel'sk.

It is hard to overestimate the historical significance of this "Second Baltic Boom". It marks a large-scale reorientation of Muscovite trade flows at an almost breathtaking pace, a shift towards the patterns observed in the 16th century or, indeed, once again after 1721. While this naturally owed a great deal to the particular political circumstances of the era, it also exposed the limitations of the Muscovite government's strategy of relying on the Arkhangel'sk route. The trends, moreover, undermine the historical cliché of Peter I opening Russia's "window on Europe" by founding St Petersburg. Russia's future capital was established on—or rather next to—the ruins of a thriving Swedish port with considerable potential. More to the point, the position of St Petersburg in the Russian economy built on the foundation of the commercial operations of northwestern and eventually increasingly also central Russian traders in the Baltic. In a very real sense, the Mikliaevs and Stoianovs of Novgorod, and their increasingly numerous and prosperous colleagues, deserve a great deal of the credit for (re-)opening the window on the West.

If the dramatic recovery of the Baltic route in the early 1650s caused concern in Moscow, the developments of the post-Kardis era must have been at least as unsettling. While the economic development of the Northwest was naturally to be welcomed, the Russian government was very wary of enriching Sweden too much. The fact that Muscovite export trade was shifting northwestward clearly challenged not only the Northern Dvina route, but also the balance of power between Sweden and Russia. The dramatic expansion in the customs receipts of Narva (Figure 6.7) and the booming trade on the Nyen-Stockholm axis (Fig. 6.6) promised to turn Narva and Nyen into centers of trade comparable to the stature St Petersburg managed to attain in the 18th century. Regrettably, the available data on Russian policy-making in the early modern era is highly incomplete and conclusive answers to many intriguing questions are impossible. However, the challenge facing Peter I was obvious: At a minimum, Sweden was looking to consolidate its control of the Eastern Baltic, or more alarmingly, to expand its holdings eastward.

Peter recognized the enormous potential of Baltic trade and the economic costs that Russia's isolation entailed. We know that the Danish ambassador Paul Heins in August 1698 claimed to have heard of Peter's plans to have a Baltic port "with time." Such intentions were likely further formalized at the Rawa Ruska talks with Poland. Later that year, Peter was already reported to be interested in Narva which lay (just) outside of the historic "patrimony" of Ingria, as defined prior to the Stolbovo treaty. In October, the tsar told the Saxon envoy Georg Carl von Carlowitz of his consternation at having "himself totally unjustly deprived of all the ports in the Baltic and [*at seeing*] *the commerce of his subjects limited by that fact, to the great prejudice of all his states*." (emphasis mine)[160] This language suggests that Peter's Baltic designs were indeed motivated by much more that the affront suffered at Riga and his general anger with Sweden.

A Note on Russian Imports via the Baltic

The role of foreign imports in the Baltic region was, if anything, even more important for Russia than it was in the case of the White Sea route. While Arkhangel'sk was unquestionably the principal source of foreign specie for the Muscovite economy, most Western goods shipped there in peacetime were consumer goods, in many instances luxuries destined for the upper crust of Muscovite society. Even as luxuries were a regular component of Baltic trade as well, Russian imports through Novgorod and Pskov tended to be dominated by necessities. Sweden proper was a crucially important source of iron and copper, whereas the eastern Baltic ports acted as conduits for substantial quantities of salt and herring, both of which were needed and used by all social strata.

The task of determining the composition and evolution of Russian imports on the Baltic route is far more complicated that in the case of Arkhangel'sk. The main complication is naturally created by the fact that all trade had to pass through non-Muscovite territory. Although a great deal of data survives on the imports of the Swedish Baltic ports, it virtually never explicitly specifies the scale of re-exportation

[160] Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, pp. 214–6.

to Muscovy. Even Swedish policy-makers, who took an active interest in tracking Russian export trade in the area, had few incentives to do the same in the case of Western exports destined for Muscovy. Similarly, the rules of domestic customs administration meant that the cargoes of ships traveling within Sweden was often not explicitly specified in the import records of the Baltic ports.[161]

Nor can the reasonably well-documented imports of the Baltic ports themselves serve as an adequate approximation of exports to Russia, since many of the goods typically destined for Muscovy—for example iron—were also re-exported to Western Europe. The Baltic ports were among the leading commercial centers in Sweden and thus served as important pooling places for exports to the West and the East alike.[162] Moreover, many of the imports of Riga, Reval, Narva, and Nyen were intended for local consumption, but determining its share with any degree of accuracy is, alas, impossible.

The basic bundle of the Muscovite imports is well-known. There was a striking dichotomy between Swedish products and imports from Western Europe. The assortment of wares emanating from Sweden itself was very narrow and seldom went to any significant degree beyond metals and metal products. In contrast, the array of Western European re-exports was broader and usually not much different from that seen on the White Sea route, although the weight of salt and herring was in relative terms much greater. Swedish exports reached Russia primarily through the Stockholm-Nyen axis. In contrast, trade in the other Baltic ports was dominated by Western European traders and most exports to Muscovy were goods brought in by them. There were, to be sure, regular shipments of Swedish goods to the Baltic ports but a large proportion of them was either exported to Western Europe or used locally. The share of goods destined for Russia appears to have been relatively modest, especially after trade through Nyen established itself.

The two most important Swedish export products to Russia were iron and copper which jointly ordinarily accounted for at least three-quarters of the total value of Stockholm's exports to Russia (Table

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[161] Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, p. 441.

[162] For instance, iron exports from Narva to Western Europe reached over 950 S#, or some 9,500 *pud* in 1668. Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, p. 453.

6.9). Sweden had a highly developed mining industry by the standards of the time and the quality of Swedish iron by far exceeded Russia's own production, a fact remarked upon by J. Kilburger as late as 1673, by which time the Western-operated iron mills of the Tula-Kashira region were already operational.[163] Swedish iron reached Russia in a variety of forms: bars, plates, sheets, and finished objects. The most continuous source of Muscovite iron imports is a March 1699 report from the Treasury to the Armory (*Oruzheinaia palata*) which points to annual imports of 13–28,000 *pud* a year in the 1690s.[164] On the other hand, a 1697 account by a Russian merchant cites a significantly higher figure of 5,130 S#, or 51,300 *pud*.[165] Most of the difference was probably due to the fact that the Treasury report only covers iron shipped to the capital, even though this ordinarily would have accounted for the vast majority of the Russian imports.

Swedish metal exports expanded dramatically in the course of the century. The total amount of iron shipped from Stockholm to Russia in 1659 was 2,120 S#.[166] By 1694 the corresponding figure, which consisted almost entirely of iron bars, was 4,840 S# which appears quite consistent with the above Russian estimate for 1697. As sought-after as Swedish iron was in Muscovy, the eastern neighbor remained a secondary market for Sweden. Russia's share of Sweden's total iron exports was a relatively modest 2.8 percent. However, over 3,000 S# worth was exported to Narva and Nyen and it seems likely that at least some of this iron eventually ended up in Muscovy.[167] The value of Stockholm's iron exports to Russia, judging by the available data, at the best of times exceeded SD 80,000 p.a. The rouble equivalent of this was some 20,000, although the Moscow prices were much higher, perhaps even several-fold.[168]

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[163] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 120; Heckscher, *An Economic History*, pp. 70–2, 85–8, 92–100; Magnusson, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia*, pp. 131–48.

[164] The data is as follows (year—*pud*):1693—17,713:11; 1694—14,088:38; 1695—20,316:37; 1696—13,249:6; 1697—22,388:18; 1698—27,964:18; 1699—27,270:37; *RShEO*, p. 554.

[165] Bakhrushin, "Torgi" p. 176.

[166] *Svensk handelsstatistik*, pp. 690–1.

[167] *Svensk handelsstatistik*, pp. 746–7.

[168] There is no doubt that Swedish iron set the quality standards on the Russian market. The maximum price of iron found by R. Hellie is R 8 a *pud* which would translate the aforementioned 50,000 *pud* into R 400,000. This is clearly unrealistic,

Copper shared the place of pre-eminence among Swedish exports to Russia and geographic factors alone made the Baltic route the most important source of copper to Muscovy. Domestic production, in spite of consistent efforts, remained discontinuous and modest. In contrast, imports through Tikhvin alone varied between some 800 and well over 2,000 *pud* p.a. in 1665–98. Much of this copper, especially starting in the '90s, was shipped on to Moscow and Iaroslavl'.[169] Swedish exports tended to assume the form of plates, kettles, wire, and coin. There were also various other copper and bronze products. Copper coin circulated in Sweden throughout the period and was used in Russia in the 1650s and '60s.

Reflecting in part the more recent origins of industrial-type copper production in Sweden, Swedish exports to Russia rose even more dramatically than iron trade. While the 1654 total was a mere 132 S#, the 1694 figure reached some 2,260 S#, making Muscovy's share of Sweden's total exports a respectable 27.9 percent.[170] The total copper imports via northwestern Russia to Moscow in 1693/4 rose to 12,450 *pud*. Apparently total Russian copper imports in 1697/8 attained 17,118 *pud*, or some 1,700 S#.[171] Their value peaked at nearly SD 200,000 p.a., the equivalent of some R 50,000 valued in Stockholm prices and, again, significantly more in Russian prices.[172] It does not seem altogether far-fetched to assume that, at their peak, the value—at Moscow prices—of iron and copper imports form Sweden may have significantly exceeded R 100,000 a year.

The principal groups of Western European exports to Russia on the Baltic route consisted of salt, herring, alcoholic beverages, tobacco, spices, cloth, and haberdashery. These wares dominated the import bundles of the Eastern Baltic ports which in turn were the main

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however. Not all the iron reached Moscow, not all of it was of top quality, and the R 8 figure is something of a statistical outlier. The median found by Hellie is 50 kopecks which, on the other hand is clearly too low. A modest sample of seven observations on "Swedish" iron yielded an average per-*pud* price of 60 kopecks and a range of 47.5 to 90 kopecks. For instance sheet iron had a median price of 90 kopecks. An admittedly conjectural figure of R 1 per *pud* would have made the imports of Swedish iron worth a respectable R 50,000, and probably more at their peak. Hellie, *The Economy*, pp. 149–50.

[169] Serbina, *Ocherki*, pp. 266–7.

[170] *Svensk handelsstatistik*, pp. 690–1, 748–9.

[171] Bakhrushin, "Torgi" p. 176.

[172] Hellie has recorded an average per-*pud* price of R 3.73 for copper. However, there were considerable price variations and the known maximum was R 70. Hellie, *The Economy*, pp. 144–5.

source of them for northwestern Russia. Not surprisingly, therefore, as the above discussion has shown, much of the national and especially city-specific legislation governing Swedish-Russian commercial relations dealt with salt, herring, and tobacco. The surviving data on exports by Russian merchants from Reval in the early decades of the 17th century, as plagued with imperfection as it is, reflects the situation reasonably well (Table 6.10). The basic impression is confirmed with fragmentary contemporary data for Narva, Ivangorod, Viborg, etc.[173]

Although we have very little comparable data for other towns and later periods, a wealth of anecdotal accounts suggests that the composition of export did not undergo substantial change. Additional information on the composition of Western European exports to Russia can be found in the surviving records of Lübeck's *Novgorodfahrer*. Some of their goods were undoubtedly sold in the Baltic ports themselves and never reached Russia. However, the principal focus of their operations was northwestern Russia and we can thus safely assume that the composition of their exports in any given year did not significantly differ from the bundle of goods reaching Novgorod and Pskov. E. Harder-Gersdorff has analyzed the breakdown of Lübeck's exports to Russia in 1638 and 1690 (Table 6.11). Although, the value of the Lübeck data—which is available for much of the last two-thirds of the century—is somewhat compromised by the substantial proportion of unidentified goods, it does reveal the lasting importance of salt, as well as the consistency of fairly significant wine, cloth, metal, and haberdashery exports.[174]

Salt had been a key Russian import since the Middle Ages and domestic production failed to meet the needs of the growing population even in the 17th century in spite of major advances, especially on the Caspian coast and in Staraia Russa. J. Kilburger in the 1670s, probably somewhat inaccurately, claimed that the Pskov region was the only part of Russia still consistently dependent on foreign imports and salt constituted one of the best business opportunities for Narva merchants.[175] Indeed, salt frequently accounted for more than one-half of Narva's exports in value terms. The total annual volumes varied between 807 as and many as 32,323 barrels,

[173] See for instance, Piirimäe, "O sostoianii Narvskoi torgovli."
[174] AHL NoF L. Contoirgelder.
[175] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 120.

but year-to-year variations could be quite substantial. In addition, more or less comparable quantities were imported via Reval and it is likely that at least some of Reval's salt imports had Muscovy as their ultimate destination. Very revealingly, large quantities of imported salt were frequently shipped from Reval to Narva. The importance of salt in the Baltic import bundle appears to have declined somewhat towards the end of the century, probably primarily because of an improved domestic supply situation in Russia. Among other things, salt never assumed the same dominant role in Nyen as it did elsewhere, but this was probably because of the near-total specialization in metals trade, as seen above.[176] Smolensk's trade with Riga similarly involved a significant element of exchanging Russian hemp for foreign salt which was usually the leading import on the Dźwina route. The known imports of "Riga salt" varied between R 2,490–3,340 p.a. and were usually far ahead of the volumes supplied by Staraia Russa which was Smolensk's second main source of the commodity.[177] As in Arkhangel'sk, most Western salt came from France, Spain, and the Lüneburg area. By far the leading suppliers were Amsterdam and Lübeck merchants.

Herring was another regular import which often appears in the sources together with salt. Much of the commercial regulatory framework, for instance, applied equally to both goods. The known herring imports via Narva varied a great deal year to year. There were instances when the annual totals barely exceeded 100 barrels. However, the 1671 total was 3,084.25 barrels and the 1696 total 2,348 barrels. The most important known sources of Narva's herring imports were Denmark, the Low Countries ("Flemish herring"), Skåne (Scania), and Bergen.[178] In spite of its regular presence, herring typically was far less important than salt in value terms.

Cloth was historically the leading category of Western imports in Novgorod, but its relative importance clearly declined by the 17th century, perhaps because of the diversion of commerce to the White Sea route where, as was seen in Chapter 5, cloth remained domi-

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[176] Examples of approximate annual totals on record for Reval are: 1,280 lasts in 1672, 1,000 in 1685, 2,340 in 1695, and 720 in 1696. Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, pp. 473–5, 478–9; RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 27, 43: Extrakt over in- och utgående varor från licentkammaren i Narva, 1657–1675; Küng, *Rootsi majanduspoliitika*, pp. 362–3.

[177] Mitiaev, "Oboroty," pp. 59, 62.

[178] Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, pp. 481, 483.

nant throughout. While the surviving records on especially Reval and Narva's cloth imports are relatively rich, it is virtually impossible to differentiate between local consumption and re-exports to Russia. Narva's cloth imports typically numbered in the thousands of ells. A local peak of 10,764 ells and 1,640 cloths was attained in 1677, only to be decisively eclipsed by 90,542 ells, 5286 cloths, and 2 boxes in 1696. Lübeck was consistenly the most important supplier, which suggests that the role of Russian re-exports was considerable. Over 100 different cloth types were imported to Narva, although various types of linens and woolens dominated.[179]

Alcoholic beverages were a regular component of the Baltic import bundle. Their re-exportation to Russia presupposed a special permission by the Muscovite authorities, although fairly extensive smuggling is likely to have been a common way of quenching the thirst of the northwestern Russian consumer. Individual Swedish merchants at least occasionally supplied distilled liquor to the government-operated tavern yards on Novgorod and Pskov.[180] The main categories of foreign alcohol supplied to the Baltic ports were French, Spanish, and Rhine wine. Other types of wine included Portuguese, cherry, Muscat, Mosel, pear, Canary Islands', and *Sekt*. In addition, there were various types of distilled alcohol, including cognac and *Brandwein*. Beer was shipped from Lübeck, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Wismar, and England.[181] The exact composition of Russian re-exports is regrettably once again unknown to us. It is likely that most of these drinks were shipped at least in small quantities and over shorter distances. However, in general we can assume that the share of distilled beverages tended to be higher. One source on Russian imports are the Narva customs books, since liquor exported to Muscovy was subject to excise duty and thus usually—but clearly not invariably—specifically recorded. The known totals are some 21,780 liters in 1666, 9,270 liters in 1668, 41,100 liters in 1671, and 35,600 liters in 1679. By far the most important category was French wine, followed by Spanish wine and distilled *Brandwein*.[182]

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[179] Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, pp. 485, 487.

[180] Thus J. Stewen in November 1662 supplied 3,000 buckets to Pskov and Johan Dein in 1672 4,000 buckets to Novgorod. RGADA f. 141, 1664 g., d. 222, fol. 23; f. 96, 1672 g., stb. No 1, fols. 7–8; Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, p. 488.

[181] Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, pp. 490–4.

[182] Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, pp. 495–6.

Tobacco, as was seen above, took Narva by a storm, and, especially after the English emerged as major suppliers, became one of the key driving forces of the expanding trade with Russia (Figure 6.11). Tobacco trade with Muscovy appears have been very heavily concentrated at Narva, although it is clear that some—and probably growing—quantities were exported via the other Baltic ports, as well. An exact quantification of this trade once again eludes us, but it is likely that the other Baltic ports would have added a quarter, perhaps even a third, to Russia's tobacco imports from Narva. To complicate matters further, Narva's import totals do obviously not equal exports across the border to Novgorod and Pskov. However, a great deal of official correspondence and other documentation suggests that Russia was the primary market of Narva's tobacco exports and probably accounted for at least two-thirds of them, possibly a great deal more. Lübeck and Amsterdam were still in the early 1660s the two leading suppliers, only to be thereafter decisively eclipsed by the English.[183] The value of Baltic tobacco exports to Russia is very difficult to determine, not least because of the aforementioned reasons, but also because of the lack market price data for Narva. Obviously, prices in Narva did not, in turn, equal prices in Muscovy where tobacco was a scarce and sought-after commodity nearly throughout the century. R. Hellie has found a median per-pound price—based on a small sample of 27 observations—of 31 kopecks and a wide range of 1.3 kopecks to R 3.60. Much of the variation was inevitable due to quality differences which, for instance between American and, say, Dutch or German tobacco, were considerable. Using the median figure, for want of more accurate data, would place the value of Narva's tobacco imports (in Russian prices) at some R 3,000 in the early 1670s, a figure which then steadily rose to a known peak of some R 7,000 in 1696. This, however, seems rather low, given the fact that most of the product came to be high-quality American tobacco. It is conceivable that the true figure could have been even several times higher.

Known paper imports of the Baltic ports were significantly below the levels observed in Arkhangel'sk. Thus J. Kilburger puts the annual totals on the White Sea route at 3,700–28,500 reams in the early 1670s. The figures observed in Narva seldom exceeded 1,000 reams, although as many as 1,673 were recorded in 1677, and a probably

[183] Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, p. 497.

unprecedented 9,505 in 1696.[184] While much of it was for local consumption, it is likely that at least some paper was shipped on to Russia.

As in Arkhangel'sk, various spices and fruits were a regular component of the Baltic import bundle. They included sugar, pepper, almonds, ginger, currants, bay leaf, cinnamon, nutmeg, indigo, lemons, raisins, olives, etc. In addition, there were more locally produced apples and plums, as well as grains. Some medicine was also shipped to Russia. Indeed, Karl XI in 1689 freed medication exported for the tsar's personal use from all duties.[185] In Narva, haberdashery and various spices and medicaments were frequently the second most important category of imports. However, a significant share of them must have been for local consumption.[186]

The surviving customs records of the eastern Baltic ports and Stockholm provide limited evidence of weapons exports to Russia. It is clear that the region did not have the same crucial role as a source of military *matériel* as Arkhangel'sk. At one level, this is of course little surprising. After all, the weapons were often used to fight Sweden which consequently had little reason to supply its arch-enemy with instruments of warfare. Moreover, Sweden with its increasingly far-flung provinces and imperial designs needed the output of its own armaments industry and, moreover, offered a source of demand for the weapons and munitions brought to the region by other foreigners. In spite of this, some military supplies did reach Russia along the Baltic route, although their volumes were usually fairly modest.

The highest recorded figures date from periods of Swedish-Muscovite *rapprochement*. For example, the Swedish envoy Anton Monier in 1630 explored the possibility of exchanging 3,000 *pud* of Russian saltpeter p.a. free of duty for Swedish copper, weapons, and other goods. The Russian diplomats F. Plemiannikov and A. Aristov arrived at the Swedish headquarters in Germany in early 1631 with instructions to buy 10,000 muskets and 5,000 swords, some of which the envoys were indeed able to buy in Swedish-occupied Pomerania. In the spring of 1632, Gustav II Adolf offered to supply Russia with 10,000

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[184] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 124; Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, pp. 499–500.

[185] The 1696 Narva customs book refers to 26 barrels and a chest of various medications and drugs shipped from Lübeck to the tsar's court. Piirimäe, *Vene-Rootsi majanduslikud suhted*, pp. 501–2; EAA 1646–1–1089, fol. 61.

[186] RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 27, 43: Extrakt over in- och utgående varor från licentkammren i Narva, 1657–1675.

muskets with cartridges, 5,000 sets of cavalry equipment, and 2,000 pistols in exchange for 50,000 *chetverti* of Russian grain. The Russians expressed interest in 2,000 cavalry outfits and received at least 1,510 of them.[187] Novgorod merchants played a leading role in this trade.[188] During the Thirteen Years' War, Lübeck merchants played a small part in the weapons trade. In 1660, a Russian was sent to Lübeck to buy 2,000 pairs of pistols and 1,000 carbines. The same year, the Lübeck merchant J. von Horn sold cannon and 10,000 *pud* copper. In 1661, his agent Sebastian Ritter sold 100 pairs of pistol and 100 carbines, which were delivered in Pskov. In 1665, 2,500 pairs of bandoleers were delivered in Novgorod.[189]

Stockholm's customs records from the second half of the century provide occasional references to military hardware. Small quantities of iron bullets were supplied to Russians almost every year. Similarly, most years saw shipments of English lead. For instance 75 S# in 1674 and 106 S# in 1675, and as much as 175 S# in 1679. There was 20 S# of sulphur in 1677 and half as much the following year. Four suits of armor were sold to Russians in 1674 and 16 muskets in 1679. Some 44,000 *pud* iron and some 14,000 *pud* copper were sent from Stockholm to Russia in 1685. Clearly, however, the Russian military benefitted from Baltic trade primarily in terms of it being an important source of inputs for domestic armaments production.[190]

Conclusions

Northwestern Russia in the 17th century constituted the second most important economic center of Muscovite Russia after the Volga-Oka mesopotamia. It had two important cities, as well as a number of smaller towns. Of the latter, at least three became active participants

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[187] Shaskol'skii, *Ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 39–41, 45–6.

[188] In 1630, Peter Mikliaev sold, along with 630 *pud* iron, 30 muskets, to the Iverskii Monastery. In 1641, Ivan Stoianov brought 26 Swedish copper pistols to Moscow. In 1649, Semen Stoianov supplied nearly 420 pud of iron to the Chancellery. Mikifor Mikliaev brought over 230 pud. In 1656, Semen Stoianov imported 9,471 muskets from Narva and Nyen. *Gost'* Semen Gavrilov of Novgorod frequently carried out commercial missions for the tsar in the 1660s–'80s. In 1686, he supplied the Cannon Chancellery with 2,500 *pud* lead. Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, pp. 58–9; *idem*, *Privilegirovannoe kupechestvo*, p. 55.

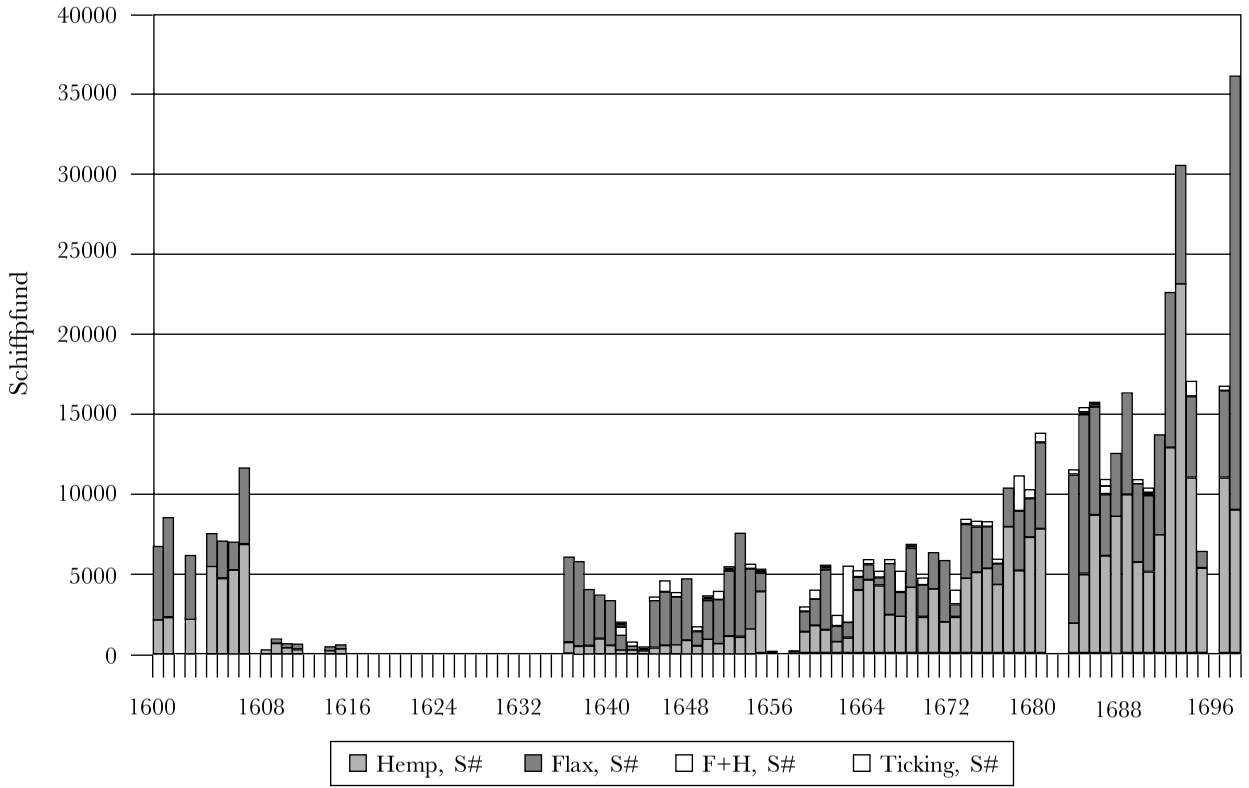
[189] In 1663, also an agent of the Dutch De Vogelaer-Kleck partnership sold 450 *pud* gunpowder there for R 1,575. Amburger, *Die Familie Marselis*, p. 117; Demkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*, II, p. 44.

[190] *Svensk handelsstatistik*, pp. 166–7, 730–9.

in direct Russian trade with Sweden. Having weathered devastating crises in the late 16th and early 17th century, the merchant communities of the northwestern cities underwent dramatic consolidation and growth in the post-Stolbovo era. From a modest starting point, they were able, through pooling capital and intermarriage, to establish themselves as a prosperous proto-bourgeoisie with often remarkable levels of personal wealth. Unlike their competitors on the White Sea route, northwestern merchants became the leading force in the region's foreign trade. Many of them were active skippers of the Stockholm route. More importantly, they gradually took over the vast majority of northwestern Russian foreign trade from their Swedish and Baltic German rivals.

Having lost its historic primacy in Muscovite foreign trade towards the end of the 16th century, northwestern Russia once again revealed its promise and potential by the middle of the century when it began to pose an increasingly serious challenge to the officially favored White Sea route. The growing orientation of Russian trade to Swedish-controlled ports was checked by the Russian onslaught in 1656 on the eastern Baltic littoral. However, the Kardis Treaty of 1661 was followed by a remarkably rapid normalization of the commercial relationship and, eventually, the most dramatic expansion of Russian foreign trade seen on any export route. Even if the oft-voiced frustration of Swedish policy-makers at the perceived failure of the *Derivation* policy was understandable, in as much as the Baltic route failed to displace the White Sea post as the main outlet of Russian exports, the generally negative assessment of most historians is clearly not compatible with the facts observed in the 1680s and '90s. On the contrary, the townsmen of northwestern Russia can claim a great deal of the credit typically attributed to Peter I for opening Russia's window on Europe. The accelerating reorientation of Muscovite trade is likely to have played an important role in leading Peter to attack Sweden in 1700. Just as importantly, Peter, having gained access to the Baltic, capitalized on the trends of the end of the 17th century by turning St Petersburg into the leading port of the country. In the end, if the Swedish *Derivation* policy—together with the Muscovite government-driven resettlement and recovery of the Novgorod lands—created the basis for the take-off of Baltic trade, the very success of this policy may have been the cause of its eventual downfall. By once again revealing the attractiveness of the Baltic route, the Swedish strategy likely gave the Muscovites the reason to turn the ideas behind Sweden's Baltic expansion against their creators.

Figure 6.1. Narva: Fibre exports



(*Source*: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck/Lübeck City Archive (AHL), Archiv der Novgorodfahrer: Comptoirgeldbücher; Rigsarkivet/Danish National Archive (RAD), Øresunds Toldkammarens Arkiv)

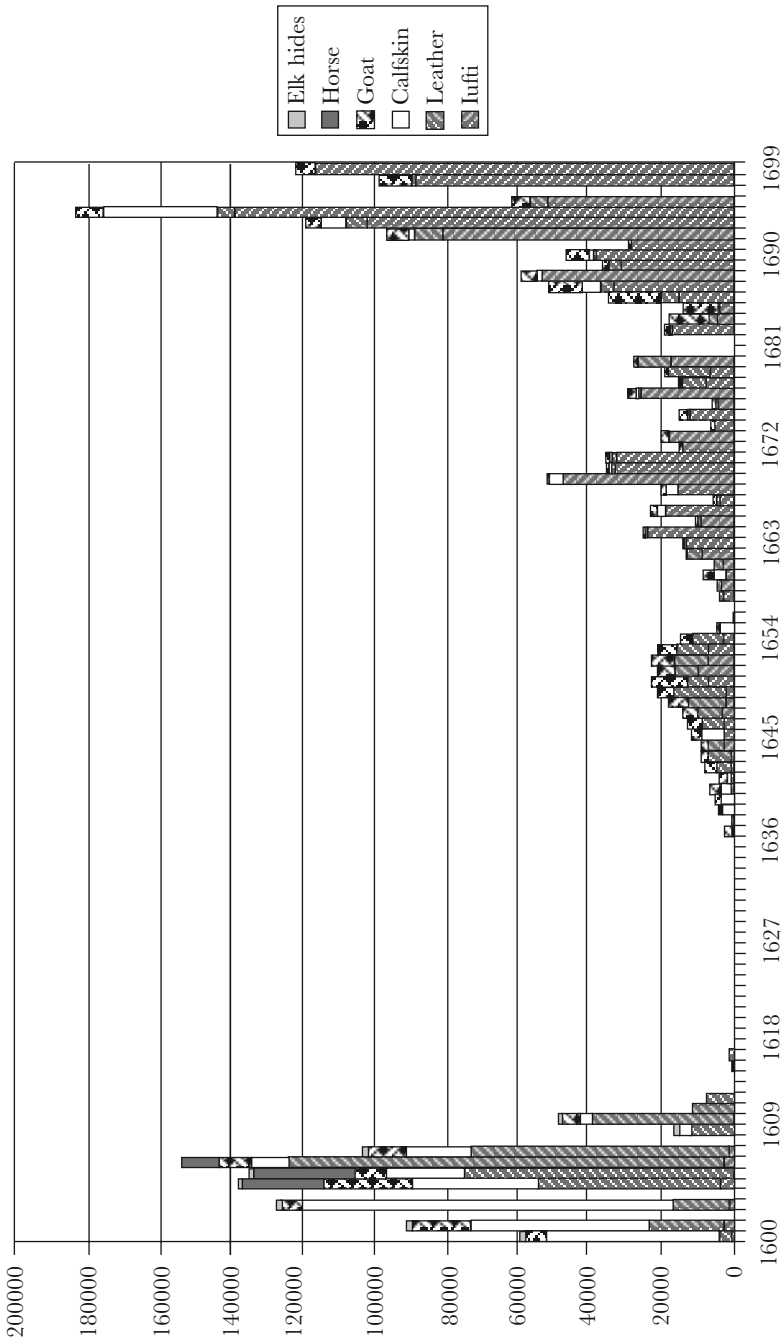
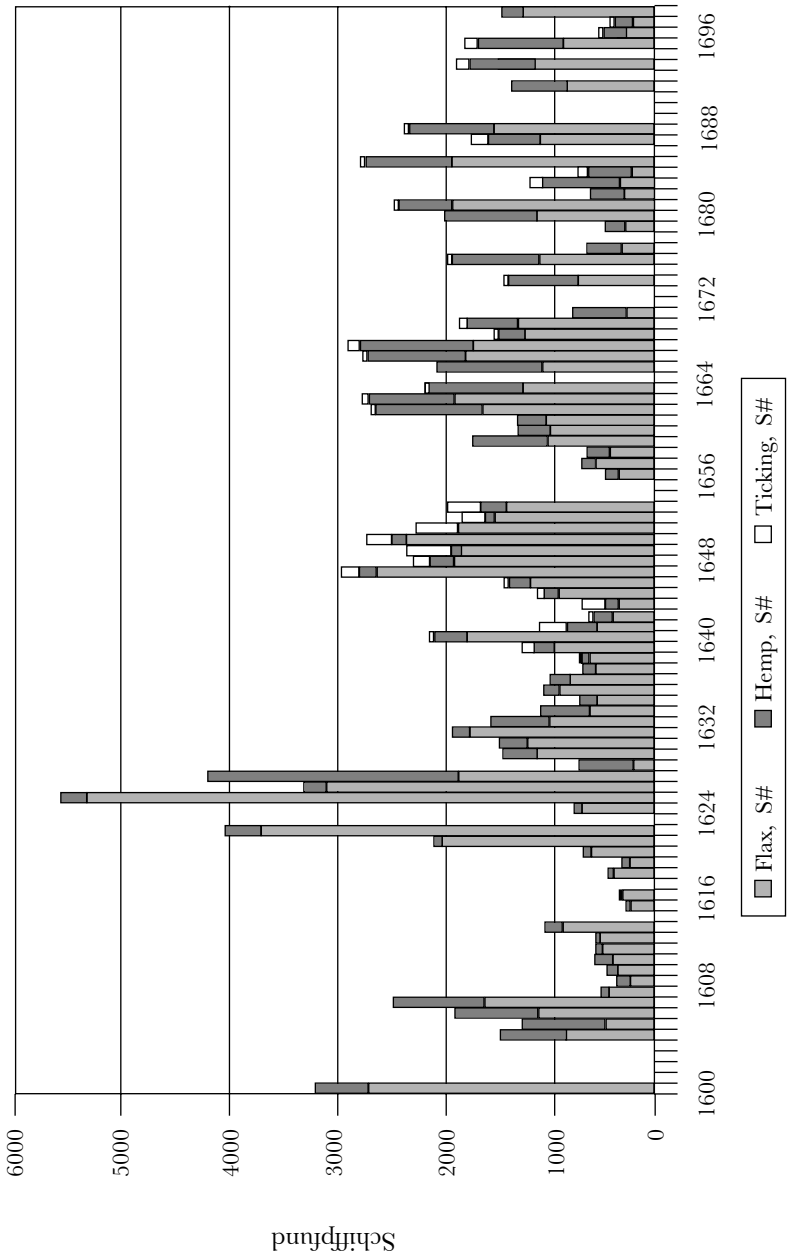


Figure 6.2. Narva: Leather exports

(*Source*: AHL, Archiv der Novgorodfahrer: Comptoirgeldbücher; (RAD), Øresunds Toldkammarens Arkiv)

Figure 6.3. Reval: Fibre exports



(*Source*: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv/Tallinn City Archive (TLA), 230–1–A.g. b; Riksarkivet/Swedish National Archive (RA), Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper; EAA f. 1, n. 2)

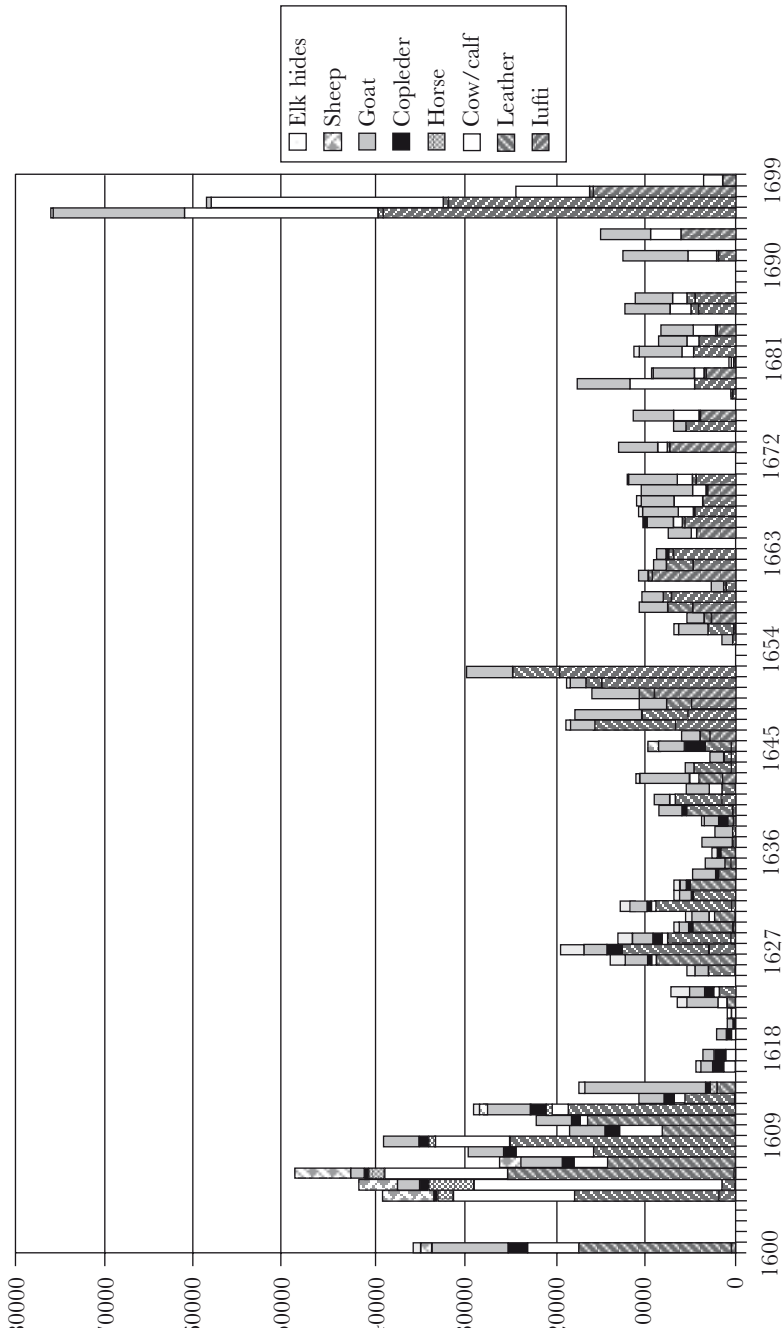
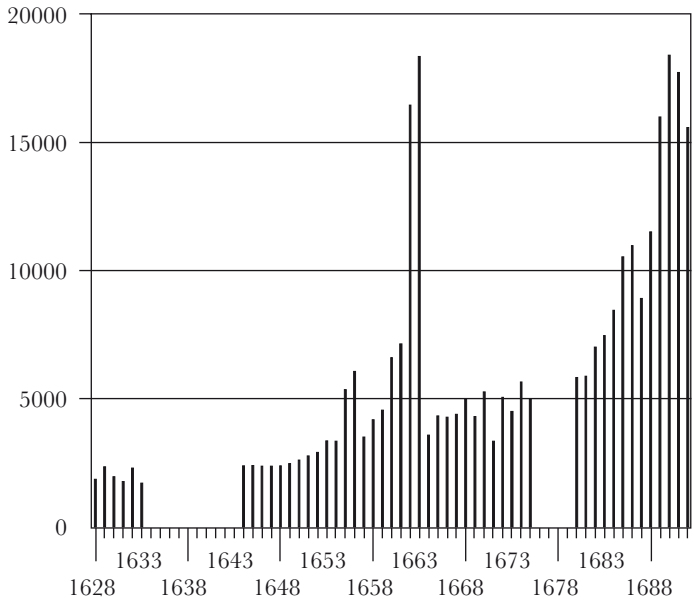


Figure 6.4. Reval: Leather exports

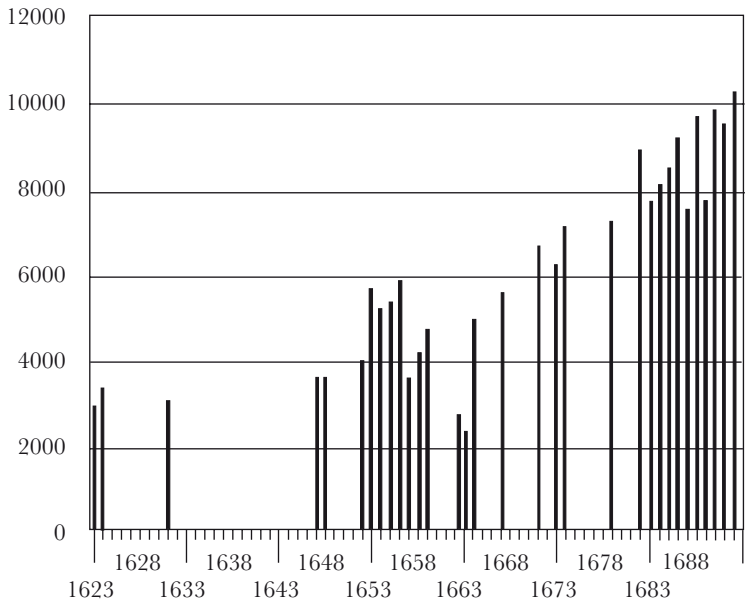
(*Source*: TLA 230–1–A.g. b; RA, Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper; EAA f. 1, n. 2)

Figure 6.5. Tax collections in Novgorod in the 17th century, roubles



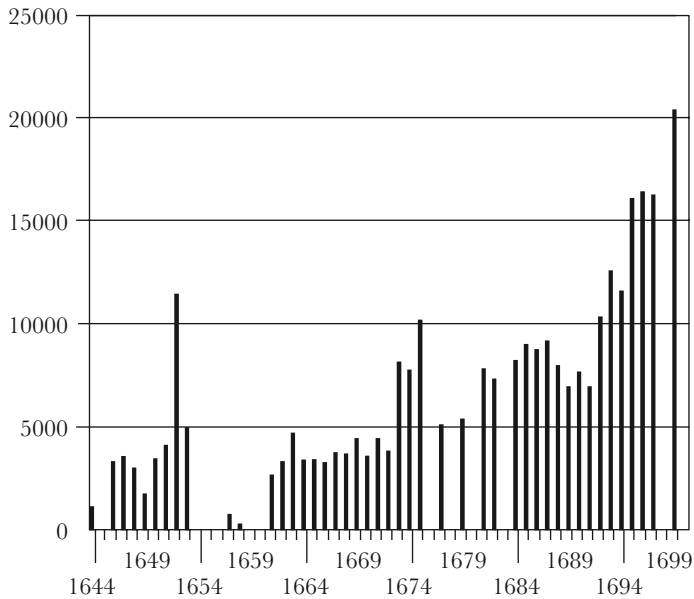
(*Source*: Varentsov, *Torgovlia*, p. 64; RGADA f. 137, op. 1, Novgorod, d. 16, ch. I, fol. 37; d. 18, ch. I, fol. 17v; d. 19, fol. 19v; d. 20, fol. 19v; d. 21, fol. 32v; d. 28, fol. 10; d. 31, fol. 7; d. 33, fol. 12v; d. 37, fol. 120; d. 39, fol. 7; d. 40, fols. 7–7v; d. 42, fol. 7; d. 43, fols. 5–5v; d. 45, fol. 6; d. 46, fols. 6v-7; d. 48, fols. 7–7v; d. 52, fols. 5–6; d. 59, fols. 9–9v; d. 61, fol. 4v; d. 63, fol. 6v; d. 65, fol. 8v; d. 67, fol. 11v; d. 68, fols. 11–2; d. 70, fol. 8; d. 72, fol. 8v; d. 73, fols. 6, 11v; d. 74, fol. 11v; d. 80, fol. 20; d. 83, fols. 28–28v; d. 84, fols. 36–36v; d. 87, fol. 28v; d. 90, fol. 22; d. 91, fols. 19–19v; d. 92, fol. 15v; d. 94, fol. 37; d. 98, fol. 43v; d. 100, fol. 79v; d. 105, fol. 60; d. 110, fol. 59; d. 113, fols. 56–56v; d. 121, fol. 116; d. 126, fols. 119–119v; d. 127, fol. 73; d. 132, fol. 164v; d. 150, fols. 147v–148v; d. 151, fol. 137v)

Figure 6.6. Tax collections in Pskov in the 17th century, roubles



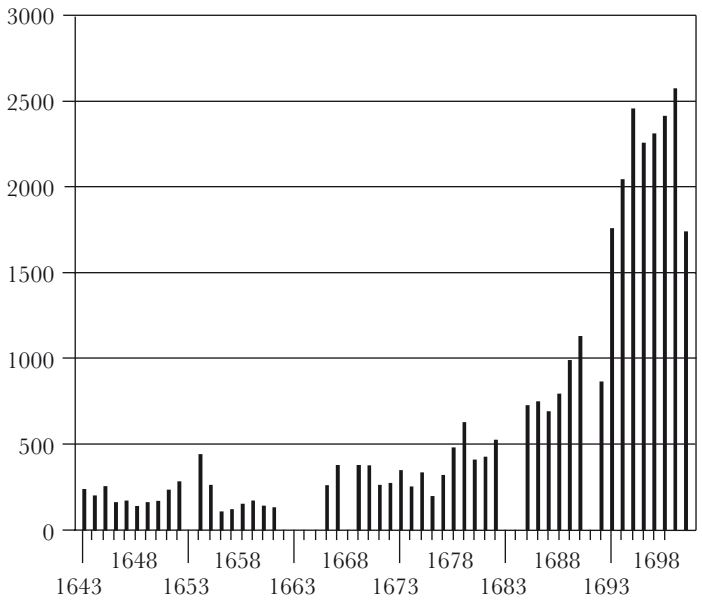
(*Source*: Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 166; RGADA f. 137, op. 1, No 4, fols. 6v–8; No 8 fols. 14v–15, 97–97v, 184v–185; 265–6, 360–1v, 449v–50; No 10, fols. 7–7v; No 14, fol. 32v, No 15, fol. 35v, No 15–a, fols. 6–8v; No 16, fols. 12v–3, 15v; No 18, fol. 19: No 20, fol. 20v; No 21, fol. 15v; No 22, fol. 92; No 23, fol. 66; No 24, fol. 66; No 25, fol. 52v; No 27, fol. 11, No 28, fol. 70; PGOIAKhMZ f. 608, No 293, fols. 37, 50; No 294, fols. 308–9; No 296, fols. 16–21; No 297, fols. 29–33; No 299, fols. 23v–4)

Figure 6.7. The evolution of Narva's *Portorium* receipts, 1644–96, *Reichsthaler*



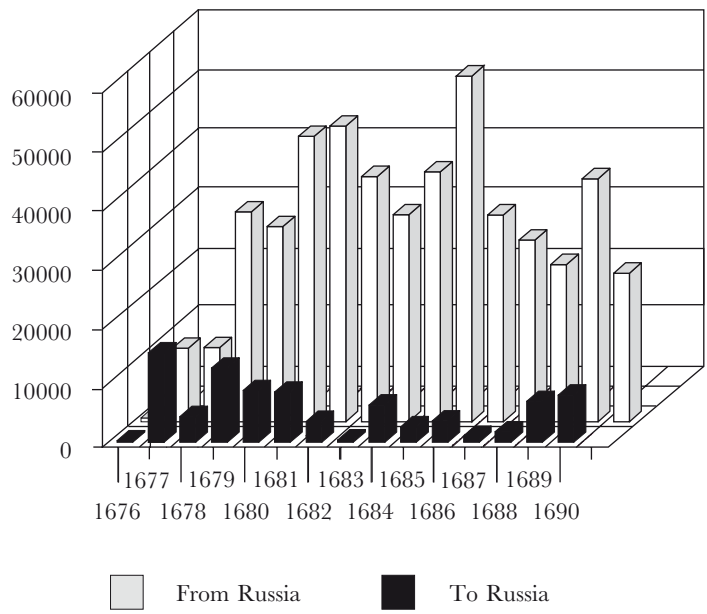
(*Source*: Piirimäe, "Tendentsiia," p. 106; Hansen, "Narva's Handel," p. 187; EAA 1646–1–1073, 1074, 1083, 1086, 1646–2–349; LVVA 7349–1–201, 202, 204, 206, 207, 208, 213)

Figure 6.8. Receipts from the "Scales Duty" at Stockholm's Ryssgård, *daler*



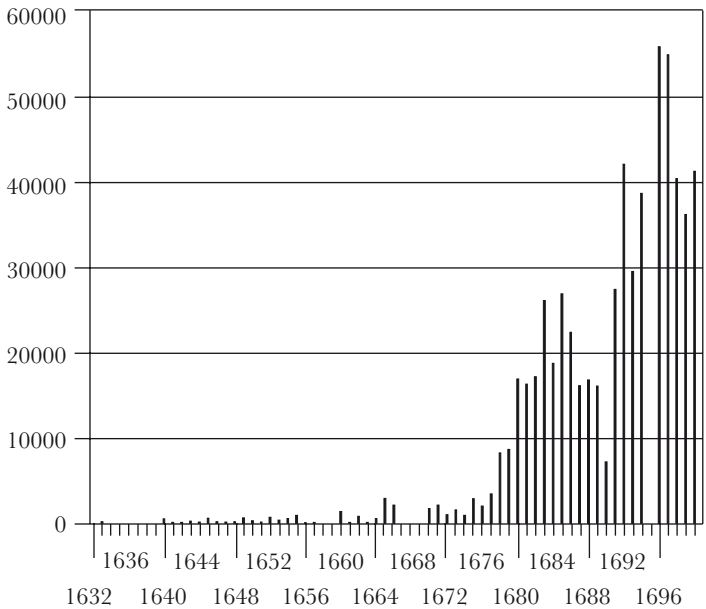
(*Source*: SSA Stadskamrerarens, drätselkommissionens samt drätselnämndens och dess avdelningars arkiv 1639–1921, G. Huvudboken och dess räkenskaper, I. Huvudböcker med verifikationer: b) Verifikationer 1636–1920)

Figure 6.9. Value of Riga's Muscovite imports subject to the *Oktroi* duty, *Rtl*



(*Source*: RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet: Inkomna handlingar: Kungliga brev och remisser: Huvudserien (E I a), vol. 12: 1691, fols. 129–130)

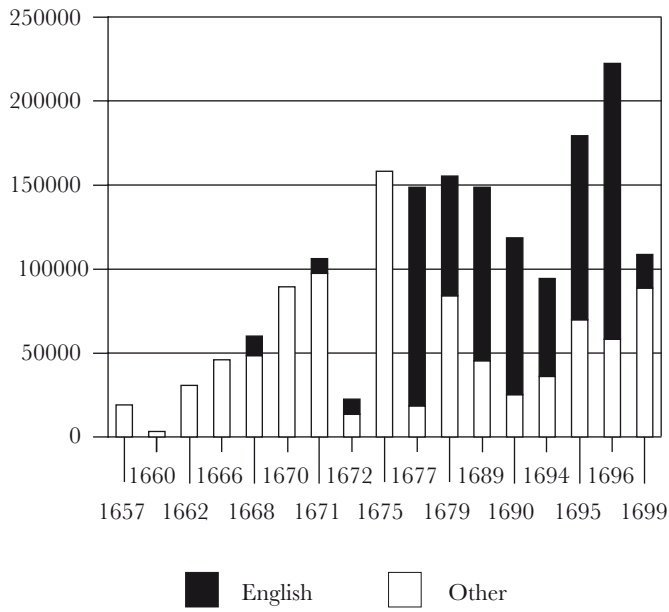
Figure 6.10. Riga's exports of Muscovite *iufti*, 1632–1700



According to the 1664 *Landlizent* book (RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 41), a significantly larger quantity, viz. 4,613½ pairs, came to Riga from Russia.

(*Source*: LVVA A.9–1–10691; LVVA 1744–1–2—19; LVVA 1744–2–3; LVVA 4038–2–1074, p. 29; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet: Inkomna handlingar: Kungliga brev och remisser: Huvudserien (E I a), vol. 12: 1691, f. 129–130; RA Östersjöprovnsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vols. 39, 42; LAB J.C. Brotze, *Livonica*, XV, pp. 204, 210)

Figure 6.11. Narva's tobacco imports, *pounds*



(*Source*: E. Küng, "Tubakakaubanduse riiklik reguleerimine," pp. 4–5; EAA 1646–1–1073, 1074, 1083, 1086, 1089; 1646–2–342–349; RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 43)

Table 6.1. Trade by Russian merchants in Reval, 1600–18

Year	Number of importers	Imports, *Thaler*	Average per consignment, *Thaler*	Exports, *Thaler*
1600	57	53,543	939.4	
1605	44	36,371	826.6	390*
1606	68	42,183½	620.3	16,565½
1607	76	73,371½	965.4	43,195½
1608	76	62,693.75	824.9	25,679.25
1609	64	73,996?	1,156.2	27,316?
1610	31	33,348.75	1,075.8	14,348
1611	4	6,331	1,582.8	3,063?
1612	25	23,278	931.1	11,040
1613	10 (+6)	8,974 +	897.4	6,260
1614	3 (+6)	3,157 +	1,052.3	3,124
1615	6			6,291
1617	7	1,068	152.6	303
1618	34	7,580	222.9	6,115
1620	26	2,069.5	79.6	704
1622	46	12,179	264.8	Rtl 3,248
1623–4	26			1,076.5

* only trade after August, 24, prior to which it was toll free.

(*Source*: Attman, *Den ryska marknaden*, pp. 443–7; E. Blumfeldt, "Statistilisi lisandeid Tallinna kaubaliikluse ja meresõidu ajaloole aa. 1609–1629," pp. 60–1; TLA 230–1–A.g.b))

Table 6.2. Basic parameters of Novgorod's trade in 1610/1

Home Town of Merchants	1610/1	
	Number of Merchants	Value of Goods Carried, R
Vologda	10	1,585.80
Ostashkov	37	1,338.50
Torzhok	29	1,333.51
Ivangorod	25	1,330
Iaroslavl'	6	1,272.5
Viaz'ma	19	1,111
Tikhvin	38	1,050.70
Toropets	27	965.80
Tver'	15	904.5
Oreshek	9	863.245
Beloozero	13	828
Moscow	17	821
Rzhev	29	801.91

Table 6.2. (*cont.*)

Home Town of Merchants	1610/1	
	Number of Merchants	Value of Goods Carried, R
Gorodets	10	387.50
Borovichi	20	377.50
Korela	8	371.50
Iam	5	305.50
Klin	5	281
Porkhov and its surroundings	10	279
Olonets	4	255.50
Belaia	9	245
Kargopol'	4	239.50
Staraia Russa	16	231
Pskov	5	190.50
Pogoreloe gorodishche	5	188.50
Staritsa	7	182.80
Kholm	11	132.50
Ustiuzhna Zhelezopol'skaia	3	131.50
Romanov	2	131
Vyshnii Volochek	2	96
Uglich	1	91
Iazhelbitsy	2	41
Rostov	1	40.50
Kimry	1	39
Polnovo	3	31.50
Selizharov	2	29
Zubtsov	1	25
Valdai	2	24
Sermaksa	1	18
Pudozh	1	13.65
Subtotal		16,454.415
Novgorod	281	8,727
Peasants		8,747.545
Sum total		33,929

(*Source*: RA Ockupationsarkivet i Novgorod, Serie 1, Nr 114)

Table 6.3. Main Russian exports passing through the Ivangorod customs, 1616–20

	1616*	1617	1618	1619	1620**
Point of origin of merchants:					
Pskov	7	65	86	19	6
Novgorod	4	31	29	13	3
Pechory			5	1	
Vologda		1			
Flax, S#	12.5	458.85	1,377.8	308.3	234.8
bundles		10	30		
Hemp, S#		182.75	316.25	39.5	14.2
bundles				10	
Tallow, S#		15.05	5.95	0.35	2
Wax, S#		0.25	0.1	3.85	0.15
Soap, tafel		179, 1,210 pcs	63	175	111
Hops, S#	53.5	67.3	35.4	45.6	
Elk hides	54	137	293	242	37
Iufti	10	168	152	260	
Leather	6	761	1,052	472	200
Horse	24	84,R 1	65	10	
Goat		400	260	438	
Morocco		5			45
Sheep skins		70	150		
Seal		1			
Gloves, pair		3,950, 1 pck	2,607	390	
Boots, pair		242	50	13	
Shoe soles	73	146	3		
Straps		20			
Lashes			20		
Halters			10		
Squirrel		2,667	41,027	3,000	
Sable		1,054	124	86	40
Ditto linings			2		
Marten		80	151	503	
Mink		222	451	302	
Otter		5	6	53	
Fox	2 linings	18, 1 lining	46	74	3
Cats			54, 3 linings	20	
Lynx			10	4	
Beaver				1	
Wolf		3, 2 linings	47	29, 2 linings	30
Bear		2		4	
Linen, *arshin*		550, 400 d., 8 pcs	2,392		
Ticking, *arshin*		180, 13 pcs	480	232, 4 pcs	650
Woollen, *arshin*			30		
Kersey, pcs			11		112
Silk, #				1	
Pike		2,350			
Bream		900			
Stormage		2,000			

Table 6.3 (*cont.*)

	1616*	1617	1618	1619	1620**
Horses	4		3		
Cows/calves	14		22		
Pigs	2				
Barrels			100		
Knives			19 × 12		
Spoons			700	240	
Pots		100			
Bowls		700			
Rings		550			
Nails		3,000			
Copper, l#			4.5		
Piece goods, R	57.39	201.54	610.195	187.25	182.12
Thoeme			15	40	

* Includes only November and December.
** The months of January to May, inclusive.

(*Source*: RA Österjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 20; Handel och sjöfart, vol. 15)

Table 6.4. Exports through the German Guesthouse in Pskov, 1623/4

Commodity	Quantity	Value, R
Flax	1,783.1 S#	8,738.80
Hemp	100 S#	200
Tallow	20 S#	170
Elk hides	240	768
Gloves	1,000 pairs	20
Sable skins	200	250
Squirrel skins	30,300	626.60

(*Source*: TLA 230–1–B.H. 21, fols. 2–8)

Table 6.5. The composition of Pskov's exports through the "German" guesthouse, 1670/1

Commodity	Quantity	Value, Roubles	Percent of total value
Pure hemp (*Pen'ka chistaia*)	17,220.5 *pud*	8,605.70	33.5
Pure flax	8,096.7 *pud*	6,098.355	23.8
Unpurified hemp/flax (*polubrak*)	2,926.7 *pud*	443.31	1.7
Hemp/flax ticking (*paklia*)	2,280.5 *pud*	105.16	0.4
Tallow	1,869 *pud*	1,175	4.6
Iufti	2,269 *pud*	7,785.54.18	30.3
Tanned hides	192	Total of 530.20	2
Raw hides	850		
Goat hides	100		
Khazy	160		
Marten	61	Total of 184.405	0.7
Mink	100+		
Fox	17		
Lynx	3		
Cat	438		
Mats	1,500	97.50	0.4
Felt strips	670	20.10	0.08
Gloves	100 pairs	5	0.01
Sum total		25,691.39	

(*Source*: PGOIAKhMZ f. 608, No 397, fols. 383–447v; Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 104)

Table 6.6. Sales of certain goods by Russian merchants visiting Stockholm (examples)

	Flax, S#	Hemp, S#	Tallow, S#	*Iufti**
1680	249	1,113	349	7,425
1681	198	1,027	376	8,073
1682	180	1,280	563	6,701
1685	313	2,000	433	5,602
1690	1,075	2,720	896	3,033
1692**	412	3,384	539	2,508
1693	779	3,147	879	8,931
1694	930	4,762	667	4,817
1695	918	5,574	1,118	4,975
1697	952	3,994	1,473	9,090
1698	759	3,761	1,539	12,953
1699	722	4,088	1,161	9,502
1700	1,085	2,758	880	3,604

* Calculated using a conversion rate of 8.52 # per *iuft*', based on the available comparative data in the customs records.

** The data for July has been lost. July was typically the third or fourth busiest month of the year, accounting for some 10 percent of the total annual sales.

(*Source*: SSA Stadskamrerarens, drätselkommissionens samt drätselnämndens och dess avdelningars arkiv 1639–1921, G. Huvudboken och dess räkenskaper, I. Huvudböcker med verifikationer: b) Verifikationer 1636–1920: 1680, del 3, fols. 5355–469; 1681, del 2, fols. 4209–307; 1682, del 3, fols. 3081–182; 1685, fols. 2464–659; 1686, del 1, fols. 2619–821; 1687, del 1, fols. 3091–289; 1688, del 1, fols. 2814–3048; 1689, del 1, fols. 2776–3049; 1690, del 1, fols. 2418–699; 1692, del 1, fols. 2294–531; 1693, del 2, fols. 3858–4128; 1694, del. 3, fols. 6324–634; 1695, del 1, sid. 898–1207; 1697, del 2, fols. 3110–3385; 1698, del 2, fols. 2914–3281; 1699, del 2, fols. 2838–3161; 1700, del 2, fols. 3222–3456)

Table 6.7. Quantities of Riga's imports subject to the *Oktroi* duty, 1676–95

	Iufti S#	Potash S#	Flax S#	Hemp S#	Furs Rtl	Tallow S#	Rhubarb *Biever-geil*, Rtl	Raw silk #	Linen *arshin*	Mats
1676	10.7									
1677	137	115	175.25							
1678	144.4		84		879		303	980		
1679	281.5	1,171	64		80					
1680	271	687	587							
1681	285	595	1,449	205.5	49	30.7	125			2,000
1682	433		1,429		507	20.15	350			3,500
1683	311		1,233			1.65	3,905			
1684	446.5		446		550		285			440
1685	371.6		854.6		100				4,146	400
1686	267.8		2,324		3,290		605		36,420	3,300
1687	279.1		992.2		40				66,474	
1688	267.2		657.25	49.75	810				100,548	
1689	118.25		563.65	3.05	4,390	8.8		380	205,119	
1690	455.35		423.85	10.7					330,570	2,600
1691	397	79.5								
1695	915.75	199.8			735			245	37,067	6,920

The 1687 imports also contains eight packets of sheet cloth. The 1689 also contain 460 oxhides.
The 1695 imports also contain 5 boxes of soap, 90 hides of morocco leather, 100 pairs of gloves, 15 # *Repontica*, 30 # *Haußblaßen*, and 300 # anis.

(*Source*: RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet: Inkomna handlingar: Kungliga brev och remisser: Huvudserien (E I a), vol. 12: 1691, fols. 129–130; Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 42)

Table 6.8. Muscovite trade on the Düna route in the 1690s[191]

	1692	1696	1698	1699
Total number of boats	376	375½	561¼	705.125
Number from Muscovy	35	29	34.625	42
Smolensk	31	30	30.625	37
Starodub				5
Dorogobuzh			3	
"Muscovy"	4		1	
Hemp	3 *Strusen* (= *c.* 600 S#)	30 *Strusen* (= *c.* 6,000 S#)	1,278 *Bunten* (= *c.* 4,700 S#)	1,967 *Bunten* (= *c.* 7,250 S#)
Hemp seed	4 *Strusen* (= *c.* 2,380 tn)		4,300 tn	1,610 tn
Linseed			400 tn	1,200 tn

(*Source*: LVVA 7349–1–93; RA Livonica II, vol. 342)

Table 6.9. Riga's timber imports from western Russia

Year	Porech'e		Kasplia	
	Quantity	Value, R	Quantity	Value, R
1670*	3,670 *Wagenschoß*[a]			
	9,900 *Faßholz*	2,195		
1675	3,168 *Wagenschoß*	852	2,370 *Wagenschoß*	648
1677	3,960 *Wagenschoß*[b]	806.20	708 *Wagenschoß*	184.08
			5,190 *Faßholz*	216
1678	3,558 *Wagenschoß*[c]	504	792 old *Wagenschoß*	72
1694	3,962 *Wagenschoß*	1,413.03		
1697	5,666.5 *Wagenschoß*	2,352.58		
1699	1,577.5 *Wagenschoß*	665.84	753.5 *Wagenschoß*	324.03

* Combined totals for Porech'e and Kasplia.

[a] Some of the timber came from the Rudnia *volost'*.

[b] In addition, there were 726 pieces of *Wagenschoß*, worth R 198, from the Velizh district.

[c] In addition, there were 2,376 pieces of *Wagenschoß*, worth R 648, from the Rudnia *volost'*, as well as 160 pieces of *Wagenschoß* and 400 pieces of *Faßholz* from the Velizh district.

N.B. R 1 = Rtl 1 2/3.

(*Source*: Mitiaev, "Oboroty," p. 60; RGADA f. 145, op. 1, 1675 g., No 14, fols. 2–6; 1677 g., No 12, fols. 1–15; 1678 g., tetrad' No 14, fols. 2–9[v]; No 17, fol. 59; No 19, fols. 2, 41[v], 67[v], 81, 96, 99, 139; 1692 g., No 19, fols. 1–22[v]; No 20, fols. 1–14; Ustiug, No 16–a, fols. 752–65)

[191] The conversions given in brackets are based on estimates by Doroshenko. Doroshenko, "Protokoly Rizhskogo torgovogo suda," p. 128.

Table 6.9. Exports from Stockholm to Russia, *Silverdaler*

	1674	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680
Copper	46,130	83,811	18,844	60,289	89,633	108,597	65,585
Iron	16,726	27,226	25,203	84,541	50,606	70,263	65,716
Other metals	941	2,695	74		650	1,982	1,323
Furs/hides	3,637	1,324	323	3,537	1,377	3,689	4,212
Herring	850	4,240		2,050	5,745	580	4,695
Salt			2,150	375	1,223	360	2,118
Cloth	728	1,123	61	121	982	2,249	1,811
Other goods	1,318	2,043	33	2,426	2,029	5,327	3,416
Total	70,322	122,511	46,686	153,375	152,243	193,050	148,870

N.B. This table covers only wares sold to Russian merchants for export. It thus does not cover goods shipped from Stockholm to Russia by Swedish or other non-Russian merchants.

	1697		1698	
	Russians	Swedes	Russians	Swedes
Copper	176,209	7,780	116,500	34,294
Iron	63,860	25,926	53,246	82,112
Other metals	466	47	736	28
Furs/hides	2,738		4,738	50
Herring			105	
Cloth	50			
Other goods	393	1,157	2,506	988
Total	247,126	35,041	178,291	117,470

(*Source*: *Svensk handelsstatistik*, pp. 720–39; 752–55)

Table 6.10. Exports by Russian merchants from Reval, *Reichsthaler*

	1609	1620	1621	1622
Salt	10,380	86	468	625
Cloth	10,649	48	104	554
Gold	1,350			
Pearls	1,610			
Copper	338			
Tin	705			
Herring	1,240	12		
Wine	350	115	331	99
Lead			252	500
Iron	92	60		
Miscellaneous	960	444	182	1,410
Sum total	27,582	704	1,429	3,248

(*Source*: Blumfeldt, "Statistilisi lisandeid," II, pp. 62–3)

Table 6.11. The composition of exports by Lübeck's *Novgorodfahrer* to the Eastern Baltic

	1638		1690	
	Mark lübisch	Percent	*Mark lübisch*	Percent
Salt	24,900	29.5	47,400	20.5
Haberdashery	6,475	7.7	41,200	18.0
Wine	3,900	4.6	19,050	8.0
Tin			12,075	5.5
Sugar			6,575	3.0
Horses			6,000	2.5
Alum			5,850	2.5
Hops			5,225	2.0
Tobacco			4,225	2.0
Fruit	3,225	3.8	2,400	1.0
Stones	2,850	3.4		
Herring	2,375	2.8	2,525	1.0
Lead			2,300	1.0
Iron	1,725	2.0		
Dried fish	1,525	1.8		
Cloth	1,250	1.5	22,950	10.0
Glass	1,100	1.3	5,875	2.5
Unspecified	32,450	38.5	27,275	12.0
Other goods	2,625	3.1	18,875	8.5
Total	84,400		229,800	

(*Source*: Harder, *Seehandel*, pp. 111–2)

CHAPTER SEVEN

ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CROSS-BORDER TRADE

This chapter examines the transformation of the historically important overland trade routes between Russia and northern and central Europe. In the Middle Ages, when the Russian export profile was dominated by "rich" goods with high value:weight ratios (furs, hides, wax, etc.), the costs associated with overland transportation were a relatively small proportion of turnover. More to the point, the fairs and market towns of Poland-Lithuania and, ultimately, the German principalities and the Habsburg lands constituted an important source of demand in the geographic vicinity of the Russian principalities. Such trade continued to account for a substantial proportion—almost certainly at least one-fifth—of total Muscovite exports still in the 16th century.[1]

Even as the Northern Dvina route and the Baltic region came to dominate Russia's commercial interaction with the rest of the world in the 17th century, the alleged "collapse" of the overland routes was far less decisive and universal that the conventional wisdom would have us believe. The long-standing trade relations between Muscovy and its European neighbors all along the land border between the Kola Peninsula in the north and the Ukrainian steppe in the south continued to be of great mutual benefit and at least regional importance. In certain instances, such cross-border exchange rose to assume national importance. The first section of the chapter deals with trade across the repeatedly contested frontier between Russian Karelia and the Swedish Grand Duchy of Finland. The second section is devoted to overland trade with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and, more generally, along the central European land routes. The closing section reviews Muscovite economic relations with the Ukrainian Hetmanate which was ultimately incorporated in the emerging Russian empire.

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[1] For surveys, see for example: Wawrzyńczyk, *Studia*; Rybarski, *Handel*; Florovskij, *Chekhi i vostochnye slaviane*; and *idem*, *esko-ruské obchodní styky*.

Russian Trade with the Grand Duchy of Finland

The eastern border of the Grand Duchy of Finland marked the northwestern periphery of European Russia. Both sides of the border were decked with dense coniferous forests with relatively few and small population centers scattered on the shores of countless rivers and lakes. The most important towns in Finland were all located along the coasts of the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Bothnia. The total population of the Grand Duchy is unlikely to have exceeded half a million in the course of the century. If sheer numbers thus limited the Finnish demand for Russian goods, the potential for trade was further circumscribed by Finland's peripheral geographic location. She had few significant port cities, even though an ambitious program of finding new ones was underway, and none of them were linked to the principal trade routes of the Baltic area. However, a number of less important routes connected Russian Karelia with the eastern and northern parts of the country and in many regions commercial interaction with Russia was of crucial importance.

The historical center of Russian-Finnish trade was the eastern Gulf of Finland port city of Viborg (Finn. Viipuri, Russ. Vyborg). Up to the Time of Troubles, the city served as a border fortress on the Karelian Isthmus that for centuries had been divided between the two neighbors. This location gave Viborg a dichotomous Russian hinterland. The northern half of the Isthmus and the Ladoga basin was a short distance away. A string of rivers and lakes of the Vuoksen (Finn. Vuoksi, Russ. Vuoksa) basin made for a relatively convenient connection, although the need for portage in places limited the volumes carried.[2] The center of this hinterland was the old fortress town of Korela (Swed. Kexholm). Viborg's "other" Russian hinterland consisted of the Novgorod region. Northwestern Russian merchants could take their wares by boat down the Volkhov River to Lake Ladoga and then via the Neva to the Gulf of Finland.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Korela and Novgorod both sent over 10 merchants each to Viborg during good years. In 1600, Korela merchants accounted for 24.9 percent of the total value of Muscovite goods brought to Viborg. Novgorod's share was a much greater 73.4 percent, although it tended to be much more variable

[2] Kirkinen, *Karjala*, I, p. 105.

and vulnerable to perturbations.[3] Viborg further had regular interaction with Kopor'e and Oreshek on the Neva. Much smaller numbers of merchants occasionally came from the Kir'iazhskii *pogost* (Swed. Kronoborg) near Korela and northern parts of Russian Karelia (the so-called Lopskie *pogosty*), but also more distant cities, *viz*. Viaz'ma and Moscow.

The goods involved in this trade differed little from Russian trade in the rest of the Baltic area. However, the volumes of fibers, flax and hemp, were very small compared to those available in Narva and Reval. Viborg did not have direct access to the Pskov region and for Novgorod merchants, it was more cost-effective to take the relatively bulky and cheap fibers to the Estonian ports which were closer. In Karelia, in contrast, most fibers were produced on small homesteads, primarily for local consumption. The volumes of other agricultural products were similarly modest. Only occasionally did the total hide exports exceed 1,000 p.a. and Viborg's relative poverty offered few incentives for substantial fur trade. Karelia itself did not supply significant quantities of furs and none of particular value.

The main characteristic feature of Viborg's trade with Russia was the relative dominance of processed goods. Linen and woollen cloth was available every year, in more or less steady quantities. In addition, there was a broad array of different kinds of finished textiles: blankets, coats, skirts, shorts, hats, caps, mittens, bags, purses, and cushions. Similarly, much of the leather was sold as finished goods: gloves, shoes, boots, belts, and various types of equestrian equipment (saddles, straps, bridles, whips, halters, traces, poles, etc.). Sheepskin coats were frequently available. In addition, Russians sold various kinds of utensils and jewelry: bowls, spoons, decorative boxes, hair clips, rings, frying pans, etc. It is clear that many of these goods were primarily intended for local consumption. In many cases, they undoubtedly represented the residual goods left after commercial trips by Russian pedlars around the Karelian Isthmus.

Even as Russian trade had historically constituted one of the supporting pillars of Viborg's prosperity, the attitude of the authorities towards it had not been consistently positive. Gustav Vasa, in particular, had repeatedly emphasized the need for the city's own burghers to take over international transit trade for it to bring real benefits

[3] RA Städers akter, vol. 75: Viborg 2.

to the city.[4] Such inconsistencies made it virtually impossible for Viborg to replicate the one major windfall it experienced when the outbreak of the Livonian War severely curbed Russian trade with Reval and Narva. According to Castellan Klaus Kristersson Horn, Viborg in 1558 had 400 Muscovite visitors and some other estimates put the figure at 6–8,000. Overall, the value of Viborg's imports during the year attained the unheard-of total of Mk 300,188. Exports were valued at Mk 451,000. This was followed by a further improvement in 1559 when the combined value of imports reached Mk 572,368. However, a combination of attempts by the Swedish authorities to manage this trade in favor of domestic merchants, exaggerated worries about the security risks posed by the Russians, and a changed military situation put an abrupt end to this fleeting renaissance of Viborg's eastern trade.[5]

A recovery in Viborg's trade set in only around the turn of the century. Among other things, the city's own burghers finally began to adopt a more active role and by 1600, Viborg had three large vessels capable of sailing to the Netherlands. During the first decade of the century, Viborg merchants owned a total of 20 vessels and they came to account for one-half to two-thirds of the total value of trade.[6] This new activism undoubtedly gave the Viborg merchants greater leeway in their commercial operations and almost certainly also more capital for Russian trade. Nonetheless, peak export volumes in many cases fell short of those attained during the 16th century. The 1563 totals of 57,520 hides and 13,830 pelts had fallen by 1600 to 3,825 and 5,550, respectively. Only 1605 was an exceptional year when 70,280 furs were exported. The exportation of seal oil declined from 150 vats to 60 in 1563–1600.[7] Increasingly obviously, Russian goods assumed a decidedly secondary position in the city's export bundle. Their annual value seldom departed from the D 1–3,000 range and there were some years with less than D 500. In 1600, the Muscovite wares accounted for some 5.8 percent of the

[4] Ruuth *et al.*, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 239–40, 242, 247.

[5] 4 mark = 1 *daler*. Ruuth, *Viborgs stads historia*, 2, pp. 192–7; Ruuth *et al.*, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 251–3, 255; Fagerlund *et al.*, *Finlands historia*, II, p. 42.

[6] Ruuth *et al.*, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 258, 260; Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, p. 140.

[7] Ruuth *et al.*, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, I, p. 259; Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, pp. 113, 140.

total value of the city's exports. This proportion was only marginally lower, at 5.5 percent, in 1608. It appears quite certain that the proportion of Russian exports during the beginning of the century hardly ever exceeded 10 percent of the total. The only known exception was 1605 when the total value of Viborg's imports from Russia attained the quite exceptional level of D 7,889 which was equal to over one-third of Viborg's typical annual export totals at the time, but still only equivalent to less than R 3,000.[8]

The period following the Stolbovo treaty has been described as an "Indian summer" of Viborg's Russian trade. For a while, the authorities maintained high hopes for Viborg's role in the *Derivation* program. The Stockholm government planned a large company for Russian trade with the participation, it was hoped, of Lübeck merchants. Viborg's interests were represented by the local merchant Anton Bröijer who was authorized to look for shareholders throughout Finland, Karelia, and Ingria. Also the Finnish Governor General Per Brahe promoted Viborg's role in this trade and proposed various reforms to improve the city's prospects.[9] However, the redrawing of the Russian-Swedish border in 1617 represented a profound transformation in Viborg's trade profile. Viborg's Russian backyard became Swedish as the Kexholm province changed hands. Viborg's trade with the southern half of its Russian hinterland was undermined by the founding of Nyenskans in the Neva delta, an effective barrier between Viborg and the Novgorod region. Further trouble was caused by the preferential treatment accorded to Narva and Nyen. The main sea toll in Finland was up to 15 times the level of the *licent* in the Baltic provinces.[10] At the same time, relations even with the eastern Finnish hinterland steadily intensified, rendering the city significantly less dependent on Russia. Viborg's economic success was increasingly built on tar and the Karelian port was, after Stockholm, the most important supplier of in tar the Swedish kingdom.[11]

In spite of these setbacks, trade with Russia continued. In 1628, merchants from both Moscow and Novgorod visited Viborg. A 1637

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[8] RA Finska Cameralia, vol. 84, del. 1: Tullräkenskaper i Viborg 1603–1608; del. 2: Tullräkenskaper Viborg 1611–1638; Dillner, *Tabeller*, pp. CXIV–CXIX.

[9] Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, pp. 150–1.

[10] Åström, *From Tar to Timber*, p. 29.

[11] In 1640, Viborg exported 34,799 barrels of tar, out of a Swedish total of 101,877. The figure for 1685 was 38,884 out of 124,995. Timber emerged as another local export of growing importance towards the end of the century. Kuisma, *Metsäteollisuuden maa*, p. 37.

account maintains that Russians shipped considerable quantities of their goods to the city. In 1643, when the king reduced duties on Russian goods, Viborgers were admonished to keep their payments to Russians current so that they would keep returning. In the absence of progress, the Swedish State Council in July 1643 discussed ultimately abortive plans to transfer Kexholm's Russian trade to Viborg.[12] A unique 1652 customs book offers detailed information on the nature of Russian goods available in the city around the middle of the century. While no wares are specifically denoted as Russian, one can assume that a high proportion of the traditionally "Russian goods" continued to come from Muscovy. The overall quantities were very modest indeed: 3.5 l# of flax, 2.5 l# yarn, 1,621 *Charduahn* hides, two tanned hides, 300 pairs of gloves, 17.5 l# bock hair, 144.75 S# tallow, 5.55 S# pike, 1.75 tn eel, and 3 l# lard.[13] Their total value cannot have exceeded a couple of hundreds of roubles.

The second half of the century was characterized by a steady decline of Viborg's commerce, in large part because the city's fortunes were completely tied to the Tar Company. The company monopolized all tar trade in Finland and Sweden and imposed quotas on individual cities. Although tar enjoyed considerable demand in the Netherlands and England, the company found it increasingly difficult to finance an increase in exports and new export limits were imposed in 1663. In the 1670s, Viborg's tar exports seldom exceeded 2,000 lasts.[14]

Another problem was the steady consolidation of Nyen which encroached increasingly upon Viborg's traditional territory. Even the government prohibition of the former's Systerbäck (Finn. Terijoki) fair on the Karelian Isthmus in 1643 brought only temporary relief. The intensity of the battle between the two cities was underscored at a November 1650 State Council meeting where Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna called on Nyen to orient its trade to Novgorod and Moscow and warned against weakening Viborg. Viborgers repeatedly demanded the same privileges as Nyen in salt trade and in 1654

[12] Ruuth, *Viborgs stads historia*, 4, pp. 354–5; Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, pp. 151–2.

[13] KARA FR 130.

[14] Local shipping ended almost completely because of unreasonable financial terms imposed by the company. Luukko, *Suomen historia*, pp. 521–2, 526.

offered to send their youth to learn Russian in a bid to revive the eastern trade. Ultimately, however, there was little that Viborg could do to change the unfortunate geographic fundamentals of its location. Burgomaster Hans Schmedeman and Governor Jakob Törnskiöld in 1662 claimed that Viborg's Russian trade had ended practically completely.[15]

The marked general decline of Viborg as a commercial center effectively ruled out any subsequent recovery in trade with the east. Governor Karl Falkenberg wrote in 1682 that Viborgers had completely given up their own shipping and increasingly withdrawn from foreign trade altogether. He further observed that even Kexholm's Russian trade had now all been diverted to Nyen where, for instance, salt was 20 percent cheaper than in Viborg.[16] The emergence of tobacco trade evidently became one of the few remaining factors attracting Russian visitors to Viborg. This trade consisted almost exclusively of smuggling, and towards the end of the century, closer supervision by the Tobacco Company appears to have substantially curbed tobacco trade across the Russian border.[17]

If the wars of the early part of the 17th century upset Viborg's Russian trade, their impact was felt even more acutely in the eastern Finnish borderlands where the Swedish expansion drove a wedge among the linguistically Finnic and culturally Russian Orthodox tribe of Karelians. The Swedish withdrawal from the temporarily occupied Kexholm province after the Peace of Tiavzino was reversed in 1609, an arrangement ratified at Stolbovo. The new province was combined with Ingria to form *Kexholms and Ingermanlands län*.[18] Even as borders shifted, the linguistic unity of the region, as well as age-old traditions of interaction, made for lively trade with Russian Karelia. The Karelian frontier had long-standing commercial traditions fostered by the region's complex web of lakes and rivers which allowed cheap transportation over long distances.[19]

However, the prospects for a revival of cross-border trade in the post-Stolbovo years received a considerable blow from extensive dam-

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[15] Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, pp. 152–3.
[16] Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, pp. 145, 149; Ruuth, *Viborgs stads historia*, 4, p. 356.
[17] Ruuth and Halila, *Viipurin kaupungin historia*, II, pp. 113, 117–8, 137–8, 140.
[18] Kirkinen *et al.*, *Karjalan kansan historia*, pp. 128–9, 131.
[19] Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, p. 36.

age suffered by especially the Onega region during the Polish and Swedish campaigns in the course of the *Smuta*.[20] Although the subsequent economic recovery of Russian Karelia created preconditions for renewed expansion in trade, the nature of Karelian commerce changed quite dramatically after Stolbovo. The Swedish government implemented a heavily interventionist mercantilist policy, forbidding trade by peasants in order to maximize the collection of customs duties in towns. Yet trade by peasants had always been an essential component of the local cross-border exchange. Indeed, Swedish-Russian trade in the region received a crucial impetus from the emigration of large numbers of Orthodox Karelians, mainly peasants, from the Kexholm province to Russia, especially Olonets. Many of them maintained business contacts with their former friends and relatives on the Swedish side. For instance, the newly Swedish Kir'iazhskii *pogost* in the south-western corner of Lake Ladoga, had long-standing commercial ties with Olonets. Such ties were no less common among the population of the parishes immediately bordering on Olonets, most notably Salmis (known by Russians as Solomenskii ostrog, Finn. Salmi), but also Impilax (Russ. Imbalaksha, Finn. Impilahti), Sordavala (Finn. Sortavala, Russ. Serdobol'), and other areas.[21] Some of the Swedish Karelians peasant merchants involved in this trade traveled far beyond the Russian border regions, especially to the Tikhvin fair.[22]

The Swedish government took pains to promote urban development in the Ladoga basin in order to create new foci for regional trade, although the plans met with mixed success at best. As early as 1618, all merchants were ordered to move to either one of the two cities of the area—Kexholm or Taipale (Suvanto)—at the pain of having their wares confiscated. Gustav Adolf ordered more cities to be established in 1632, although little action followed until eleven years later when Sordavala and Salmis were selected as sites for them. Sordavala's development soon began in earnest, and a city charter was issued in 1646. In contrast, little happened in Salmis, and even Taipale declined following a devastating fire in the 1640s

[20] Shaskol'skii, *Shvedskaia interventsiia*, pp. 35–9; Kirkinen, *Karjala*, II, pp. 241, 249–52, 256, 259–62.

[21] Cherniakova, *Kareliia*, pp. 246–56; Immonen, *Kurkijoen seutu*, p. 165.

[22] Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, pp. 40–2; RA Livonica II, vol. 201; Immonen, *Kurkijoen seutu*, p. 140; ASPF IRI RAN f. 132, op. 2, No 1294, fols. 35–6, 42.

and complete wartime destruction in 1656.[23] The city of Brahea, established in 1653 further inland, had as its official task to serve as a venue for the trade of the region around Lake Pielis (Finn. Pielinen). The "secret" agenda, however, was to attract trade from northern and central Russian Karelia. In practice, the plan proved a failure, as Brahea's trade was oriented largely to Kajana (Finn. Kajaani) in the northwest and the Gulf of Bothnia coast. The young city was burnt down by Russian troops during the Second Northern War.[24] Finally, Count Ture Oxenstierna in May 1668 ordered a city to be established on his holdings in the former Kir'iazhskii *pogost* (Kurkijoki) and, consequently, the role of Kronoborg as one of the leading commercial centers on the shores of Ladoga finally received formal recognition.[25]

In an attempt to control trade by peasants, a growing number of fairs were decreed and many of them attracted merchants from Muscovy. Particularly prominent were the ones held in Lappstrand, Kronoborg, Secklax (Finn. Sieklahti) near Kexholm, and Ilomants (Finn. Ilomantsi). Contemporary almanacs note that, in peace-time, "Russians come all the way from Arkhangel'sk" to the Epiphany (January 6) Ilomants fair which appears to have been held regularly since at least 1669.[26] The Secklax fair in Jaakimvaara (Finn. Jaakkima) parish was established in 1663. Considerable consternation was caused by efforts by Kexholm to monopolize on the fair. It became the object of persistent wrangling between Kexholm and Sordavala merchants, which reflected the crucial importance of the event. Kronoborg had two annual fairs which attracted merchants from Olonets. Further inland, there were the Puhos fair in Kides (Finn. Kitee) parish. Towards the end of the century, a fair took place also at Impilax.[27]

Overall, government efforts to control trade flows in the Karelian Frontier remained ineffective. Urban construction, even when successful, was only a very partial solution. For instance, Kexholm's cit-

[23] Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, pp. 36, 43–4.
[24] Kirkinen, *Karjala*, I, p. 107; Saloheimo, *Pohjois-Karjalan Historia*, II, pp. 235, 237.
[25] Immonen, *Kurkijoen seutu*, pp. 151–4.
[26] Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, p. 45; Saloheimo, *Pohjois-Karjalan historia*, II, p. 243.
[27] Salminen, *Jaakkiman pitäjän historia*, I, pp. 59–61; Immonen, *Kurkijoen seutu*, p. 162; Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, p. 122; Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, pp. 42–3; Kuujo *et al.*, *Käkisalmen historia*, pp. 106–7.

izenry was reluctant to admit Orthodox Karelians to their midst for fears that they might betray the new lords in the event of war with Russia. In practice, the Swedish authorities proved tolerant of the idiosyncracies of the newly acquired region. Trade in the countryside continued and Gustav II Adolf even issued a special permission for it in 1627, since the local inhabitants had "little agriculture" to engage in.[28] Over time, enthusiasm for tolerating temporary measures in a newly acquired border province waned, as the integration of Karelia with the rest the Finnish Grand Duchy proceeded. Especially Christina was highly distrustful of the local Orthodox population and preferred to strengthen the region's cities by encouraging immigration by Lutheran Finns, which in turn ensured the survival of substantial peasant trade in the countryside. Moreover, the failure of urban development in the Salmis area may have been a factor making a complete policy reversal impossible. The local economy was heavily dependent on trade with the neighboring Olonets region and everything was to be done to maintain good relations with Russians.[29]

The outbreak of war in 1656 marks an important watershed in the trade history of the Karelian Frontier. The Orthodox population of the Kexholm province in many cases welcomed the Muscovite armies as liberators from religious oppression and lent them support during the campaigns in the Karelian Isthmus, as well as on the northern shores of Lake Ladoga. There were rebellions against the Swedes as far as Tohmajärvi, Libelits (Finn. Liperi), and Ilomants in what has been termed the "last war of religion" in the area. A massive exodus of the local Orthodox population accompanied the retreating Muscovite armies, and many of them settled in the Tver' region devastated by the Russian-Polish war, never to return. The Orthodox population, which had played a key role in cross-border trade with Russia, became a minority in the Kexholm province as the abandoned areas were resettled after the war by people from the Finnish interior.[30]

In spite of the sharp discontinuity with the prewar era, the new settlers of the Frontier not surprisingly soon realized the opportunities

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[28] *Ibidem*, p. 37; Saloheimo, *Pohjois-Karjalan Historia*, II, p. 235; Kirkinen *et al.*, *Karjalan kansan historia*, p. 133; Kuujo *et al.*, *Käkisalmen historia*, p. 91.

[29] Nevalainen and Sihvo, *Karjala*, pp. 90–1; Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, pp. 30–1, 43–5.

[30] Kirkinen *et al.*, *Karjalan kansan historia*, pp. 140–1; Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, p. 29; Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, pp. 77–86.

for profits in supplying Russians with sought after-goods. Among other things, home production of liquor was common and legal in Swedish Karelia. Smuggling of liquor, as well as imported tobacco, was a lucrative business, given the limitless demand for these products across the border.[31] Merchants of the Salmis-Suistamo area resumed their contacts with Olonets. The commodities involved in this trade remained the same as before, although the importance of tar may have increased. Olonets was becoming an increasingly active participant in trade with Stockholm and needed tar for the construction of boats. Sermaksa on the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga was a destination for Swedish Karelian salt merchants and Swedes also resumed their ties with the Tikhvin fair which, however, was increasingly eclipsed by Olonets. The border parishes of Salmis and Suojärvi were evidently more fully integrated in the economic sphere of Olonets than in that of Sordavala. Russians even had a warehouse at Impilax which was inspected in 1671.[32] Karelian peasants by no means monopolized the trade with Russia. At least Sordavala burghers undertook trips to Olonets and three Olonets traders even had a *iuft'* workshop in Sordavala, although it was closed down in 1690. Kexholm had a so-called "Russian shop," where Muscovite wares were sold. Especially Olonets merchants frequently visited the Kexholm harbor and sometimes continued their journey to the Lappstrand fair.[33]

As the post-war recovery proceeded apace, stricter measures against trade in the countryside were once again adopted and peasant trade was formally forbidden in 1663. Among other things, there were renewed attempts to invite peasant merchants to move to Sordavala, at least in part as an attempt to revive a town which had experienced severe destruction during the war.[34] The problem of peasant trade was finally settled in 1684 when, recognizing the impossibility

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[31] Saloheimo, *Pohjois-Karjalan Historia*, II, pp. 244–5; Nevalainen and Sihvo, *Karjala*, p. 91; Kuujo *et al.*, *Käkisalmen historia*, pp. 113–4; Immonen, *Kurkijoen seutu*, p. 158; Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, pp. 114, 125.

[32] Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, pp. 114–5, 123–5; Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, p. 38. ASPF IRI RAN f. 132, op. 2, No 1337, fol. 204.

[33] Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, p. 50; Kuujo *et al.*, *Käkisalmen historia*, pp. 101–2; Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, p. 122.

[34] Karttunen, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, p. 49; Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, pp. 30–3; Kuujo *et al.*, *Käkisalmen historia*, pp. 42–51; Immonen, *Kurkijoen seutu*, pp. 151–4.

of complete control, the Ingrian Governor General, Göran Sperling, once again allowed the peasants of Kexholm province to freely trade in the countryside. Sperling's controversial decision was ultimately reversed by Governor General Otto von Wellingk in 1700, at a time when the clouds of war appeared on the horizon.[35] Towards the end of the century, trade received another blow from the devastating economic and demographic crisis of the 1690s, when the population of Finland plummeted from some 500,000 to 350,000. 1690 was the last year of reasonable harvests in most parts of Swedish Karelia, and the situation went from bad to worse in the second half of the decade.[36]

The magnitude of Karelian border trade with Russia is impossible to determine with any degree of precision, given the extremely fragmentary source base. However, there is ample evidence pointing to intensive exchange which even wars and demographic upheavals were unable to undermine. It appears likely that the scale of this commerce gradually increased, boosted by robust development in Russian Karelia, although the trend may have been more pronounced between the Stolbovo peace and the Second Northern War than thereafter. From early on, Swedish Karelian burghers, as well as numerous wealthy peasant merchants from Salmis and elsewhere, became involved in more long-distance trade with the Swedish capital via the Ladoga-Neva-Baltic waterway. Fragmentary evidence on the cargoes carried reveals numerous contingents of Russian cloth, hides, furs, and gloves. Indeed, almost all the goods—with the probable exception of grain—could have been from Muscovy and some of them are specifically identified as "Russian."[37] Overall, the scale of Russian trade with the Kexholm province is likely to have been at least comparable with trade with Viborg, even as it probably seldom exceeded more than a couple of thousand roubles a year in value.

A third sector of Russian-Finnish trade involved the northern province of Ostrobothnia. The main centers of this trade were the

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[35] Saloheimo, *Pohjois-Karjalan Historia*, II, pp. 236–7; Kuujo, *Raja-Karjala*, pp. 118–9.
[36] Kirkinen *et al.*, *Karjalan kansan historia*, pp. 140–1.
[37] Kuujo *et al.*, *Sortavalan kaupungin historia*, pp. 47–50; Kuujo *et al.*, *Käkisalmen historia*, pp. 98–9; SSA 37 Stadskamrerarens, drätselkommissionens samt drätselnämndens och dess avdelningars arkiv 1639–1921, I. Huvudböcker med verifikationer, b) Verifikationer 1636–1920.

fortress cities of Uleåborg and Kajana (initially the fortress of Kajaneborg). In actual fact, however, the Russian visitors operated in a much larger area, including the Ostrobothnian coast as far south as Vasa (Finn. Vaasa). They similarly traded in the Torneå valley (the present Swedish-Finnish border), and the Swedish cities of Luleå, Piteå, Umeå, and even Gävle and Stockholm.[38] The Russians engaged in this trade hailed from the Karelian coast of the White Sea, the Olonets region, and—until 1617—the Kexholm province. A network of overland routes interspersed with numerous lakes and rivers connected Uleåborg with the Ladoga basin. This trade was based on long-standing traditions and paid little attention to the international border cutting across the deep forests of the Maaselkä (Russ. Masel'ga) watershed, evidently continuing the tradition of pre-historic hunting and trade expeditions between Karelia and the Gulf of Bothnia. Peasant traders of the Solovki monastery—along with inhabitants of the Suma and Kem' fortresses on the White Sea coast—probably constituted the largest group.[39]

Russian Karelian imports into Ostrobothnia appear to have consisted of three categories. Firstly, products of the local Karelian economy: mainly agricultural products, as well as some of the catch of the local fishers and hunters. Secondly, White Sea salt which provided an attractive alternative to the normal Finnish imports via Stockholm, even if the quantities involved were quite small. Thirdly, because of the connection with Arkhangel'sk, various more exotic goods from Western Europe and Persia, including sugar, figs, prunes, pepper, and ginger. At least occasionally, there were also small quantities of paper.[40] These are likely to have made Russian Karelian merchants very competitive, especially in Kajana, where the local economy was too rural and underdeveloped to meet many consumer needs. The Russians also played a significant role in the Kajana region's tobacco trade, which officially began in 1659 on the initiative of Uleåborg's Mayor Daniel Kröger, albeit against significant local resistance.[41]

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[38] Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 100, 452; Saloheimo, *Pohjois-Karjalan historia*, II, p. 235; Virrankoski, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaa*, p. 407.

[39] Miuller, *Ocherki*, p. 161; Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, p. 290; Virrankoski, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaa*, pp. 403, 406; Kirkinen, *Karjala*, I, pp. 105–7, 113–5, 121–4.

[40] Vartiainen, "Eräs Kajaanin tienoilla itärajan yli käytyä kauppaa valaiseva asiakirja," pp. 164–75.

[41] Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 319–20.

The turn of the century promised to bring considerable new incentives for Russian trade as the Crown embarked on an ambitious program of economic development in Ostrobothnia. A royal report in 1600 proposed the creation of five new towns on Gulf of Bothnia coast.[42] Eventually, in April 1605, Duke Karl ordered Isak Bhem to rebuild the Uleåborg fortress. A city was established next to it by 1610. However, no further foundations materialized until Torneå, in the northernmost tip of the Gulf, received its city charter in 1621.[43] Even as the reality thus became a mere shadow of the original plans, Russian trade benefitted from the legal recognition, in 1622, of the Kemi and Ijo (Finn. Ii) fairs on the coast between Uleåborg and Torneå.[44]

At the same time, there was some general expansion in Russian trade with the north of the Swedish realm, apparently in response to the growing prosperity of northern Russian Karelia following the discovery of the Arkhangel'sk route in the 1550s. In particular, the Russians were able to largely displace the so-called *berchare* who had traditionally dominated northern Swedish and Finnish trade.[45] The Bailiff of Lapland Jöns Karlsson noted in 1602 that, in Gustav Vasa's day, Russian merchants never went past Torneå but that they had "in recent years" traveled to Kalix, Luleå, and Piteå, where they bought hides and other goods. On their way back, they were said to go to Kemi and Uleåborg, but also across the Gulf of Bothnia to Umeå "where they spent the entire summer trading." Karlsson further claimed that the Russians bought all the best furs in Kemi Lapland and the local administration lacked the financial means to pose any real challenge to them.[46]

The creation of a city in the Uleå delta did not suddenly generate a renaissance in Russian trade in Ostrobothnia. Indeed, the city's economy continued to be precarious for quite some time. Consecutive harvest failures in the beginning years of the century resulted in terrible famines. Even thereafter, the bourgeoisie had difficulty supplying the

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[42] *SRFH*, I, pp. 68–9.

[43] *SRFH*, II, pp. 178–80. The Uleåborg city charter reproduced in: Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 94–9; Mäntylä, *Tornion kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 13, 17, 27, 29.

[44] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 172–5.

[45] Mäntylä, *Tornion kaupungin historia*, I, p. 7 ff.

[46] Mäntylä, *Tornion kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 10–1; RA Landskapshandlingar, Norrland-Lappmarkerna 1603: 9. Memorial af Jöns Karlsson Lappefougtes berettelse.

city with sufficient grain because of restrictions on trade. As late as the 1630s, Uleåborg was described as a city marked by abject poverty. In 1634, 40 local houses were abandoned and there were only 87 tax-paying citizens in the young city. Efforts to develop Uleåborg's trade were hampered by the 1614 Trade and Shipping Code which relegated the new foundation to the status of a country town with no right of emporium.[47]

The economic difficulties of the early part of the century may have been crucial in prompting Karl IX to recognize the economic benefits of trade with Russia. An October 1608 letter notes the king's pleasure at the fact that Russians had "begun" to trade in Uleåborg. A Russian translator was also employed at Kajaneborg. The king asked his agent in Ostrobothnia, Isak Bhem, to clear the road all the way to the eastern border so as to facilitate this commerce, hoping that the Russian authorities would do the same on their side. Bhem was asked to designate a place somewhere in the middle of the Maaselkä border ridge for two annual fairs would be held. Some warehouses were to be built for Russians at the site.[48] Bhem in 1606 arranged for Russian trade in Kajaneborg. The following spring, however, he reported that the Russians worried that the security precautions in connection with the local castle would harm their trade in the Kajaneborg region.[49]

Following the conclusion of the Stolbovo peace treaty in 1617, the local administrators of Ostrobothnia played a key role in restoring trade with northern Russian Karelia. In early 1620, the Ostrobothnian Governor in Kajaneborg, Erik Hare, apparently at the instigation of Uleåborg merchants, sent emissaries with a letter to Abbot Irinarkh of the Solovki monastery, who served as a *de facto* diplomatic representative of this part of northern Russia. Referring to the recent "eternal peace," Hare outlined opportunities for mutually beneficial trade.[50] Irinarkh forwarded the letter to the Diplomatic Chancellery in Moscow, which in turn enquired about the prewar history of Karelian trade with Ostrobothnia. Moscow also wished to be informed of the nature of the Swedish borderlands and the poten-

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[47] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 163–7.

[48] *SRFH*, II, pp. 391–2; Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 242–3; Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, p. 288.

[49] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, p. 242; *SRFH*, II, pp. 244, 352.

[50] Shaskol'skii, "Ustanovlenie," p. 71; RGADA f. 96, 1620 g., No 1, fols. 105–6.

tial for renewed conflicts in the area, an issue of great concern giving the memory of the recent Swedish attempts conquer the White Sea littoral.[51] Irinarkh, quite erroneously, claimed that no Swedish merchants had visited Suma or other localities on the White Sea coast, although he admitted to having heard rumors of Swedish peasant merchants visiting Rebola and other Lopskie *pogosty*. The numbers involved, however, were said to be small and these areas were beyond the monastery's control in any case.[52] The Russian government in 1620 ordered Irinarkh to forbid trade between Ostrobothnia and Karelia on the grounds that the tsar's title was not written out in full in Hare's letters. This may have had some effect in the coastal region administered by the monastery but it clearly had little impact on the enteprising Karelian traders.[53]

Per Brahe recognized the significance of Russian merchants for Kajana and wanted to organize a fair closer to the border to attract more Russians. Brahe's ambitions for the region came to be shared by Kajana burghers who, in the 1660s, mooted the idea of a free fair at Brahea, since, they claimed, Russians were reluctant to cross the Maaselkä to come to Kajana.[54] Kajana's passion for the Brahea fair was in large part attributable to the local burghers' desire to free themselves from the stranglehold of their much more prosperous Uleåborg counterparts who dominated Kajana's own trade. By having a leading role at the Brahea market, Kajana burghers could hope to gain a larger share of Russian trade from the neighboring areas. The project was eventually abandoned with the decline of Brahea.

While Russian-Ostrobothnian trade may have been dominated by itinerant Muscovites, also Finnish merchants also acquired Russian goods on their trips. In 1645, some Uleåborgers bought pike, etc. in Russian Karelia. Two years later, a group of them unsuccessfully petitioned to be allowed to go to Kem', although some trade did soon take place. The Uleåborg Burgomaster complained in 1653 to Per Brahe that the head of the Kajaneborg fortress prevented Uleåborgers from going to places in Russia that they were "accustomed" to visiting and that artificial barriers were created also to Russian merchants. Brahe subsequently interfered on behalf of the

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[51] RGADA f. 96, 1620 g., No 1, fol. 111.
[52] RGADA f. 96, 1620 g., No, fols. 113–4; *SRFH*, II, Nr. 358.
[53] Dosifei, *Geograficheskoe, istoricheskoe i statisticheskoe opisanie*, I, p. 126; Shaskol'skii, "Ustanovlenie," p. 74.
[54] Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 276–7.

Uleåborg merchants. Evidently also some of the local peasantry traded on the Russian side of the border, a practice condoned by Brahe in 1655.[55]

As commercial relations across the Maaselkä watershed revived in the post-Stolbovo years, a largely futile battle by the authorities against Russian trade in the countryside became one the defining features of Ostrobothnia's economic relations with its eastern neighbor. Such commerce allowed Russians to dictate the terms of trade in a much different way than they would in cities. For instance, in Uleåborg, Russian visitors could only deal in wholesale trade, a major restriction, given the limited resources of the local population and something that threatened to make them dependent of the local burghers. Moreover, much of the Ostrobothnian coast was relatively evenly populated, with some rural parishes comparable to the local towns in size.[56] Karl IX in 1618, in fact, temporarily exempted Russians from customs duties while seeking to investigate the nature and extent of toll evasion. However, following a policy reversal, local cities joined in efforts to curb Russian country trade. In an attempt to give their own merchants a more active role in Russian trade, Uleåborg in 1625 managed to bring about the creation of two annual markets in the Kajaneborg parish, one in the village of Paldamo (Finn. Paltamo) on June 24, and the other in Särismäki (Saaresmäki) on December 15.[57]

As in the Kexholm county, Queen Christina finally moved to ban country trade. Muscovites were told to carry out all their transactions in Uleåborg and return home with any unsold goods. Nonetheless, due to logistical problems and a reluctance to clamp down on trade that provided the local towns with customs revenues, the authorities continued to tolerate the traditional state of affairs. A 1639 report cautioned against excessive zeal in enforcing the regulations and claimed that many Russians went to Torneå and beyond, since Uleåborg did not have enough prosperous burghers to generate sufficient demand for Russian goods.[58] Country trade was an even

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[55] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 202, 251; Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 282–6.

[56] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 245–6, 252–3; *Handlingar rörande Finlands historia kring medlet af 17: de århundradet*, pp. 300–1, 316–8, 332–3; Korte, *Liminka*, pp. 122, 132.

[57] *SRFH*, V, p. 364; Qvist, *Finlands marknader*, p. 122.

[58] Vartiainen, "Eräs Kajaanin tienoilla itärajan yli käytyä kauppaa valaiseva asi-

greater source of irritation for Kajana. The government in 1659 reasserted the right of peasants to trade with Russians across the border. However, they were required to bring their wares first to Kajana, and, only having failed to sell them there, take them elsewhere with an appropriate customs declaration. This requirement, however, remained a mere dead letter and many local peasants appear to have traded with Russians with money from Uleåborg. Uleåborgers also effectively took over the Kajana fairs. Many peasants in the Kajana region bought Russian goods, especially salt, and kept them until they were able to sell them to Uleåborgers at the fair.[59]

The regulatory zeal of the Swedish authorities continued largely unabated into the second half of the century. In 1664, the government ordered that Russians could come to the Ostrobothnian coast only by way of Kajana and their cargo was to be inspected by the authorities in both Kajana and Uleåborg. The Russians were then expected to present these official lists in any town they visited so as to prevent illegal trade in the country. However, numerous violations of these regulations resulted in considerable frustration in Uleåborg and even a 1672 request that Russian-Karelian trade be prohibited altogether.[60] Uleåborg's dominance was further eroded when burghers of their neighboring Brahestad (Finn. Raahe, est. 1649) in 1680 persuaded the government to allow Russian merchants to visit the town. More generally, Russian trade was to be liberalized in compliance with the Kardis peace treaty, although exact arrangements were left to local governors. By that time, Russian trade was clearly well established. According to the surviving Uleåborg toll records, the city received 1–3 Russian visitors each year. The situation in Torneå was evidently even better. For instance in 1683, four groups of Russian river boats arrived in Torneå. The total number of Russian visitors may well have exceeded 30 p.a.[61] Russians bought primarily ermine,

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akirja," p. 162; Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 177, 185, 192 ff., 244–8; Virrankoski, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaa ja Lappi*, p. 404; Mäntylä, *Tornion kaupungin historia*, I, p. 81; Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 276–7; Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, p. 291; *Pehr Brahes bref*, II, pp. 20–1.

[59] Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 280–1, 283–7, 299.

[60] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, p. 248; Virrankoski, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaa ja Lappi*, p. 405.

[61] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 185, 249; Virrankoski, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaa ja Lappi*, p. 407; Luukko, *Suomen historia*, pp. 517–8; Mäntylä, *Tornion kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 81–3, 596.

otter, beaver, fox, and other furs in Torneå which served as the center of fur trade for most of Lapland. The number of Russian visitors to the region's towns does not necessarily accurately reflect the scale of Muscovite operations, given the scale of peddling in the countryside.

There is regrettably only very fragmentary evidence on the volumes and values involved in Russian trade in northern Finland. They were certainly sufficient to concern the Russian authorities in 1685, when *Tseloval'nik* Danilo Melent'ev was sent to the Swedish border point to discover numerous merchants from the Solovki monastery, as well as Kem' and Suma, passed it with wares acquired in Arkhangel'sk without paying duty. Suma peasants purchased enough copper, as well as squirrel and other furs in Finland to take them as far as Kargopol', Vologda, Iaroslavl', and Moscow for re-sale.[62] Also, transactions between the Ostrobothnians and Russian visitors occasionally involved substantial sums. In 1685, Kem' merchant Gavrila Miihkalinpoika Huuska sold D 120 of goods at Kalajoki to the southwest of Uleåborg, which suggests that he could regularly have brought several hundred *daler*s worth of goods to Finland.[63] Many Karelians were frequent visitors and acquired a good reputation in Ostrobothnia. They appear to have acted as creditors to Kajana's fledgeling bourgeoisie on a regular basis. An Uleåborg burgher, Johan Bochmöller, lent Rd 530 (some D 2,000) to a Karelian, Huotari, and appears to have made similar loans to other Russians in the 1660s.[64]

The importance of Russian trade grew steadily in the last decades of the century. Joint petitions by Ostrobothnian cities to the *Riksdag* in 1689 and '93 highlight the growing importance of Western reexports from Arkhangel'sk. Russians brought in foreign textiles and metal goods via Kem' without paying the requisite great toll. The trip from Arkhangel'sk to Kem' was said to last only 3–4 days by sea and the transportation costs between Kem' and Kajana typically amounted to D 16. These arrangements allowed the Russians to sell silk, for instance, more cheaply than the prevailing prices in Stockholm. The Ostrobothnian cities claimed that the volume of Russian trade

[62] Miuller, *Ocherki*, p. 164.
[63] Virrankoski, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaa ja Lappi*, p. 408.
[64] *Ibidem*, p. 409; Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 298, 409.

had increased from some 20 cartloads to 200, with increasing quantities going to Västerbotten. In addition, Russian country traders were said to buy copper, leather, and pearls from the rural population.[65]

Additional evidence on Karelian trade in the region comes from the surviving records on Kajana's fairs, although it should be noted that busy traffic in a town with only one customs official offered ample opportunities for avoiding inspections during the fairs. The surviving customs data reveals that the values transacted remained very modest throughout. For instance, the duties collected at the winter fair of February 2–5, 1655 totaled only D 100.[66] This appears to have been a very typical figure at least until the beginning of the 1670s. Additional information can be gleaned from a list of "little toll" collection in the town during 1678. The wares sold consisted of relatively small quantities of grain, fish, fibers, furs, skins, cloth, and haberdashery. While this "regular" exchange was not insignificant, it paled in comparison with the market times. The 1678 customs record also highlights the dependence of the Kajana region on the Russian-Karelian merchants. Of the 83 merchants recorded, at least 29 had obviously Karelian or Russian names, surpassing the Finns by far in importance. Thus, Russian Karelians were active in the town throughout the year and supplied city-dwellers with most of their import goods, including virtually all luxuries, undoubtedly brought in from Arkhangel'sk.[67]

Trade Relations with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Beyond

By the beginning of the 17th century, Russian-Lithuanian trade built on an age-old tradition of commercial interaction, both between border communities and over longer distances. In spite of the skepticism of 19th- and 20th-century historians, there is ample evidence to suggest that trade along this overland route was intensive and marked by generally amicable relations between the two neighbors. Indeed, the 16th century appears to have marked something of a "golden age" for trade on the European overland routes, both in

[65] Virkkunen, *Oulun kaupungin historia*, I, p. 185.
[66] Vartiainen, *Kajaanin kaupungin historia*, I, pp. 301, 467.
[67] Reproduced in: Vartiainen, "Eräs Kajaanin tienoilla itärajan yli käytyä kauppaa valaiseva asiakirja," pp. 164–74.

absolute terms and in relation to volumes carried on other routes.[68] Although the strength of tradition generally sustained border trade even in exceptional times, it is clear that by the beginning of the 17th century, overland trade was faced with an increasing number of structural challenges. Cost considerations and Muscovite commercial policy presented it with increasingly stiff competition by other more cost-efficient trade routes. This transfer coincided with a move, especially in Russian export trade, from goods with relatively high value:weight ratios towards bulkier and less expensive products, a development that naturally accentuated the comparative disadvantage of overland trade. Perhaps even more importantly, the turn of the century was marked by extraordinary political instability. The outbreak of the Time of Troubles and the prolonged Polish-Lithuanian incursions in 1604–8 significantly curbed the free flow of goods at times.[69]

The surviving quantitative evidence, as fragmentary as it is, does allow us to make some estimates of the scope of Russian-Lithuanian trade before and during these turbulent years. We possess a number of petitions from September 1603—July 1604 by 16 Russian merchants—mainly from Smolensk—to the Treasury Chancellery for permission to visit Lithuania. Their cargoes were dominated by furs and pelts, but contained also leather, hides, cloth, finished clothing, and various other goods.[70]

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[68] Bushkovitch, *The Merchants of Muscow*, pp. 87–8.

[69] A recent description of the war can be found in: Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War*.

[70] The goods carried consisted of a total of 2,960 sable skins, 4,080 marten, 14,880 ermine, 660 mink, 3,706 fox, 189,968 squirrel, 12 lynx, 205 wolf, 430 beaver, 333 otter, 132 hare, 500 pieces of chamois, 20 bellies, and 173 fur coats of various kinds. The non-fur exports consisted of 1,107 *iufti*, 53 hides of morocco leather, 3,320 sheep skins, 60 pieces of chamois, 9,700 gloves, 2,000 belts, 158 cloaks, 1,000 pieces of chintz, 3 pieces of printed (*vyboika*) cloth, 4,300 *arshin sermiaga* cloth, 2,000 *arshin* sackcloth, 137 pieces of *krashenina* cloth, 1,000 window frames/sashes, two pieces of calico, five alabaster globes for hanging chandeliers, R 30 worth of various piece goods, three bundles of hops, 150 rough blankets, and 1,000 caviar-pouch membranes. Similarly, a July 1604 "exit visa" for two Smolensk merchants lists 640 sable skins, 200 marten, 200 fox, 2,000 squirrels, 100 sheep skins, and 1,000 *arshin sermiaga* cloth. Given the dominance of the "Old Smolensk Road," these totals are likely to have represented the vast majority of Muscovite exports to Poland-Lithuania. RGADA f. 210, Prikaznyi stol, stb. No 1348, fol. 175; stb. No 1551, fol. 303; stb. No 1799, fol. 47; stb. No 1973, fol. 46; stb. No 1978, fol. 76; stb. No 2008, fols. 43–4; stb. No 2043, fol. 21; stb. No 2476, fol. 1; stb. No 1975, fol. 668.

The most important quantitative data for the period consists of four customs records for the western Lithuanian border points Brześć and Grodno which Russian or Lithuanian merchants had to pass through on their way to the great Polish fairs of Toruń, Gniezno, and Lublin.[71] The only Muscovite wares not passing through these cities were either consumed locally or exported to Riga and Königsberg, the latter of which was more important in leather and fur trade. Taken together, these sources of diversion probably did not account for much more than one-third of the Muscovite exports into Lithuania. The customs books clearly demonstrate that Russian-Polish trade at least in the early 17th century was dominated by the merchants of relatively few cities, mainly Mohylew, Mińsk, Grodno, Brześć, and Pińsk.[72]

Taken together, the four Brześć and Grodno records point to a great deal of continuity in Lithuanian re-export trade around the turn of the century. Throughout, furs and hides remained the two most dominant categories of exports. The most important furs were squirrel pelts, sold in tens and hundreds of thousands. In addition, there were more valuable furs available in substantial quantities, most notably ermine, mink, weasel, marten, and fox, as well as some sables. A comparison with the 1653 Arkhangel'sk exports reveals that clearly more squirrel skins passed through the overland route than through the White Sea port. For marten, fox, and ermine the total levels are comparable, perhaps slightly higher on the overland route. In sable and mink furs, which tended to come from Siberia, Arkhangel'sk was far more important.[73] The customs books further serve as a valuable source on goods going eastward. However, the task of delineating the bundle destined for Russia is impossible, although the assortment of Muscovite imports was probably not

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[71] Gniezno had a St Adalbert's day fair (April 23) and a St Bartholomew's day fair (August 24). Lublin had fairs in February, at Pentecost, and in October. Topolski, "Rola Gniezna," p. 49 ff.; Topolski, "Faktoren," pp. 112–3; Meleshko, *Mogilev*, p. 120.

[72] The 1600 Grodno customs record lists 72 Mohylew, 70 Mińsk, 53 Grodno, 15 Nowogródok, and 15 Słuck merchants trading in Muscovite goods. The corresponding figures in 1605 were 45 from Mohylew, 83 from Mińsk, 100 from Grodno, 11 from Nowogródok, and 32 from Słuck. Of the merchants passing through the Brześć customs in 1605, 227 came from Brześć itself, 177 from Pińsk, 90 from Mohylew, 21 from Słuck, 14 from Mińsk, five from Połock, three from Grodno, and two from Witebsk. Meleshko, *Mogilev*, pp. 120, 122; VUB RS F4–13159, F4–13160, F4–13161.

[73] Kotilaine, "Quantifying Russian Exports," p. 295.

significantly different from the overall situation. The main Lithuanian imports on the route were cloth, metals, metal products, furs, fruit, sprices, luxuries, and various other goods, much along the lines of what reached Russia through Arkhangel'sk and the Baltic ports.[74]

Comparisons between the different trade routes are further facilitated by the fortunate coincidence that the only surviving 17th-century customs record for the northeastern Belorussian city of Witebsk also dates from 1605.[75] The value of the document is enhanced by the fact that it is the only extant fully-fledged customs record for a *Lithuanian-Russian* border town at the beginning of the century, as well as the only document shedding light on the mechanics of cross-border trade in the northeastern corner of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy. Witebsk not only served as an important local center in northeastern Lithuania but also, given its location on the Dźwina played a pivotal role in supplying Riga with products from its Lithuanian and Russian hinterland. The 1605 record clearly reveals the active role of Muscovite merchants in Witebsk's, as well as—to an almost equal degree—in Połock's trade. Russians began to appear in Witebsk at the end of July. Their rather conspicuous absence during the first half of the year is likely to be connected with the fact that the Godunov government closed the Russian border with Lithuania at the beginning of the intervention by False Dmitrii.[76] In the summer and autumn months, 20 Muscovites from Belaia hauled their wares down the Obsha, the Meża, and the Dźwina on a variety of river vessels, in some cases jointly with Witebsk merchants. In addition, there was one boat from Toropets. This trade continued overland during the winter months with four more merchants from Belaia, two from Toropets, and one from Velikie Luki. A significant portion of the furs sold on the Witebsk market were acquired by Mohylew merchants who often further processed them for re-exportation into Poland and beyond.[77] In relative terms, the northeastern hinterland appears to have accounted for a relatively small proportion of

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[74] Kopysskii, *Ėkonomicheskoe razvitie*, pp. 212–6.

[75] VUB RS F4–13157, *Regestr wybirania myta starego na przykomorku Witebskim przes mie Eustaphia Mereckiego Poczawszy od iedynastego dnia Janry X^o DNI: 1605.*

[76] Abetsedarskii, "Torgovye sviazi," p. 6.

[77] The total volumes carried by a total of 13 merchants from Mohylew in 1605 were 16,250 squirrel skins, 56 sable, 307 ermine, 100 weasel, 442 marten, 385 mink, 650 fox, 11 wolves, 115 otter, 21 beaver, 35 polecats, 3,190 hare, two elk hides, 40 cow hides, 20 calf skins, 15 goat skins, 135 lambskins, 4 beaver peritonea,

Mohylew's trade in Russian furs. The Witebsk book constitutes the only surviving Polish-Lithuanian record with explicit data on exports to Muscovy, in this case mainly tallow, cloth, metal products, and vodka.[78]

Another important fragment on Polish-Lithuanian trade in Russian goods is a 1607 Augustów customs record, which covers the period between April and June and provides valuable information on Russian furs going to the Gniezno market. In the course of April alone, 10 Mohylew merchants brought to the city 1,080 marten, 700 otter, 800 mink, 280 ermine, 104,800 squirrel, 97 fox, 10 bear, 244 wolf, and 17 lynx skins, 2,835 goathides, 6,000 pieces of chamois, and 210 *iufti*. Mińsk merchants imported 430 goathides, 12,100 chamois pieces, and 780 *iufti*.[79] Given the heavy reliance of this trade on fairs, it is likely that the total amount of Mohylew's Muscovite exports to Gniezno during the year was not several times higher than the April figures. Overall, the scale of Russian exports to Lithuania in the early part of the century was still quite substantial and typically totaled tens of thousands of roubles a year, probably some one-fifth of total Muscovite exports.

After Smolensk (Pol. Smoleńsk) fell into Polish-Lithuanian hands in 1611, the smaller town of Viaz'ma emerged as the main commercial center on Muscovy's new western border and the main customs point on the Moscow road. Other "new" border towns in the wake of the 1618 Deulino treaty were Rzhev, Kaluga, and Sevsk, all of which previously had played a secondary role in trade with the Commonwealth. However, these checkpoints were not suddenly poised for a long-awaited economic renaissance. In general terms, the loss of Smolensk revealed the heavy dependence of Russian-Lithuanian trade on relatively short-distance cross-border exchange. Smolensk had been the Muscovite focus of this trade and its transfer to Polish-Lithuanian suzerainty internalized the core region of this trade within the boundaries of the *Rzeczpospolita*. Nonetheless, the shift of the border did not significantly challenge Mohylew's

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7 pieces of chamois, 16 *kamień* tallow, 20 *kamień* wax, four *kamień* bear fat, and half a *kamień* honey. VUB RS F4–13157.

[78] The recorded totals were: 16 *kamień* tallow, two bundles of thin cloth, 30 dozen knies, 5,000 Hungarian saws, and 1,400 quarts of vodka. Levko, *Torgovye sviazi*, p. 72.

[79] Łukaszewicz, *Obraz*, I, p. 302.

predominent position among the Lithuanian border towns, highlighting the demographic and material losses suffered by Smolensk.[80]

The Deulino truce formally ratified the new borders and acknowledged the new economic order. The treaty authorized all Polish and Lithuanian merchants to trade freely throughout Russia with the sole exception of Moscow which was open only to merchants accompanying official embassies.[81] A plethora of anecdotal evidence points to a robust recovery soon thereafter. An August 1620 letter from the Ustiug *chetvert'* to the head of the Mozhaisk customs described the urgent need for better facilities for trade in the city, which had become an important meeting place for Muscovite and Lithuanian merchants.[82] Mohylew merchants also visited Kaluga and at least some Witebsk merchants operated as far away as Rzhev. The arrival of Lithuanian visitors to towns with little to no previous exposure to them invariably caused confusion and called for special measures to prevent espionage.[83] In the north, Połock merchants once again extended their trips to Pskov. 20,000 squirrel skins were sold to Spyrydon Kondratjew in December 1623 for a total of R 400.[84] Briansk on the southern flank of the Lithuanian-Muscovite border attracted a number of especially Mohylew merchants. Belorussian, as well as Ukrainian merchants also brought cattle and various kinds of cloth, as well as silver, tin, and bronze dishes to the nearby Svensk fair.[85] Svensk was also an important center of the valuable fur trade. In 1638, the Siberian Chancellery sent 2,827 sables, 19 sable coats, etc.—a combined value of R 7,105—to Svensk for sale to Lithuanians. In 1647, R 5,590 worth of sables and other furs were sent there. In the best years, the total fur sales by the Treasury to Lithuanian merchants exceeded R 10,000.[86] Lithuanian merchants brought substantial quantities of liquor to Russia, something that the Russian local authorities were repeatedly admonished to prevent. However,

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[80] Ignatenko, "Russko-belorusskie torgovye sviazi," p. 21.

[81] RGADA f. 79, op. 3, No 58.

[82] RGADA f. 137, Ustiug Velikii, kn. I, fols. 169–71.

[83] RGADA f. 210, Sevskii stol, stb. No 77, fols. 224, 360–2; Novgorodskii stol, stb. No 18, fol. 142.

[84] TLA 230–1–B.H. 21, fols. 2[v].

[85] RGADA f. 210, Prikaznyi stol, stb. No 10, fols. 385–93; f. 79, 1649 g., stb. No 1–a, ch. II, fols. 451–62, 628–31, 699.

[86] Pavlov, *Pushnoi promysel*, p. 78; RGADA f. 214, kn. 75, fols. 364–9; kn. 238, fols. 35, 104.

the Russian border regions were evidently quite dependent on such imports. For instance, Smolensk burghers and peasants of the College of Jesuits smuggled vodka and tobacco into Russia. In 1625, the head of customs and taverns in Toropets complained of liquor shortages in Velikie Luki due to restrictions on trade with Lithuania.[87] The available evidence points to regular trade which undoubtedly constituted an important part of overall Russian-Lithuanian commercial exchange.

Peace was again broken in 1632 when Russia launched an ultimately unsuccessful campaign to regain Smolensk. The Polianovka peace of June 1634 restored the prewar borders with minor concessions to Russia.[88] Under the peace treaty, which largely mirrored the provision of the Deulino truce, Polish and Lithuanian merchants were granted the right to travel anywhere in Russia with the exception of the Moscow region. However, at least on paper, trade in all goods was permitted, in a marked departure from earlier similar treaties which had explicitly outlawed trade in the so-called "forbidden" goods. Russian merchants were allowed to visit any town in Poland-Lithuania apart from the capitals Kraków and Wilno. As in the earlier truce, merchants accompanying diplomatic mission were authorized to trade also in the capitals.[89]

The apparent legalization of liquor imports imparted a major stimulus to Lithuanian-Russian commerce. At least four Połock merchants visited Nevel', Velikie Luki, and Toropets in late 1634 and were able to sell liquor without any restrictions. Toropets *Voevoda* Fedor Buturlin in May 1635 wrote to the Military Chancellery about numerous Lithuanian merchants crossing the border evidently for the primary purpose of selling vodka. Some Połock merchants ventured as far out as the Novgorod to make use of their newly won right.[90] The sudden increase in the number of liquor traders caused considerable confusion among Russian local authorities, however, and some, citing earlier restrictions, refused to admit such merchants. A May 1635 letter from the Diplomatic Chancellery to the *voevoda*

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[87] RGADA f. 137, Ustiug Velikii, kn. I, fols. 321–4; Dumin, *Smolenskoe voevodstvo*, p. 185.

[88] Novik and Martsul', *Historyia Belarusi*, I, p. 208.

[89] RGADA f. 79, op. 3, No 63, fol. 7^{v}.

[90] RGADA f. 210, Novgorodskii stol, stb. No 58, fols. 96–7, 215–7, 661; f. 79, 1636 g., stb. No 1, fols. 22–3.

of Viaz'ma paid particular attention to the need to combat the importation of Polish-Lithuanian alcohol and tobacco.[91] On the other hand, many cities were naturally eager to boost their customs revenues by gaining a bigger share of the growing vodka trade. By March 1636 Lithuanian liquor pedlars were already being deported from Viaz'ma. The measures were soon extended to other Russian towns, but a period of turmoil followed as Lithuanians traveled the Russian countryside in search of towns which had yet to enforce the new rules.[92] A controversy surrounded also tobacco trade which remained illegal in Russia, yet offered Lithuanian merchants excellent opportunities for smuggling even over long distances.[93]

Grain periodically figured as an export good of some importance from Russia to Lithuania. Thus a report by the Briansk *voevoda* at the end of 1649 speaks of a harvest failure and a consequent famine in Lithuania which had generated an exodus of population from the Commowealth lands to Russia. The local authorities favored grain sales on a limited scale, although an absolute ban was once again imposed in 1650.[94] A contemporaneous petition by Velikie Luki inhabitants indicates that a number of merchants from the adjacent areas of Lithuania were buying grain and other foodstuffs, as well as cattle in the region. The consequent inflation in food prices was causing consternation, and apparently even famine, and the government again authorized only very limited sales to Lithuanians. In October 1650, the head of the Viaz'ma Customs wrote to Moscow about the lack of customs revenues in the city, since exports to Lithuania had exhausted the local grain reserves.[95]

The question of travel to Moscow resurfaced after Polianovka as one of the most important bones of contention for Lithuanian merchants in their dealings with Russian authorities. Even after the small border revisions in 1634, Moscow was no longer very far away from the frontier and clearly eclipsed the modest western Russian towns in importance. Muscovite opposition to such visits remained adamant,

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[91] RGADA f. 79, 1635 g., d. 1, fols. 56–60.

[92] RGADA f. 210, Prikaznyi stol, stb. No 105, fols. 61, 85–6, 313–4.

[93] RGADA f. 79, 1644 g., stb. No 1, fol. 427; 1646 g., stb. No 1, ch. II, fol. 285; 1649 g., stb. No 1–a, ch. I, fols. 360–1; f. 210, Pomestnyi stol, stb. No 25, fols. 17–21.

[94] RGADA f. 210, Prikaznyi stol, stb. No 272, fols. 512–5; f. 79, 1650 g., stb. No 1, ch. I, fols. 60–3.

[95] RGADA f. 79, 1650 g., stb. No 1, ch. I, fols. 184–6; 141, 1643 g., stb. No 65, ch. II, fols. 463, 465.

however.[96] Driven by unparalled economic incentives, Lithuanian merchants increasingly sought to circumvent the inconvenient restrictions of the Polianovka treaty. In some cases, Lithuanians deliberately tried to break the Russian regulations. However, several Lithuanian merchants appear to have not merely ignored but in fact misunderstood the provisions of the peace treaty. An additional difficulty was created by the fact that during their perfectly legal trips to Moscow in an official context, Lithuanian merchants entered into credit relations with the local businessmen and expected, when necessary, to be able to return to collect their debts.[97]

The Lithuanian interest in central Russia went far beyond Moscow, however.[98] The 1642 Kursk customs record contains names of six Mohylew merchants carrying some R 250 worth of goods and specie. In 1647, there were already 14 Mohylew and two Orsza merchants in Kursk with R 954 of cargo.[99] A Mohylew merchant, Andrei Kamenskii, was sent to Moscow for interrogation in February 1654 having traveled in Iablonov, Karachev, Voronezh, Belev, Kozel'sk, and other towns. Even some Russian visitors came a long way to Lithuania, for example a Iaroslavl' townsman Isai Maksimov who visited Mohylew in January 1651.[100]

At least initially, a key reason for the problems the authorities encountered in their efforts to control trade with Lithuania was the lack of adequate storage and accommodation for visiting merchants. For instance, the Briansk guest house had by 1636 deteriorated beyond repair after 15 years in operation. The same year the government ordered the Sevsk *voevoda* to build a new guest house in place of an old one that had burnt down. The expenses were to be covered by the Treasury which thus clearly recognized the importance of Lithuanian trade for the local economy and the scale of

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[96] RGADA f. 79, 1636 g., stb. No 6, fols. 9–11.

[97] RGADA f. 79, 1637 g., stb. No 1, fol. 206; 1638 g., stb. No 2a, fols. 537–8.

[98] RGADA f. 79, 1641 g., stb. No 1, ch. II, fols. 530–1, 533–4; 141, 1636 g., stb. No 24, fols. 38–9; 1639 g., stb. No 10, fol. 123–5; 1640 g., stb. No 39, ch. II, fol. 257; f. 210, Vladimirskii stol, stb. No 39, fols. 201–3; Pomestnyi stol, stb. No 28, fol. 65.

[99] RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 94, fols. 50–2, 56, 67–9, 98–9; kn. 188, fols. 11–2, 14–5, 17, 26–7, 35–6, 39–41, 59, 75, 81–4, 86^{v}, 91–2, 101, 121, 157^{v}, 159–62; kn. 104, fol. 101.

[100] RGADA f. 79, 1651 g., stb. No 1a, ch. I, fols. 48–50, 54; f. 210, Prikaznyi stol, stb. No 952, fols. 147–51.

the customs revenues it generated.[101] An even more important problem was posed by the absence of facilities for Lithuanian visitors in Viaz'ma. Wilno and Mohylew merchants in 1637 complained of a lack of a proper guest house, rundown warehouses, etc., a state of affairs which was said to cause significant losses, not least to theft. The government in response constructed proper guest quarters.[102]

The single most valuable source on Russian-Lithuanian trade in the post-Polianovka era are the surviving Viaz'ma customs records from the years 1649/50, 1651/2, 1652/3, and 1653/4, after which the outbreak of the Polish-Russian war once again paralyzed this border trade.[103] The data clearly points to a decline in the volume of this trade during the period in question. In particular, the value of the specie exported by the Lithuanians underwent a sharp decline in 1652.[104] During four years, the total value of specie taken by Lithuanian merchants through Viaz'ma totalled R 6,073, R 6,190, R 640, and R 150 respectively. It seems reasonable to interpret the 1649–51 figures as more representative of the nature of this trade in the 1640s in general. The consignments of of goods carried were much less valuable: R 1,417.70, R 542, R 1,876.50, and R 1,086 in the four consecutive years.[105] The numbers of Viaz'ma merchants crossing the border broadly mirrored these tendencies. There were 16 such visitors in 1649/50, and 8, 20, and three respectively during the first three years of the '50s.[106] In contrast, the total value of wares and specie brought to Viaz'ma by Russian merchants was R 12,278, R 9,678.5, R 7,208, and R 11,203.5 during the four years reviewed here. One of the reasons for the decline of foreign trade may have more to do with the supply side than any political relations with the Commonwealth. There was a pronounced fall in the total value of furs and pelts brought to Viaz'ma, and it is possible that the potential export bundle shrank more generally.[107]

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[101] RGADA f. 79, 1635, d. 1, fols. 31, 195–6.
[102] RGADA f. 79, 1637 g., stb. No 1, fols. 90–1.
[103] Demkin, "Vneshniaia torgovlia," p. 3.
[104] *Ibidem*, p. 4.
[105] *Ibidem*, pp. 4, 10–1. No duties were exacted from so-called "*tovarnye den'gi*," money obtained from the sale of goods which had been declares in the customs previously. Since in most cases imports roughly equaled exports, we only get data on one and not the other. Merzon, *Tamozhennye knigi*, p. 39.
[106] Demkin, "Vneshniaia torgovlia," p. 15.
[107] *Ibidem*, p. 19.

1654 marked the beginning of a new era in Russian-Lithuanian relations heralded by a large-scale Russian offensive into the eastern parts of the Grand Duchy. By the summer, the Russian campaign was in full swing and clearly viewed as unstoppable by many burghers of Lithuanian border towns. Between July and September 1654, the Muscovites conquered the key commercial centers of Połock, Witebsk, Mohylew, and Smolensk. In the summer of 1655, they captured Mińsk, Grodno, Wilno, and Kowno.[108] The Muscovite government, pressed by the financial emergency of the war, fully appreciated the economic significance and potential of the newly-acquired eastern Lithuanian cities. Every attempt was made—at least on paper—to maintain the existing social and economic order so as not to weaken the region's economic strength and the inhabitants' loyalty to the Muscovite ruler.[109]

Trade began to revive soon enough, in spite of the continuing warfare. As the frontlines were pushed towards the Crown lands, Lithuanian merchants turned east.[110] A Szkłów trader residing in Moscow in November 1655 requested permission to return to his home town to collect 4,000 *pud* hemp which he had sold to Moscow merchant.[111] Mohylew shopkeeper Grigorii Kulak in 1656 sent his brother to the Smolensk region with R 500 worth of goods and the Kaluga *voevoda* informed the tsar that his city was constantly visited by Lithuanian merchants.[112] A rare quantitative document on trade in the region is a 1658/9 customs record for Wieliż which has 75 entries—all but 19 pertaining to Witebsk merchants—on goods valued at R 719.5.[113] The normalization of trade was especially pronounced in the northwestern direction, helped along by a reduction in tensions with Sweden in the wake of the Valiesaar truce and eventually the Kardis peace treaty of 1661. Between May 1, 1661 and January 16, 1662, 473 Witebsk burghers received 197 passports for

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[108] RGADA f. 229, stb. No 13, fols. 29–30; f. 79, 1654 g., stb. No 6, fols. 27–8, 133; stb. No 10, fol. 1; Novik and Martsul', *Historyia Belarusi*, I, pp. 210–1.

[109] RGADA f. 79, 1654 g., stb. No 6, fols. 108–10, 193–201, 257–60.

[110] For a detailed treatment of the war in Belorussia, see: Sahanovich, *Neviadomaia vaina*. RGADA f. 79, 1655 g., stb. No 3, fols. 1–3; f. 124, 1655 g., stb. No 18, fol. 43.

[111] RGADA f. 210, Moskovskii stol, stb. No 265, fol. 278.

[112] *IIuM*, X, pp. 281–2; Ignatenko, "Russko-belorusskie torgovye sviazi," p. 22; RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 467, fol. 191.

[113] RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 342, fols. 114–22.

trade at Wieliż, Toropets, Velikie Luki, Rzhev, Smolensk, Dorogobuzh, Uświat, Belaia, Novgorod, Staraia Russa, and other towns. 336 merchants set out on the Dźwina in 98 vessels of various kinds and 137 took the overland route to their destinations.[114]

Eventually the Muscovite offensive stalled and the Commonwealth troops regained their momentum, accompanied by a groundswell of resentment on the part of the local population against looting by the Muscovite invaders. A renewed Polish-Lithuanian offensive pushed the Russians out of Mińsk, Borysów, and Mohylew in 1661, but a truce was only signed in 1667.[115] The destruction wrought by the protracted fighting seriously curbed the commercial potential of the Dźwina-Dniepr basin. Cities were faced with major dislocations, not only because of the fighting, but also due to epidemics and hunger. The population of the Grand Duchy fell from some 4,560,000 before the wars of the mid-century to 2,346,000 in 1667. The subsequent recovery was highly tentative and even the 1690 total was still only 2,835,000 inhabitants. The demographic toll was at its greatest in the eastern districts of Połock, Witebsk, Mścisław, and Mińsk. Połock and Mścisław lost nearly two-thirds of their population.[116]

Against this backdrop of destruction and economic stagnation, the Andrusovo treaty of 1667 created a *de iure* basis for the permanent restoration of close commercial ties between the neighboring countries. The Muscovite territorial losses of the *Smuta* years—most importantly the Smolensk region—were largely reversed. The authorities on both sides were naturally eager to bring about a much-awaited economic recovery. According to Paragraph 16 of the truce, trade was to be restored based on prewar precedent. Equipped with passports, merchants from both sides could operate in border towns and elsewhere as before the war. All roads, as well as the Dźwina were opened to trade. All outstanding debt obligations were to be hon-

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[114] Regrettably, the brief petitions do not tend to specify the goods carried, although wares brought to Russia included at least 374 barrels of salt, 13 barrels of herring, 160 jugs, 40 pairs of gloves, and 10 bundles of smelts. Some Witebsk merchants carried hats, axes, knives, and small piece goods. In many cases, they journeyed to the Smolensk region to buy grain. RGADA f. 145, 1661 g., d. 5, fols. 1–286. Some of these documents are reproduced in: *Russko-belorusskie sviazi vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.*, pp. 448–50.

[115] Novik and Martsul', *Historyia Belarusi*, I, pp. 210–1; Sahanovich, *Neviadomaia vaina*, p. 83 ff.

[116] Morzy, *Kryzys demograficzny*, pp. 188–207; Sahanovich, *Neviadomaia vaina*, pp. 139–40.

ored. These provisions were confirmed in the 1668 peace treaty.[117] Trade apparently revived more or less immediately. Merchants from Witebsk and other border towns visited Toropets with hopes of buying grain and Moscow authorized such sales where supply permitted it.[118] Already in 1667, at least 23 Polish-Lithuanian merchants journeyed to the Russian capital. In February 1668, the Pskov *voevoda* wrote to the Diplomatic Chancellery about Polish and Lithuanian merchants who had been coming to Pskov on a monthly basis.[119] The renewed commercial relationship between the two neighbors was far from tension-free, however. Especially debt-collection immediately became a charged issue and sometimes had to be handled through diplomatic channels.[120]

While the question of visits to Moscow re-emerged as a major point of contention, tension was diffused by 1672, when the Russian government, evidently acknowledging its inability to alter the existing state of affairs, permitted Lithuanian merchants to freely visit the capital, subject only to the payment of the regular duties. Only tobacco and liquor sales remained illegal, as before.[121] A 1681 Diplomatic Chancellery record of foreign merchants visiting Moscow lists two Lithuanian merchants from Wilno and Mohylew, respectively.[122] A particularly important part of Lithuanian trade with Moscow consisted of fur purchases at the Siberian Chancellery, even though most Treasury furs were probably sold at the Svensk fair (Figure 7.1). For at least some Lithuanians, free access to Moscow in turn took them closer to other lucrative business opportunities in central Russia. Among the most tempting ones was the famous Makar'ev fair near Nizhnii Novgorod.[123] Effective control of this trade into the Russian interior remained well-nigh impossible. A November 1680 memorandum from the Chancellery of the Great Treasury

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[117] *AVAK*, XXXIV, p. 440; RGADA f. 79, op. 3, d. 110, fols. 11v–12v.

[118] *Ibidem*, fols. 133–4.

[119] *Ibidem*, fol. 231; 1669 g., stb. No 1, fol. 78.

[120] RGADA f. 79, 1668 g., stb. No 21, fols. 99, 101; 1671 g., stb. No 1, fols. 75–8; 1677 g., stb. No 1, fols. 53–6; 1678 g., stb. No 8, fol. 1; 1686 g., stb. No 5, fol. 284; f. 141, 1679 g., stb. No 68, fol. 2; 1683 g., stb. No 169, fol. 1. f. 79, 1671 g., stb. No 1, fols. 75–8; 1677 g., stb. No 1, fols. 53–6.

[121] RGADA f. 138, op. 2, kn. 17, fol. 21.

[122] RGADA f. 159, tetrad' No 781, fols. 8v, 11.

[123] RGADA f. 79, 1674 g., stb. No 1, fols. 79–81; d. 12, fol. 8; f. 141, 1674 g., stb. No 392, fol. 2.

complained of duty-evasion by Mohylew merchants visiting Moscow and called for redoubled efforts to avoid smuggling along smaller country roads.[124]

The basic nature of the overland trade remained largely unchanged during the remainder of the century. The 1686 "eternal" peace treaty between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovite Russia formally restored trade between the two neighbors. Merchants of both sides—Jews excluded—were allowed to trade freely in all but forbidden goods, *viz.* liquor and tobacco. Free trade was explicitly authorized beyond the border zones, including the capitals, even if merchants accompanying embassies were expected to depart with the envoys. Of great symbolic, but probably of relatively little practical, importance was the provision of para. 28 to allow merchants of both sides, equipped with the requisite royal letters, to engage in transit trade with third parties through the neighboring country. Trade with Persia was specifically referred to.[125] The surviving primary documentation points to a gradual consolidation of the relationship in the Petrine years. We possess a number of records pertaining to outstanding loan claims in both directions. For instance, a Kaluga townsman Maksim Kirillovich Korobov complained in 1700 of the non-payment of a R 984 loan he had made to a Mohylew burgher Jan Razynkowicz.[126]

The most important body of data on Russian-Lithuanian trade in the second half of the 17th century is a number of surviving customs records for western Russian border towns. We still possess four more or less complete volumes of customs data for the local commercial capital, Smolensk, covering the years 1673/4, 1676/7, 1677/8, and 1678/9. These are complemented by four roughly contemporaneous Dorogobuzh books from the 1670s. Another set of volumes was compiled between 1665 and 1680 by the Military Chancellery for the pre-eminent centers of the north bank of the Dźwina, *viz.* Velikie Luki and Toropets.[127] While the historical value of the west-

[124] RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 980, fol. 18.

[125] RGADA f. 79, op. 3, No 141, fols. 42, 46–7.

[126] Korobov was claiming a total of R 1,334. RGADA f. 79, op. 1, 1700 g., No 31, fols. 1–5.

[127] A detailed description of the Smolensk volumes can be found in: Mitiaev, "K voprosu." A published version of the surviving Velikie Luki records has been compiled by A.V. Iurasov: *Tamozhennye knigi Velikikh Luk.* The administration of the western Russian customs, along with those of the rest of the country barring Siberia,

ern Russian customs data is indisputable, the sources do have a number of shortcomings. They do not indicate the destinations of merchants passing through a particular customs point, only their points of origin. Thus it is possible to identify the goods that Lithuanian merchants sold in Russia but usually impossible to determine how many Russians crossed the border in the opposite direction or the goods they carried.

Smolensk was the only one of the Western Russian border towns with an extensive domestic hinterland and it appears to have experienced gradual consolidation in its trade during the second half of the century. The number of entries in the four surviving customs records rose from 638 to 803, 961, and eventually to 986. At the same, there was an upward tendency in the overall value of trade: R 52,358.75 in 1673/4, R 57,190.75 in 1676/7, R 61,101.78 in 1677/8, and R 56,178.30 in 1678/9.[128] Evidently, however, the total receipts increased further fairly substantially during the 1680s. A note based on the 1688/9 and 1689/90 customs books reveals that receipts from customs and tavern duties totaled R 13,517.24 in each year.[129] Smolensk continued to attract visitors from a broad range of Lithuanian towns. Mohylew, Witebsk, Szkłów, Mińsk, Bychów, Słuck, and Połock dominated this exchange, although periodic contacts extended to Orsza, Krzyczew, Borysów, and Nieświż.[130] However, an increasing proportion of Smolensk's export trade was diverted away from the Lithuanian land route over time. The main reason was the heavy, and evidently growing, dependence of the regional economy on hemp which was either shipped to Riga or taken into the Muscovite interior for processing into more valuable ropes, etc.

A secondary regional center was Dorogobuzh, located on the Dniepr some 90 kilometers upstream from Smolensk, a state of affairs which permitted the transportation of bulky goods with relative ease. The involvement of Dorogobuzh in overland trade was relatively limited, however, as the domination of hemp was, if anything, even greater than in Smolensk. As Smolensk regained its former glory as the commercial hub of western Russia, Viaz'ma tended to decline.

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passed from to the Great Treasury in 1680. Apparently, there are no surviving customs records from the post-1680 period. Merzon, *Tamozhennye knigi*, p. 16.

[128] Mitiaev, "Oboroty," p. 57.

[129] RGADA f. 145, op. 1, No 23.

[130] Ignatenko, "Russko-belorusskie torgovye sviazi," p. 24.

The total annual customs duties collected in Viaz'ma varied between R 800–1,100 in the '50s but fell to R 300–550 in the '60s and '70s.[131] In spite of its relative decline, Viaz'ma continued to attract Lithuanian merchants, many of whom had established business relations there before and during the war.

To the south of Smolensk, the Briansk region remained an important focus of cross-border exchange and most foreign visitors came from Mohylew. A December 1667 agreement between the Mohylew governor Danilo Karkowski and a Briansk townsman Ivan Omel-'ianovich Kazanets committed the latter to supplying 10 barrels of potash, as well as 20,000 squirrel skins, 800 ermine skins, 2–300 sable tails, 40 sable skins, 400 sable bellies, four polar fox furs, and horses valued at Zł 1,500.[132] The nearby Svensk fair remained an important focal point of trade for the remainder of the century, above all as an important outlet of furs and pelts sold by the Siberian Chancery. Fur sales alone often rose to thousands of roubles, making the fair probably the single most important center of trade on the Central European land border of Russia (Figure 7.1).

Border trade also continued along the northeastern frontier of the Commonwealth, the preserve of Połock and Witebsk merchants. Four Velikie Luki customs records survive to attest to the importance of commercial ties with northeastern Lithuania for the city's economy. The total annual turnover of Luki's trade with Lithuania is likely to have been in the range of R 500–1,000. The evolution of trade in the neighboring town of Toropets was not much different. A document compiled by the local administration provides a list of Toropets merchants who had been permitted to visit the Grand Duchy, as well as of Lithuanian-Belorussian visitors to the city in September 1674–July 1676.[133] 15 permits were issued to Toropets townsmen (typically groups of 2–3 merchants) visiting primarily the Witebsk, Uświaty, and Połock regions, but also Mohylew, Druja, and Wilno.[134] Overall, it seems likely that the annual turnover of Toropets' Lithuanian trade in the 1670s was in excess of R 300, but probably seldom higher than R 400. Further to the north, some Belorussians contin-

[131] Vinogradov, *Istoricheskii ocherk*, pp. 80–1.
[132] RGADA f. 79, 1668 g., stb. No 1, fols. 103–4.
[133] *Akty, otnosiashchiesia do iuridicheskogo byta drevnei Rossii*, II, pp. 111–4.
[134] RGADA f. 141, 1677 g., stb. No 40, fol. 1.

ued to operate in Pskov where two Połockians sold R 299.83 worth of goods in 1670/1.[135]

Commercial Relations with the Ukrainian Lands

Russian trade with the Ukrainian lands built on a long legacy of exchange on the Moscow-Kiev-Kaffa axis since the days of Kievan Rus'. However, the Ukraine was farther removed from the core areas of the Russian economy than Lithuania and the potential for trade far more limited to begin with. Ultimately, however, the demographic expansion of Russia's Southern Frontier and the emergence of new cities in the Dniepr valley combined with a growing Muscovite interest in the Black Sea littoral to produce a fundamental transformation in Russia's trade with the South in the course of the 17th century.

There appear to have been at least some more or less regular economic interaction between Russia and the Ukraine around the turn of the 17th century. Several Kiev merchants specialized in trade with Moscow and western Ukrainian merchants, similarly, periodically journeyed to the Russian capital. Also Russians had a history of sporadic visits to the Ukraine.[136] The main focus of Russian-Ukrainian trade appears to have been the border regions: the Muscovite Southern Frontier and the Left Bank Ukraine. Most of the interaction took place between the Russian border fortresses of Putivl', Ryl'sk, Sevsk, Briansk, Karachev, and Trubechevsk on the one hand, and the commercial centers of the eastern and central Ukraine—Nizhyn, Baturyn, Hadiach, Myrhorod, Pryluky, and Kiev—on the other. Some Ukrainian merchants evidently went as far as Kaluga and Tula, and even Moscow and Novgorod, although the Russian government actively sought to curb travel beyond the border zone. In some instances, Ukrainian merchants also visited the neighboring Don basin, apparently with the tacit encouragement of the Russian authorities.[137] However, most available data suggests that Ukrainian

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[135] Iurasov, *Vneshniaia torgovlia*, p. 206.

[136] Derev'iankin *et al*., *Istoriia*, I, p. 150; Kryp'iakevych, *Zv'iazky*, pp. 13–5; *AZR*, IV, pp. 160–1, 307.

[137] Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, pp. 401–2; Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli*, p. 130; RGADA f. 79, 1638 g., d. 2, fol. 330; d. 2–a, fols. 517–8; 1645 g., d. 1, fols. 105–7; *Donskie dela*, II, p. 752. Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli*, p. 130.

long-distance trade was primarily oriented towards the Polish Crown lands, not least their leading port, Danzig, in spite of considerable geographic obstacles.[138]

The commercial potential of the Ukrainian lands was substantially curtailed by frequent military clashes. There were periodic Tatar raids throughout the period under review which resulted in the capture of thousands of people, the destruction of hundreds of villages, and general looting on a large scale. Tatars frequently raided merchant caravans, as well, especially in the Russian border districts of Putivl' and Belgorod. Merchants' vulnerability was increased by the fact that, in order to remain mobile, they tended to operate in relatively small groups.[139] This, combined with periodic famines and perennial social conflicts—especially the rise of the Cossacks—make it hard to avoid the conclusion that the development of Ukranian trade in the first half of the 17th century lagged significantly behind its potential.[140] Indeed, compared to Russia, the Ukraine appears to have been a relatively closed economy.

The destruction and confusion of the Time of Troubles was followed by rapid demographic growth and continued colonization on both sides of the border. This in turn lent a major stimulus to trade. Starodub by 1620 had two guesthouses, one of which was for Muscovite visitors. Similarly, Nizhyn by 1625 boasted two comparable facilities, one of them designated for Russian merchants.[141] On the Russian side, the authorities in 1626 ordered a guesthouse to be built Putivl'. As was seen above, both Briansk and Sevsk got new guesthouses in the mid-'30s. Comparable facilities were created in Belgorod in 1638 and in Kursk a year later, presumably in response to a pronounced increase in the number of visitors.[142] The evident expansion in cross-border trade in the 1630s was reinforced by efforts

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[138] Rybarski, *Handel*, I, p. 40.

[139] Baranovich, *Ukraina*, pp. 125–8; *Vossoedinenie*, I, p. 281; Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli*, p. 134; RGADA f. 79, 1648 g., d. 1, fol. 7.

[140] Baranovich, *Ukraina*, p. 130.

[141] Koval'skii, *Istochnikovedenie*, pp. 13–4; NBU IR f. I, spr. 54485 (Laz 33), fol. 27; spr. 54588 (Laz 33), fol. 447v; RGADA f. 389, kn. 211, fol. 119; TsDIAU-K f. 62, spr. 31; fols. 102–3.

[142] *AMG*, II, p. 192; *Akty IuZR*, VIII, p. 297; RGADA f. 79, 1635 g., d.1., fol. 31, 195–6; 1636 g., d. 1–a, fols. 13–4; f. 210, Moskovskii stol, stb. No 252, fol. 146; f. 210, Sevskii stol, stb. No 168, fol. 185; Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 104, fols. 90–1; Dela desiaten, d. 40, fols. 77–80, 95–100, 121–2; Koval'skii, *Istochnikovedenie*, p. 13; Zaborovskii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 158; *Vossoedinenie*, I, pp. 212–3.

by Ukrainian merchants to buy grain north of the border. 1638 saw a disastrous harvest, followed by a famine, on the Left Bank. Large numbers of Ukrainian merchants were seen in the Russian borderlands and some of them engaged in direct dealings with the local peasantry, evidently on a large enough scale to alarm the Russian authorities.[143]

The basic composition of the Russian and Ukrainian wares involved in this trade did not change significantly in the course of the century. Liquor was almost certainly the main Ukrainian export and illicit tobacco and vodka trade very early on established itself as the main source of contention with Russian authorities.[144] Yet both goods were ideally suited for this overland exchange. The Ukrainians cultivated significant quantities of tobacco and imported more from Walachia and Moldavia. Tobacco was a compact and valuable good, not least because of the virtually unlimited demand for it in Russia, and it was easy to smuggle. In addition, the Ukraine was an important grain-producing area and distilling offered an ideal way of dramatically increasing the value:weight ratio of grain, especially since river transportation remained limited. Even if smuggling was associated with considerable risks, these were largely offset by the lucrative revenues and further diminished by the difficulties of effective supervision on the still sparsely settled virgin lands of the southern Russian borderlands. The problem persisted in no small part because of a Muscovite government practice of buying these products for state taverns and other "official" purposes.[145] Cattle was another key Ukrainian export, even if its importance declined over time.

The Russian export bundle was dominated by furs and hides. The Russians for a long time forbade the exportation of salt to the Ukraine, although fairly significant quantities appear to have been smuggled across the border. In 1638, the Belgorod *voevoda* wrote to Moscow about Lithuanians crossing the border "incessantly," carrying salt and other goods.[146]

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[143] Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli*, pp. 133, 137; *Vossoedinenie*, I, pp. 242–3.

[144] Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, p. 430.

[145] Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli*, p. 142; *Vossoedinenie*, I, pp. 18, 153; RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 258, fols. 105, 108.

[146] *Vossoedinenie*, I, pp. 212–3; RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 8, fols. 98–102; f. 78, 1645 g., d. 1, fol. 143.

Available quantitative evidence on the scale of Russian-Ukrainian trade in the opening decades of the century is extremely scarce. It seems reasonable to assume that some of the southern Russian border towns, for geographic reasons alone, had a place of some importance in the sphere of operations of Left Bank merchants, probably on a scale that was roughly comparable to what was seen in the secondary towns along the Lithuanian border, almost certainly totaling much less than R 5,000 p.a. Especially Putivl' served as an important transit point where goods from central Russia were available.

The numbers of Ukrainian visitors to Russia apparently expanded steadily in the 1640s, which is when we, among other things, begin to see the first evidence of them in the surviving southern Russian customs records.[147] The 1646/7 Belgorod customs book contains 24 entries on Ukrainians—referred to by the word "*litvin*"—selling R 473 worth of goods.[148] The February-December 1647 Kursk customs record lists duty payments by 15 Ukrainians from Hadiach, Hlukhiv, Sosnytsa, Zychnia, Romny, and Sencha. The total value of the goods they carried—fur coats, fish, wax, and tar—was R 510. A Łuck trader was the only Ukrainian visitor from beyond the Left Bank, with R 56 worth of glassware, hare skins, caftans, horse blankets, and paper.[149]

Russian trade with the western Ukrainian lands were much less important than with the Left Bank, although more or less regular commercial relations with Lwów, for instance, were of long standing.[150] Polish customs instructions and tables invariably list a number of Muscovite wares, including most types of furs. Decrees by Władysław IV in 1642–3 speak of fur sales by Muscovite merchants in Lwów. In addition, inventories of the personal property of leading Lwów burghers reveal large number of fur and leather garments and products of obviously Muscovite origin. Moreover, we have evidence of merchants from elsewhere coming to Lwów to buy Muscovite furs. Muscovite wares appear to have been more or less regularly available at western Ukrainian fairs, as well.[151]

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[147] Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli*, p. 129; RGADA f. 79. 1641 g., d. 8, fol. 1; f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 209, fol. 120; *Vossoedinenie*, I, fols. 473–4; Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, p. 51.

[148] RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 188, fols. 301–30.

[149] *Ibidem*, fols. 1–165.

[150] Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 379–80; Kryp'iakevych, "Materialy," p. 20; TsDIAU-K f. 23, op. 1, spr. 1, fols. 39–40 (*Torhivlia*, pp. 311–2).

[151] Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 371–2, 386; Koval's'kyi, "Do pytannia," p. 106; Koval'skii,

There were periodic trips by western Ukrainians to the Russian capital. At the beginning of the century, the son of a Lwów physician Dybowicz took spices and Oriental fruit to Moscow, while a Zamość merchant Dmitri carried Zł 10,000 worth of goods.[152] Lwów jeweler Mykołaj Semiradski in 1606, traveled to Moscow with Sandomierz *Wojewoda* Jerzy Mniszech and 11 other merchants. Semiradski alone carried Zł 356,000 worth of goods, which were confiscated during the uprising against False Dmitrii. One of his colleagues, Stanisław Kołaczkowski, shipped cargo worth Zł 5,000.[153] In 1606–9, Lwów burgher Symon Gołąbkowicz brought Zł 3,000 worth of goods to Moscow and in 1609, a Lwów Armenian journeyed to the Russian capital, carrying, among other things, Zł 1,592 worth of cloth. His sales in Moscow totaled Zł 3,196. In 1610, Lwów burgher Friedrich Gross visited Moscow and the following year a Lwów Armenian, Luka Chodzenko, sent his servant to the Russian capital to sell some of his goods.[154] It is likely that these instances represent a peak caused by the Polish intervention during the Russian Time of Troubles rather than a more general trend, however.

Sporadic interaction between Russia and the western Ukraine continued after the establishment of the Romanov dynasty. In 1632, a Lwów Greek Demjanko conducted trade in Viaz'ma and the following year, a Lwów Armenian, Krystofor Tomanowicz took expensive cloth to Moscow. In 1637, Gabriel Langisz sent his son-in-law Mykołaj there with Zł 3,000 to spend on sable pelts. In 1647, a Brody burgher reported to the authorities in Konotop that he had lost R 1,500 in Moscow.[155] While commercial relations were thus somewhat sporadic, the goods carried were often quite valuable.

Also some Muscovite merchants undertook trips to the western Ukraine, and even beyond. In December 1636, Russian merchants

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Istochnikovedenie, p. 22; Shyian, "Torhivlia," p. 155; TsDIAU-L f. 52, op. 3, Zapysy i protokoli Rady m. L'vova, t. 51, fol. 114.

[152] Łoziński, *Patrycjat*, p. 14; Kryp'iakevych, *Zv'iazky*, p. 14; Shyian, "Torhivlia," p. 154.

[153] Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 410–1; Shyian, "Torhivlia," p. 153; TsDIAU-L f. 52, op. 2, spr. 256, fols. 382, 445, 451.

[154] Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 414–6; Koval's'kyi, "Do pytannia," p. 107; TsDIAU-L, f. 52, op. 3, t. 30, fols. 418–9; t. 371, fols. 7–9, 16–20.

[155] Koval's'kyi, "Do pytannia," p. 107; Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 415–8; Shyian, "Torhivlia," p. 156; *AMG*, I, pp. 346, 350; TsDIAU-L f. 52, op. 3, spr. 301, fols. 2609–10 (*Torhivlia na Ukraïni*, p. 339).

Bogdan Filat'ev and Afanasii Borisov traveled to Warsaw with some R 9,000 worth of Treasury furs as well as other goods. Ivan Stepanovich of Kadashevo came to Jarosław in 1640 with R 8,002 worth of sables from the Siberian Chancellery.[156] He contracted to buy R 7,850 worth of saltpeter and wax from local merchants. On his arrival in Moscow, he informed the government of his plans and was given R 5,000 worth of furs for the purchases. Ivan returned to the Commonwealth for a total of two years, visiting Warsaw, Lublin, Lwów, Brody, and Bar, evidently primarily for the purpose of collecting information on the military and political situation. During his visit, he acquired R 1,000 worth of wax. In 1644, Prince A.M. L'vov visited Poland with R 10,130 worth of sable skins.[157]

Even as trade volumes grew, often arbitrary action by local administrators placed limitations on Ukrainian-Russian commerce. Ukrainian merchants regularly complained of the fact that they were not allowed to trade beyond the confines of the assigned guest house, often located on the periphery of a town. Apparently random confiscations were, similarly, common and could total hundreds of roubles. For instance, Ivan Stepanovich had Zł 45,530 worth of sables and goods stolen from him on his way to Jarosław in 1640. Arbitrary additional duties remained a constant source of contention.[158]

The war of 1648–53 brought with itself profound changes to the economic relations between the Ukraine and Muscovite Russia. As the military action in large parts of the country created an effective economic barrier between much of the Ukraine and the rest of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Muscovy presented an alternative market. Russians now had an opportunity to supply the Hetmanate with many increasingly scarce commodities, especially grain and salt. Already in 1648, grain imports reached an unprecedented scale, not

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[156] Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 392–3; *Perepiska*, III, p. 121; TsDIAU-L f. 9, op. 1, t. 55, fols. 1951, 1975–6; RGADA f. 79, op. 1, 1636–1637 gg., d. 12, fols. 2, 9–10, 21–3, 35, 40; 1637 g., d. 1, fols. 61–3; 1640 g., d. 6, fols. 18–23, 26, 29.

[157] *Perepiska*, III, p. 121; RGADA f. 79, op. 1, 1640 g., d. 6, fols. 28, 31–59, 64–5; 1644 g., No 17, fols. 1–2; Grossman, "Zakhidnoukraïns'ki zemli," p. 28; Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli*, pp. 139–40; TsDIAU-K f. 11, op. 1, spr. 10, fol. 302^{v}; *Vossoedinenie*, I, pp. 173–4.

[158] RGADA f. 79, kn. 72, fols. 892–9; 1645 g., d. 1, f. 141, 1647 g., d. 63, fols. 62–4 fol; 216; 1648 g., d. 1, fols. 7–9; f. 210, Sevskii stol, stb. No 168, fols. 51–2, 105–8; Koval'skii, *Istochnikovedenie*, p. 13; *Vossoedinenie*, I, pp. 406–7, 481–3; *Akty IuZR*, III, p. 99; *Perepiska*, III, p. 121.

least because the damage caused by the war was greatly compounded by a bad harvest. Aware of the political capital to be made in the situation, the Muscovite government instructed the administration of the border regions to adopt a friendly attitude to the Ukraine.[159] The Russian grain sales must have been of great importance. Especially in 1648, large numbers of people in the Ukraine died from hunger, which seriously hampered the Cossacks' ability to stand up to the Poles.

In March 1649, the Muscovite authorities informed Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi of a new regime of no imposts in the Russian border towns.[160] The hetman in turn reciprocated by authorizing free trade with comparable terms across the land, including Kiev.[161] While important economic factors motivated these measures, the Muscovite government had also other, strategic reasons for cultivating closer commercial ties with the Hetmanate. The merchants crossing the border in either direction could be expected to bring back valuable intelligence about the military and political situation in the Hetmanate, on which the tsar understandably kept a close eye.[162] In 1649, the Putivl' *voevoda* informed Moscow that numerous Russian merchants returned to Putivl' after extensive trips in the Ukraine. In 1649, the Muscovite envoy to Khmelnyts'kyi, G. Neronov, spoke of frequent visits by Ukrainian merchants in Russian border towns.[163] To support this exchange, new guesthouses were built in the Russian and Ukrainian border towns, an example being the 1652 construction of one such facility in Korocha near Belgorod.[164]

As eagerly as the Russians seized the political and economic opportunities presented by Khmel'nyts'kyi's war, they did not uniformly welcome the new situation. There is a large amount of evidence to suggest that the commercial *rapprochement* of the two countries left many feeling uneasy because of its rapidity. Local authorities on both

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[159] *Ibidem*, p. 189; RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stlb. No 110, fols. 275–6.

[160] RGADA f. 214, stb. No 1562, fols. 40–1, 90–2.

[161] RGADA f. 214, stb. No 1562, fol. 123; RGADA f. 124, 1649 g., d. 10, fols. 25–7; *Akty IuZR*, III, Dopolneniia, pp. 55–6.

[162] *Akty IuZR*, III, pp. 379–80; RGADA f. 79, 1651 g., d. 1a, fols. 365–8; f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 297, fols. 414–5.

[163] *Akty IuZR*, III, pp. 210–1; Kafengauz, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 422; Kasymenko, *Rosiis'ko-ukrains'ki vzaiemovidnosyny*, p. 191; RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 270, fols. 581–5; stb. No 323, fols. 489–90; Sevskii stol, stb. No 137, fols. 405–6.

[164] RGDA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 349, fols. 63–4; Kafengauz, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 422.

sides often sought to impose restrictions on visiting merchants and failed to implement some of the orders of the central authorities. There were numerous instances of administrators limiting merchants' movements, of illegal or excessive duty collection, of detentions of merchants, etc. Many Russian local administrators clearly feared that the large numbers of Ukrainian visiting the border zone could create trouble, which might prove difficult to quell.[165]

Russian local authorities were often quite simply overwhelmed by the demands of the Ukrainian visitors which posed a serious strain on the meager economic resources of the southern borderlands. In February 1648, the Bobryk *voevoda* wrote to the Military Chancellery in Moscow about Belgorod, Khotmyshk, and Vol'nyi merchants who took grain and honey across the border to the Ukraine and imported tobacco and alcohol in return. Moscow instructed him to place no restrictions on trade between Russia and the Ukraine, expect in liquor and tobacco.[166] Similarly, the exponential growth of Russian-Ukrainian trade in the initial months of the war took many administrators by surprise. The Vol'nyi *voevoda* wrote in March 1649 that there was a continuous flow of wagons—groups of 50–100 "and more" merchants—from the Ukraine to Kursk, Belgorod, Oskol, etc. for the purpose of buying grain, salt, and honey.[167] At the same time, also local Russian merchants were incessantly taking the same products to the Hetmanate. Consequently, the local government administrators were experiencing scarcities in these crucial commodities and angrily demanded an end to the cross-border trade.

The basic dynamics of Russian-Ukrainian trade changed markedly in the autumn of 1649 as Muscovy experienced a bad harvest. By the following spring, the Ukrainian lands were suffering from considerable grain price inflation and a great deal of hunger. Clearly, the Muscovite supplies of grain were bound to be inadequate and probably reduced total trade volumes quite significantly.[168] The situation improved somewhat with a better harvest in 1651, but at least some Russian districts continued to depend on grain imports.

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[165] Kasymenko, *Rosiis'ko-ukrains'ki vzaiemovidnosyny*, p. 196; *Akty IuZR*, III, Dopolneniia, pp. 73–4; RGADA f. 124, 1649 g., d. 3, fols. 6–7; f. 210, Prikaznyi stol, kn. 5, fol. 102; 229, stb. No 5/5816, fols. 147–51.

[166] RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 270, fols. 426–7.

[167] RGADA f. 210, Sevskii stol, stb. No 137, fols. 453–4.

[168] RGADA f. 52, 1650 g., d. 12, fols. 23–6; f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 297, fols. 58–61, 601–3; f. 78, 1650 g., d. 1, fol. 323.

By March 1652, government administrators form Valuiki wrote to Moscow about how the border towns—Vol'nyi, Khotmyshk, Kursk, Chuguev, Belgorod, and Oboian'—received their grain supplies, as well as other goods, from the "Circassians."[169]

Ukrainian salt trade ground to complete halt from the beginning of the war as serious shortages and high prices were caused by the disruption of the traditional supply lines from Moldavia and the Crimean Khanate. Again, however, Muscovy provided a solution. Russian salt tended to reach the South via Kaluga, and the border towns of Putivl' and Ryl'sk received essentially all their salt from Orel.[170] The relatively significant honey imports from Russia suggest that the war may have disrupted also the Ukraine apiaries. F.P. Shevchenko hypothesizes that the demand for Russian honey was due to the lack of grain for alcohol production, an area where mead served as a substitute. Once the grain supply situation improved, honey imports apparently ceased.[171]

The historically important fur and hide trade appears to have suffered a great deal as a result of the turmoil. Three Russian merchants took R 20,000 worth of government furs and pelts to the Svensk fair in 1648. However, they experienced difficulty disposing of their valuable cargo and regular fur trade appears to have ground to an effective halt during the war years. Even so, relatively substantial quantities were sold on occasion. For instance, in 1651, R 2,000 worth of sables were brought to the Romny fair.[172] Substantial quantities of furs still continued to be taken to the Ukraine by Russian diplomats. Although the values of individual consignments seldom exceeded R 300, there were individual instances of sums in excess of R 1,000.[173]

As acute as the Ukrainian dependency on Muscovite goods may have been at time, also the Russians clearly welcomed the improved

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[169] Grabowski, *Starożytno ci*, I, pp. 279, 353–4; Novombergskii, *Ocherki*, p. 36.

[170] Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, pp. 420–1; Vvedenskii, *Torgovyi dom*, pp. 138, 140.

[171] *Ibidem*, p. 73; Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, p. 422; RGADA f. 78, 1652 g., d. 1a, fol. 46; f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 270, fols. 426–7.

[172] Ianitskii, "Torgovlia;" *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, pp. 95–100, 214, 263–9; Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, pp. 423–4; RGADA f. 79, 1650 g., d. 1, fol. 458; 1651 g., d. 1a, fol. 160.

[173] *Akty IuZR*, III, p. 317; RGADA f. 52, 1649 g., d. 7, fols. 453–4; f. 141, 1647 g., d. 74, fols. 96–9; f. 214, stb. No 1562, fols. 153–4; f. 229, d. 7/5818, fols. 18–9, 218–23; f. 124, 1652 g., d. 6, fols. 1–2.

supply of a whole range of Ukrainian goods. The livestock trade of the early part of century continued. For instance in 1652, two Nizhyn merchants, having failed to sell all of their cattle at the Svensk fair, drove a herd of 195 to Kaluga. There were also periodic sales of horses, in spite of repeated efforts by the Hetman to limit this trade in the interests of his troops.[174] In addition, there was a whole range of "new" goods which had not played a prominent role in Russian-Ukrainian commerce in the early part of the century. The Danzig merchants Daniel Rike and Heinrich Marquart complained in 1648 to the Russian envoy Kunakov of rebels who acquired potash and white ash in the Ukraine for the purpose of selling it in Russia.[175] Briansk, as well as Moscow, merchants continued to buy potash in the Ukraine. Representatives of the Cossack elite—predominantly from the northern towns of Pochep and Pohar—sold four Muscovites at least 280 barrels of potash in 1649. A Briansk gunner bought 85 barrels of potash across the border. In general potash was bought from the Cossack *Starshyna* and Ukrainian burghers, often in large consignments of 100 barrels and more.[176]

The Muscovite Military and Cannon Chancelleries were particularly eager to import Ukrainian saltpeter and potash.[177] In June 1652, the Diplomatic Chancellery order the Putivl' *Voevody* F. Khilkov and P. Protas'ev to establish contacts with Ukrainian merchants for the purpose of developing new supply sources of saltpeter. The authorities were ordered to use Putivl''s customs and tavern duty receipts for the purchases and, if necessary, to borrow more from the local merchants.[178] In contrast, there is very little documentary evidence of direct arms sales in the opposite direction during the war.[179]

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[174] *AMG*, II, p. 343; *Akty IuZR*, III, Dopolneniia, pp. 64, 68, 112; RGADA RGADA f. 79, 1650 g., d. 1a, fol. 569; d. 1, fol. 458; 1651 g., d. 2, fols. 79, 81–2; d. 13, fols. 144–8; 1652 g., d. 1a, fol. 198; f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 270, fols. 581–5; stb. No 345, fol. 264.

[175] Kryp'iakevych, *Bohdan Khme'nyts'kyi*, pp. 315–6; Derev'iankin *et al.*, *Istoriia*, I, p. 150; RGADA f. 79, 1649 g., d. 1a, fol. 357.

[176] *Akty IuZR*, III, Dopolneniia, pp. 102–3; RGADA f. 79, 1649 g., d. 1a, fols. 451–62, 628–31, 699 (*Vossoedinenie*, II, p. 245); Kryp'iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, p. 316.

[177] RGADA f. 210, Sevskii stol, stb. No 137, fol. 66; Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, p. 434.

[178] Borysenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi rozvytok*, pp. 150–1.

[179] *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, p. 501; Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv'iazky*, p. 426; Iakubov, "Rossiia i Shvetsiia," p. 450, 454; RGADA f. 79, kn. 83, fols. 67–9; *Akty IuZR*, X, p. 76.

In spite of repeated government attempts to combat illegal trade, Ukrainian exports of liquor and tobacco to Russia continued on a very significant scale. The tsarist government, its hostile rhetoric notwithstanding, clearly often tolerated this trade. Not doing so would have undermined the purchasing power of the Ukrainian merchants and thus the windfall gains the government stood to reap from the expansion in Ukrainian trade. Recorded instances of tobacco and vodka sales are fairly numerous. In August 1651, a group of Ukrainian merchants brought 350 bucketfuls of vodka on 10 carts to Sevsk, Kursk, Korochen and other border towns. Another group was arrested with their nine carts (containing 200 buckets) of liquor and the Russians had information about a third group with 150 buckets on 9 carts in the village of Vasil'eva Dol on the Khalka.[180]

The surviving customs data, while highly fragmentary, offers some clues about the scale of Russian-Ukrainian trade during the war. In 1653/4, Commonwealth merchants came to Southern Russia from Mohylew, Nizhyn, Hadiach, Poltava, Vepryk, Kotel'na, Zaposhnova, Hruny, Mian, Lukoml, Chyhyrin, Cherevkiv, and Komutets. Their recorded sales totaled R 351 in Kursk, R 225.4 in Bolkhov, R 168 in Koroch, R 64 in Belgorod, R 50 in Valuiki, and R 13.5 in Sevsk.[181] Large convoys of Ukrainian merchants were common throughout southern Russia. In 1652/3, 249 carriages belonging to Ukrainians passed through Bolkhov, 18 through Korocha, and 84 through Oboiany on their way to Belgorod, Karpov, Iablonov, Valuiki, and Kursk.[182] The 1653/4 data indicates that the known total value of Russian-Ukrainian border trade would have close R 1,000 in one direction. It is unlikely to have been much less in the preceding years and may, in fact, often have been more. In addition, we know that there were large shipments of furs, potash, and saltpeter between central Russia and the Ukraine. The value of these was easily a couple of thousand roubles in any one year. One can thus tentatively estimate the total value of Russian exports to the Ukraine perhaps R 5,000 p.a., although widespread smuggling may have added another couple of thousands to this figure.

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[180] RGADA f. 210, Belgorodskii stol, stb. No 258, fol. 105; stb. No 345, fol. 275; Novombergskii, *Slovo*, I, p. 245.

[181] Vazhinskii, *Razvitie*, p. 237; RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 104, fol. 75–166, 214–35, 355, 1019–38, 1041–149.

[182] Vazhinskii, *Razvitie*, p. 237; RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 104, fols. 924–44, 971–7.

Trade evidently continued in its established pattern after relative peace was restored and the Russian envoy Skuratov in 1658 wrote that Ukrainians were visiting Moscow and the Southern Frontier "buying what they pleased."[183] Nonetheless, the complex political history of the Ruin suggests that the evolution of commercial ties was far from continuous. On the one hand, the area controlled by the Cossacks in the immediate postwar era constituted a substantial economic entity covering most of the central Ukraine (some 250,000 sq. km) with an estimated total population of 1.2–1.5 million. On the other hand, however, the economic potential of the region was never fully unleashed due to the destructive fighting during the post-Khmel'nyts'kyi political crisis. Ivan Vyhovskyi's military campaigns in the late 1650s, for instance, claimed an estimated 50,000 lives. Further destruction followed during the Polish-Russian war in 1660, which also wrested the western half of the Hetmanate from Muscovite hands. Hetman Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi, who had thrown his lot with the Poles, lost control of the Left Bank where the Muscovites ensured the election of Iakiv Somko as the new Cossack leader. Khmel'nyts'kyi successor, Pavlo Teteria, elected in 1663, similarly retained his authority on the Right Bank only. Under his leadership, the Polish authorities conducted a systematic campaign of vengeance against the "unruly Ukrainians." Renewed warfare ensued when Petro Doroshenko shifted his allegiances to the Ottoman Empire in 1667. A successful campaign in the Left Bank allowed Doroshenko in 1668 to assume control of all the old Hetmanate lands. However, Poland responded with an invasion of the Right Bank and Doroshenko's only lasting contribution ended up being the loss of Podolia to the Ottomans. Further campaigns followed without much success, until the 1681 Russian-Ottoman Treaty of Bakhchesarai (Ba hçesarai) and a Russian-Polish Eternal Peace five years later once again restored peace.[184]

The Tatar raids that had plagued the Ukrainian lands in the first half of the century by no means ceased to be a problem in the second half of the century. There were devastating raids in the Pryluky and Nizhyn regimental districts in 1661, followed by sacks along the Muscovite border and the Nizhyn and Chernihiv districts in early 1662. The following summer Crimeans wreaked havoc in the Lubny region and in 1663, grain deliveries from the Left Bank towns to

[183] *Akty IuZR*, IV, p. 129.
[184] Subtelny, *Ukraine*, pp. 146–8.

Zaporozh'e dried up completely because of Tatar attacks. Vyhovs'kyi's and King Jan Kazimierz's campaigns to Hlukhiv and Novhorod-Sivers'kyi added to the toll of these raids.[185] Another threat to safety on Left Bank roads came from indigent Cossacks who found a source of supplementary income in highway robbery. The Kiev *Voevoda* Chaadaev reported in 1665 that Cossack bands were terrorizing the area raiding merchants caravans and often beating their hapless victims to death.[186]

The constant political infighting during the Ruin naturally presented Moscow with an excellent opportunity to impose its authority over the Left Bank. A particular turning point in this respect was the revised Pereiaslav Treaty of 1659 concluded by Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi. The agreement, among others things, led to Muscovite troops being stationed in all major towns of the Hetmanate. The 1667 Andrusovo Treaty between Poland and Russia institutionalized the political division of the Ukraine. The Left Bank was left under Muscovite control and now consisted of the regimental districts of Starodub, Chernihiv, Nizhyn, Pryluky, Hadiach, Lubny, Pereiaslav, Myrhorod, and Poltava. To this was added Kiev, which was due to be returned to the Poles after two years, although the Russians failed to honor this obligation. In spite of periodic warfare even afterwards, the Left Bank was drawn increasingly to Muscovy, not least because of its geographic proximity to central Russia. Nor can one underestimate the significance of the division of the Ukraine in facilitating the imposition of external control. The Left Bank was both geographically and demographically easier to absorb than the entire Hetmanate would have been.[187]

As fraught with problems as this gradual loss of autonomy may have been, this cloud, too, had its silver lining. The Left Bank was spared from much of the fighting that ravaged the Right Bank in the 1660s and '70s. In this relative peace and stability, Muscovy's new protectorate experienced significant demographic growth (Chapter 2).[188] A significant proportion of the inhabitants of Left Bank towns were active in commerce. In 1666, an estimated 26 percent of Ukrainian city-dwellers were artisans with another 8 percent active

[185] *Akty IuZR*, V, p. 137; Romanovskii, "Razvitie," pp. 396–7.
[186] Slabchenko, *Organizatsiia*, I/3, p. 65.
[187] *Ibidem*, pp. 145–6, 149, 159.
[188] *Ibidem*, pp. 152, 159.

as merchants.[189] In 1664, there were some 40 significant annual fairs in the Left-Bank Ukraine, the most important ones being in Lokhvytsia, Poltava, Krolevets', Baturyn, Korop, Lypovets', Varva, Lodiïvka, Berezna, Novi Mlyny, Voronove, Boryspil', Liutenky, Kobyzhcha, Nosivka, Baryshivka, Voloshivka, Zolotonosha, Nizhyn, Pereiaslav, Starodub, and Novhorod-Sivers'kyi.[190] A growing number of Ukrainian towns offered special facilities for visiting Russians in the postwar era and by the 1670s, Moscow had a special guest house for Ukrainian visitors (*Malorossiiskii dvor*).[191]

Even as a whole host of institutional and political reason increasingly pushed the Left Bank into the commercial orbit of Muscovy, the economic *rapprochement* was not free from tension. There were persistent differences in currency and toll systems, further complicated by unclear customs borders. The rationalization of the Muscovite system of indirect taxation starting in the late 1640s did not apply to the Ukraine's array of various duties, further complicated by overlapping responsibilities between the Ukrainians and the Russians.[192] An important blow to trade in the south was evidently dealt by the adoption of a transit duty in 1677. Not surprisingly, however, it appears to have been quite common for Ukrainian merchants to circumvent towns on their journeys in order not to have to pay transit tolls. Moreover, trade continued to be centrally regulated in both directions, occasional exceptions notwithstanding. The S*tarshyna* issued passes for Ukrainians to visit Russia, whereas trips by Russian merchants to the Ukraine were authorized by the Little Russian Chancellery.[193]

Problems of monetary policy remained potentially serious under a dual-currency regime on the Left Bank and beyond. Indeed, as an indication of the scale of trade relations, Polish copper coin remained in circulation in the Russian districts south of the first defensive line well into the postwar era, in spite of repeated efforts by the authorities to curb its use. In addition, the Hetmanate author-

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[189] Kafengauz, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 422.

[190] Slabchenko, *Organizatsiia*, III, p. 120; Kompan, *Mista*, p. 319.

[191] Kafengauz, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 422; Derev'iankin *et al.*, *Istoriia*, I, pp. 151–2; RGADA f. 229, stb. No 82, ch. 1, fol. 281.

[192] Borysenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi rozvytok*, p. 152.

[193] *Akty IuZR*, IV, p. 201; Vazhinskii, *Razvitie*, p. 240; RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 131, fols. 89–92; kn. 149, fols. 16–20; f. 229, op. 1, stb. No 118, fol. 163; f. 79, 1678 g., stb. No 9, fol. 70; Borysenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi rozvytok*, p. 152.

ities minted their own coin at least periodically.[194] However, it appears that by the 1680s, a serious shortage of specie threatened in the Left Bank, as the local stock of Polish and foreign currency, which had provided the basis for the monetary system, was beginning to show signs of being exhausted. In order to alleviate the problem, as well as to curb the outflow of silver into the Ukraine, the Muscovite authorities set up a new mint in Sevsk.[195]

The commodities involved in Ukrainian-Russian trade remained essentially unchanged in the second half of the century. Russian exports continued to be dominated by furs, but included also fur coats, metal goods, weapons, cloth, silk, salt, copper, paper, books, and occasionally also grain.[196] The Ukraine continued to supply Russia with growing quantities of liquor. The 1666 census data reveals distillers and brewers in virtually all the Left Bank towns. The Russian demand for vodka increased further in 1677 when all settlements with over 500 inhabitants were allowed to open a tavern.[197] The quite ample anecdotal evidence suggests that vodka was almost certainly the leading Ukrainian export to Russia, sold by thousands of barrels. The Muscovite authorities pursued, albeit with somewhat limited success, a firm policy of permitting liquor sales only to government-owned tavern yards which were a fixture of all Russian cities. In particular, the Russians sought to favor the Tavern Yard in Moscow, a state agency which supplied regional taverns. The restrictive policies were liberalized under Peter I who, in 1698, permitted the Russian military stationed on the Left Bank to freely trade in all goods, including vodka.[198]

The surviving evidence on the official liquor trade alone reveals the central role that vodka played inbringing the economies of the Left Bank and Muscovy closer together. A group of Sosnytsy Cossacks in 1663 requested payment for 31 cartloads (1,005 buckets and 5 jugs) of liquor—worth well over R 500—they had brought to Moscow the previous June. A Treasury agent sent 155 barrels of liquor to Moscow.[199] In 1671, the Moscow Tavern Yard received a total of

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[194] Vazhinskii, *Razvitie*, pp. 234–6; RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 259, fol. 840; Slabchenko, *Organizatsiia*, I/3, pp. 106–9.

[195] Kompan, *Mista*, p. 299; Slabchenko, *Organizatsiia*, I/3, p. 108.

[196] TsDIAU-K f. 1767, op. 1, spr. 1, fol. 54^{v}; f. 2020, op. 1, spr. 102, fol. 4^{v}.

[197] Kryp'iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, p. 304; Pirog, *Chernigovshchina v XVII v.*, p. 374.

[198] Kompan, *Mista*, p. 332; NBU IR f. I, spr. 54484 (Laz 33), fol. 32.

[199] *Akty IuZR*, V, pp. 182–3; Borysenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi rozvytok*, pp. 153, 156; *PSZ*, II, p. 557.

30,729 buckets of liquor and 423 buckets of *mors*, among other things, from Ukrainian merchants. The same year, I. Samoilovych was ordered to supply the court with 20,000 buckets of the best quality liquor. The hetman requested a payment of some R 10,000 for the shipment. In 1672, a Novhorod-Sivers'kyi burgher sold 3,000 buckets of liquor to Moscow merchants. In 1676, three Ukrainians delivered 5,110 buckets of liquor, worth just under R 2,000, at the Novomeshchanskaia tavern yard. The following year, a group of Hlukhiv merchants took another 500 buckets there.[200] The hetmen themselves were active participants in this commerce. Samoilovych in 1681 sent some 840 buckets and, two years later, I. Mazepa 1,000 buckets to the Moscow Tavern Yard. In 1689, a Left Bank merchant delivered 10,000 buckets of liquor, which he had amassed in the Ukrainian countryside, in Moscow.[201]

The other two leading categories of imports from the Left Bank, following the wartime precedent, were potash and saltpeter. Especially the *Starshyna* and the clergy produced significant quantities of potash. L. Baranovych's production facilities in the Novhorod-Sivers'kyi region dispatched 211 barrels of potash to Vologda in 1666 and 251 barrels in 1668. Baranovych petitioned the tsar to exempt him from customs duty payments, much like the Russian nobility who were his leading competitors. The potash was obviously not taken to Vologda for local use, but rather sold to either Dutch or English merchants who had a strong presence in the city. Also Russian merchants frequently traveled the breath and width of the Ukrainian countryside amassing potash for resale.[202]

The Myrhorod region was leading supplier of saltpeter for the Muscovite market. Most of the Ukrainian saltpeter was brought to Moscow by local merchants and agents of the *Starshyna*. Ukrainian merchants were evidently able to sell saltpeter to the Treasury at a high price, given that many of them chose to carry at least small consignments of it in their cargo. Some Ukrainian saltpeter was also bought by Russian merchants who then sold it to gunpowder mills

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[200] *Akty IuZR*, XI, pp. 70–1; Borysenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi rozvytok*, p. 153; RGADA f. 229, op. 1, kn. 18, fols. 198–203, 220, 270–80; stb. No 118, fols. 163, 167, 170.

[201] Borysenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi rozvytok*, p. 156; RGADA f. 124, op. 3, d. 395, fol. 1; d. 429, fol. 1; *Trudy XII arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, II, p. 256.

[202] *Akty IuZR*, III, pp. 377; VIII, pp. 58–9; Ėingorn, *Ocherki*, p. 530.

in central Russia.[203] At least occasionally, the Russian Treasury used revenues from fur sales at Ukrainian fairs to buy saltpeter. In 1679, the Russian Treasury spent some R 660 on over 300 *pud* of saltpeter at Lokhvytsia. In 1685, one of Hetman I. Samoilovych's servitors brought 221 *pud* saltpeter to the Russian capital. The same year, a Kiev merchant O. Sorodka brought R 5,000 worth of goods to Moscow, in large part saltpeter. During the wars of the turn of the century, the Ukraine became one of the main suppliers of saltpeter among Russian dominions. In 1693/4 alone, 1,686 *pud* saltpeter, valued at R 4,200 reached Moscow from the Left Bank. In 1700, the Treasury acquired 30,000 *pud* saltpeter in the Ukraine, worth probably at least R 75,000. The following year, one consignment alone contained over 10,000 *pud*.[204]

Over time, Ukrainian merchants appear to have become increasingly active buyers of furs at the Svensk fair. In 1679, two Starodub merchants acquired R 634 worth of fox skins, while in 1684, a Kiev merchant bought sable skins for R 1,000. In 1686, R 1,836 was spent on sables and R 25 on foxes by a group of Kiev, Starodub, and Lwów merchants.[205] The Siberian Chancery at least periodically also sold furs at the Nizhyn fair. In early 1685, 1,800 sable skins and two bags of sables worth a total of R 7,718 were sent there. The same year, the tsar ordered R 3,365 worth of furs to be sold at the Ukrainian fairs of Borzna, Men', and Nizhyn, while Stepan Kulashev of the *Gostinaia sotnia* sold R 10,000 worth of sables and other furs in Nizhyn and elsewhere on the Left Bank.[206] The overall scale of trade at the fairs could be quite impressive. For instance in 1678/80, total fur sales in Putivl', Svensk, and other Ukrainian fairs reached R 800.5, while R 14,416 worth of furs were exchanged for other goods. Ukrainians also bought at least some quantities of furs in Moscow.[207]

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[203] Borysenko, *Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi rozvytok*, p. 157.

[204] Kafengauz, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 424; Luk'ianov, *Istoriia*, II, p. 163; Kompan, *Mista*, p. 333; RGADA f. 229, op. 1, stb. No 174, fol. 79; f. 124, stb. No 31, fols. 17–20; f. 214, kn. 921, fols. 271^{v}–272; f. 124, stb. No 31, fols. 20–5.

[205] RGADA f. 214, kn. 921, fols. 243–4, 374^{v}, 378–9, 453, 457, 497^{v}, 503, 507–508.

[206] RGADA f. 214, kn. 921, fols. 246–7, 416–7; f. 229, op. 1, stb. No 186, fols. 12–49; stb. No 197, fols. 25–7.

[207] RGADA f. 214, kn. 921, fols. 248–248^{v}, 497^{v}, 503, 554^{v}, 555–555^{v}, 557.

The surviving data on Ukrainian trade with southern Russia, while highly fragmentary, paints a picture of lively commercial intercourse. For instance, the Vol'nyi customs book for 1670/1 notes that the city's merchants had journeyed *en masse* to the Ukraine.[208] Overall, however, a survey of the surviving customs records for the key commercial centers of the Southern Frontier—Putivl', Kursk, Belgorod, Briansk, Sevsk, and Ryl'sk—points to very small volumes in 1664–78.[209] The recorded number of Ukrainian visitors in a given year and city often attained ten but never exceeded 15. In many cities, there were only one or two visitors from the Hetmanate, although Sloboda Ukrainians played a more important role in Belgorod. The goods carried by the Ukrainian visitors ranged from liquor and mead to gloves and clothing, soap, tar, fish, and cattle. The typical values could approach R 500 in Putivl' and R 300 in Sevsk but frequently remained below R 100. However, smuggling likely remained rampant and may even have exceeded "official" trade at times. Nonetheless, the modest trade volumes primarily reflect the limited size of the southern Russian economy. Even though the New Commercial Code made Putivl' the official border point for Ukrainian trade, the city was a far more modest settlement that the other border towns. For instance in 1676/7, the total duties collected amounted to only R 314.56, as compared to thousands or even tens of thousands of roubles on the other main foreign trade routes.[210]

Another focus of Ukrainian-Russian trade was in the east: in the *Sloboda* and Don lands which were increasingly settled by Ukrainians from the Left Bank. Moiatskoi and Tsarev-Borisov constituted a point of entry for eastern Ukrainians into the Northern Donets valley. In 1677/8, 92 vessels reached the Don along this route and 61 sailed in the opposite direction. The approximate value of the goods they carried was R 2,300.[211] The Don Cossacks also maintained commercial ties with their neighbors in the Crimean Khanate, especially Azak (Russ. Azov). However, Azov only became a central focus of the regional trade after it was conquered by Russia. As of 1698 the

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[208] Vazhinskii, *Razvitie*, p. 234; RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 354, fols. 743–4.

[209] RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 189, 206, 210, 214, 337, 346, 349, 358, 366, 368; RGB OR f. 178, No 9986.

[210] RGADA f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 368.

[211] Riabov, *Donskaia zemlia*, p. 61.

government through Cherkassk provided the financial means for supplying the inhabitants of the Azov region with horses, camels, eggs, fowl, hops, foodstuffs, etc. During a couple of months in 1699, the authorities in Cherkassk spent R 4,000 on such goods. The Don Cossacks greatly increased their commercial role in 1699–1700 after the disbandment of the local musketeer units.[212]

Some sense of the degree of integration between the Ukraine and Russia at the close of the century can be gleaned from the sole surviving volume of the Moscow Great Customs which covers the period between October 1693 and August 1694.[213] One of its three surviving books is devoted to "Little Russian" merchants, a group which in fact also included some southern Russians from Voronezh. The book apparently covers all Russian imports from the Ukraine, as well as bullion brought in for the purpose of buying goods in Moscow, but not Russian exports to the Ukraine. The total value of the wares carried by Ukrainian merchants was R 19,799. The most important participants in Russian-Ukrainian trade were merchants from Nizhyn, Kiev, Oposhnia, and Poltava, whose total trade exceeded R 1,000 in each case. The most important categories of Ukrainian imports were sheep skins (4,959 skins), wax (177 *pud*), saltpeter (1,686 *pud* saltpeter valued at R 4,200), and glass dishes (total value R 600). In addition, there was a certain amount of re-exports from further east, as well as from central Europe. The most important category, some of which was undoubtedly of Ukrainian provenance as well, was cloth. Textile imports totaled R 11,300 and accounted for one-half of the total value of Moscow's Ukrainian imports.

Even as quantitative evidence on Russian-Ukrainian economic relations at the end of the 17th century is now largely lost to us, especially as far as the Southern Frontier is concerned, the impression of a dramatic expansion of trade is further supported by early 18th-century data. Particularly valuable information can be gleaned from three surviving customs records from the 1720s. The books in question are registers of commercial activity in Kursk in 1720, Bolkhov in 1725, and Briansk in 1726.[214] Their value is heightened by the

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[212] *Ibidem*, p. 62.

[213] GIM Otdel pis'mennykh pamiatnikov No 415, Tamozhennaia kniga Bol'shoi Moskovskoi tamozhni 1693–1694 gg., fols. 175–197. Reproduced in: *Trudy istoricheskogo muzeia*, XXXVIII, 1961.

[214] RGADA f. 273, No No 12, 13, 37.

fact that they pertain to the finale and immediate aftermath of the Great Northern War, an era when the Ukrainian lands seems to have largely stagnated in demographic terms.[215] Thus the information they provide on commercial exchange may not be significantly different from what was observed at the close of the 17th century.

Kursk's total imports from the Ukraine ("*Malorossiiskie goroda*") in 1720 were R 108,042, or an impressive 64 percent of the total value of the goods brought to the city. In contrast, exports to the Left Bank were much less: R 44,401, or 26.2 percent of the total.[216] Saltpeter remained an important good on the Moscow route with a total of 7,542.5 *pud* sent through Kursk to the Artillery Chancellery. Another 754 *pud* were bought in Akhtyrka. The total value of the saltpeter was R 19,734.[217] The most valuable category of imports was cattle: R 55,771 worth of it was driven to Kursk from the Left Bank. Other goods whose total imports exceeded R 1,000 were: sheep skins (R 5,064), wax and honey (R 4,924), furs (R 4,858), hides (R 4,192), cloth (R 3,651), wool (R 2,281), and meat (R 1,086). By far the most important category of Russian exports were different types of cloth—a combined value of R 19,184. Iron exports totaled R 7,735 and fur exports R 5,915. Other exports included paper, spices, sugar, sheep skins, fish, etc.[218]

While trade in Briansk was more modest, judging by the 1726 customs records, the volumes still substantially exceeded those observed in the middle of the 17th century. Total exports to Russia amounted to R 22,935.87, whereas imports were a much lower R 7,666.22.[219] B.B. Kafengauz's analysis of trade in January points to a classic composition of the export bundle: one-half of it consisted on hemp-seed oil (R 4,5000). Liquor imports totaled 2,055 buckets and the total value of Ukrainian tobacco attained R 482 (620 *pud*). Meat imports attained R 365, while sheep skins totaled R 1,122 (2,354 skins). In addition, there were small amounts of grain and glassware.[220] The quantities of Ukrainians wares seen in Bolkhov tended to be smaller.

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[215] Vodarskii, *Naselenie*, pp. 192–3.
[216] Kafengauz, *Ocherki*, p. 297.
[217] *Ibidem*, p. 295.
[218] *Ibidem*, pp. 298, 304.
[219] RGADA p. 273, No 13.
[220] Kafengauz, *Ocherki*, pp. 315–6.

A Hlukhiv merchant brought 500 buckets of liquor. In addition, there were 100 *chetvert'* rye, 120 sheep skins, 50 *kumachi*, etc.[221]

The economic relations between the Right Bank and Russia appear to have largely stagnated in the second half of the century.[222] Like the Belorussian lands, also the Right Bank Ukraine labored under a major demographic crisis. The census (*lustracja*) data for the *województwo* of Podolia reveals that the population of 211 villages and 34 towns (out of a total of 902 villages and 72 towns) fell by 66 percent in the case of the urban population and by 73 percent in the countryside.[223] The Right Bank provinces of Kiev, Bracław, Volhynia, and Podolia were the main victims of the Ruin. Indeed, the core areas of the Right Bank appear to have been nearly totally depopulated following Doroshenko's destructive Chyhyryn campaigns of the late 1670s and the decision by Ivan Samoilovych to evacuate the Right Bank *en masse* after the Ottomans in 1678 forced him, along with his Russian allies, to abandon the region they had acquired only two years earlier.[224]

The fragmentary trade data we possess provides occasional evidence of relatively limited transactions which sometimes rose to several hundreds, or even thousands of roubles. An important element of this trade built on established ties between Left Bank and Right Bank merchants. According to a 1659 contract, Kiev merchants undertook to supply their Ostróg counterparts with Zł 3,500 worth of sables.[225] M.P. Koval's'kyi even claims that Western Ukrainian fur trade with Russia grew in the 1670s and '80s with more Right Bank merchants visiting Moscow and the Svensk fair. A Lwów Greek Kiriak Issarowicz, who was one of the city's leading merchants, in 1678 sent an agent to buy 1,600 sables at the Svensk fair.[226] Also Jerzy (Iurii) Draganowicz operated in Svensk, acquiring sables, sable coats, ermines, and hares for Zł 41,584 in 1689. Issarowicz himself visited Moscow in 1688, 1690, and 1699 as the king's commercial agent.[227]

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[221] *Ibidem*, pp. 316–7.
[222] Kompan, *Mista Ukraïny*, p. 303.
[223] Derev'iankin *et al.*, *Istoriia*, I, p. 153.
[224] Subtelny, *Ukraine*, pp. 151, 154.
[225] Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, p. 398; Koval's'kyi, "Do pytannia," p. 108; TsDIAU-K, f. 33, op. 1, t. 1336, fol. 128^{v}.
[226] Koval's'kyi, "Do pytannia," pp. 107–8; Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 380–1; TsDIAU-L f. 52, op. 3, t. 87, fol. 484; t. 88, fol. 824.
[227] Koval's'kyi, "Do pytannia," p. 108; Koval'skii, *Sviazi*, pp. 380–3.

Concluding Remarks

The age-old overland routes connecting Muscovy with Central Europe and the Grand Duchy of Finland came to play a decidedly secondary role in Russian foreign trade by the 17th century. They were not able to compete successfully with the overseas trade of Arkhangel'sk and the Baltic ports and, in particular, they suffered from a change in the composition of Russia's export basket from expensive furs to naval stores. Nonetheless, overland trade did continue throughout the century and even thrived at times. Moreover, its regional role was considerable, since it wove the Russian periphery and neighboring communities in a web mutually beneficial interaction.

The Grand Duchy of Finland had a peripheral presence in Russian-Swedish trade throughout the 17th century. Even the once-important Russian transit port of Viborg evolved almost exclusively into a tar port as much of its Russian hinterland became Swedish after the Stolbovo Peace and Nyen took over its former trade with the Novgorod region. After the first decade of the 17th century, Russian goods played a marginal role in Viborg's export bundle. Trade with the Kexholm province and Ostrobothnia is unlikely to have been much different from the modest flows seen in Viborg. Even though the total volume of Russian-Finnish trade probably did not amount to more than one or two percent of Arkhangel'sk's annual exports, it was of considerable importance for Swedish and Russian border areas alike. The rural communities of the Karelian Frontier were drawn into Olonets' sphere of influence and Russian trade undoubtedly contributed significantly to urban development in Sordavala and Kexholm, as well. Russian trade played an important part in the rural economy and was constantly fought over by the small urban centers of the area. A wealth of anecdotal and quantitative information suggests that Muscovite commerce was of pivotal importance the early development of Uleåborg, Kajana, Brahestad, Torneå, and other communities, as well.

The opening years of the 17th century saw arguably the last glimmer of the erstwhile importance of Lithuania for Russian foreign trade. Especially fur trade still continued to attain impressive proportions. This boom came to an abrupt end with the onset of the Russian Time of Troubles, however, and the nature of Polish-Lithuanian commerce changed profoundly with the Polish conquest of Smolensk. An important center of border trade was lost to Russia

as trade shifted to the smaller town of Viaz'ma. Viaz'ma's annual export volumes probably seldom exceeded R 10,000 and the other border towns are unlikely to have increased this figure by more than 20 percent. However, the Svensk fair remained a lively center of fur trade and its turnover was certainly comparable to, and sometimes greater than, Viaz'ma's. Overall, the scale of Russian export trade on the Lithuanian border probably tended to be in the order of R 22,000 p.a., or less. Even allowing for smuggling, this total is unlikely to have exceeded R 30,000, less than five percent of Arkhangel'sk's exports at the time.

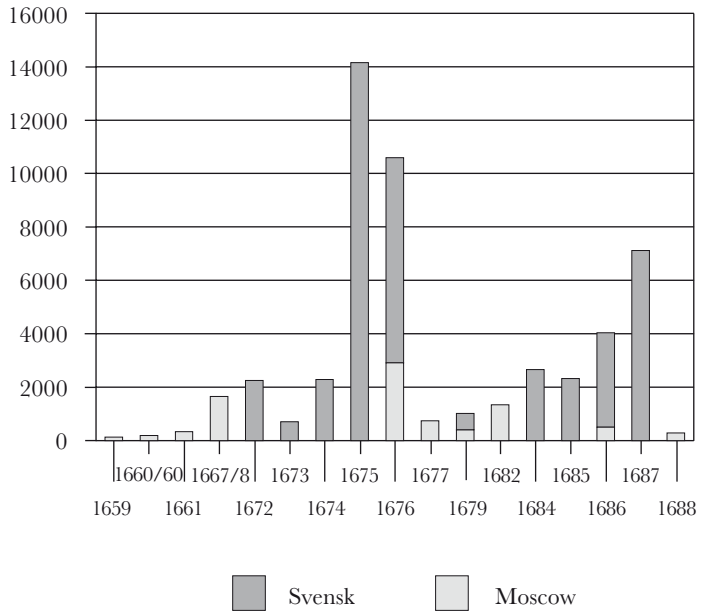
While the Russian reconquest of Smolensk in the Thirteen Years' War set the stage for a recovery of Lithuanian trade, any significant takeoff was made impossible by the devastating demographic effects of the war, a striking example of a negative demand shock without par on other trade routes. Surviving customs data from the 1670s suggests that the annual volume of Russian-Lithuanian trade was not much different from the pre-war years, perhaps R 8–26,000 p.a, of which Smolensk usually accounted for up to one half. As commercial relations with Lithuania stagnated, Smolensk's export trade became increasingly orientated to Riga (Chapter 6). Assuming a steady demographic recovery in the closing decades of the century, total trade volumes may have once again exceeded R 30,000 p.a. by the 1690s. Even then, however, there probably was no increase in the Lithuanian share of Russian export trade overall.

The steady decline of Russian-Lithuanian trade contrasted with an impressive expansion on the Ukrainian routes, albeit from a very modest starting point. The overall orientation of Ukrainian foreign trade appears to have shifted quite dramatically from Danzig towards the Moscow axis. The intensifying ties with Russia, moreover, resulted in considerable trade creation. The development of Ukrainian-Russian trade was dichotomous with cross-border exchange with Russia's Southern Frontier largely independent from trade with Moscow. A favorable combination of supply and demand side factors militated for a secular increase in the southern border trade. The wars of the mid-century, combined with Khmel'nyts'kyi's economic policy, oriented especially the Left Bank towns towards Muscovy, a development cemented by intermittent political instability in western and central Ukraine. The demand for Ukrainian goods steadily increased in the Southern Frontier where the establishment of secure defenses and intensifying colonization stimulated commerce. This southern

trade is likely to have attained a total annual turnover of roughly R 5,000, and almost certainly not more than R 10,000, in imports (and probably roughly the same in exports) by the middle of the century and then steadily increased to attain perhaps as much as R 200,000 p.a. year by the end of the century. Trade on the Moscow route was greatly different. There is little evidence of any kind of regular interaction for much of the century. However, the political *rapprochement* of the mid-century quite clearly led to the establishment of regular commercial exchange with the Muscovite capital. Of particular importance in this connection were liquor, potash, and saltpeter. By the end of the century, some truly significant sales were recorded. There were clearly years, when the total value of this trade approximated R 100,000. Even in more ordinary years, the closing decades of the century saw Ukrainian exports to Moscow of R 20,000.

Ultimately then, we observe a dramatic shift from the Lithuanian routes to the Ukrainian axis, something that lends some credence to the Soviet hypothesis of a steady integration of the Left Bank in the Russian economy. By the end of the century, Russian-Ukrainian trade may well have equaled over one-third of the total value of Arkhangel'sk's exports, while values on the Smolensk route were likely less than 10 percent. If anything, trade with the Ukraine highlights the continuing potential of overland trade during an era which otherwise had been marked by its steady decline. In the final analysis, the changing orientation of Russian cross-border exchange underscores the importance of external demand for the evolution of Muscovite foreign trade.

Figure 7.1. Known Treasury fur sales to Lithuanian merchants in the second half of the 17th century, roubles



(*Source*: RGADA f. 214, kn. 399, fols. 325, 330, 362; kn. 417, fols. 170, 188v, 189v, 190, 193, 196, 271v, 272v, 274v, 277v; kn. 530, fols. 575v, 577, 582v, 584, 587, 603, 605–6; kn. 555, fols. 195v, 197; kn. 921, fols. 31–4, 43–9, 76–7, 82–7; kn. 620, fols. 531, 535, 538, 547, 549–50, 552–4; kn. 630, fols. 511–2; kn. 676, fols. 458, 463a; kn. 790, fols. 642–3; kn. 844, fols. 675v, 679; kn. 921, fols. 114–5, 150, 160–5, 193–4, 198–205, 238–9, 241–4, 246–7, 290, 296, 304–6, 366–7, 372–5, 406–12, 440v, 444, 453–8, 497–500, 504–12, 556–8)

Table 7.1. Goods passing through Brześć and Grodno to the West, 1583–1605

	Brześć		Grodno	
	1583*	1605	1600	1605
Squirrel	16,000	231,100 + 2,047 pelts + 30 *blamy*	572,210 + 2,047 pelts	407,304 + 822 pelts
Ermine	1,320	14,860	13,711 + 6.5 pelts + 105 feet (+ 35 *gr.lit.*)	4,740 + 3 pelts
Mink	440	4,529	19,191	4,987
Weasel	240	7,880	4,980	2,220
Marten	120	15,040 + 120 pelts	4,081+ 2 pelts + 1,060 throats/tails	3,562 + 320 tails + 2 pelts
Fox	280	13,888 + 3 pelts	4,358 + 41 throats + 2 pelts + 70 gr.lit. collars + 15 heads	1,542 + 92 throats + 11 pelts
Badgers	100	58	23 *gr.lit.*	13
Hare	96	802 + 1,720 pelts	50 pelts	35 pelts
Otter	206	1,302	1,391	1,639
Wolf	2	475	549	786 + 1 pelt
Sable		5,600 + 1,280 pelts	1,840 + 4.5 pelts + 54 feet	40 + 320 tails + 7 pelts
Beaver	28	424	305 + 24 tails	15 + 19 *kopy*
Polecat	220	1,430 + 2 pelts		
Lynx		144	72	21
Cats	20	206	1 pelt	2 pelts
Bear			45	19
Elk hides	125	67	722	162
Skins	150	15	235	185
Iufti	1,650	5,876	21,148	11,548
Calf/cow hides	65.5	736	873	6,062 + 7 carts
Chamois (*tymcze*)	196	6,752	38,049	14,540
Horse hides				80
Goat hides	4,258	19,328	7,717	17,271
Tanned leather	36	578		3,420
Sheep skins		210 pelts	107 pelts	1,520
Hats			30	
Fur coats			47 + 29 *gr.lit.*	19
Whips, belts	270	350		120
Gloves, pair		8 *kopy*	57	
Shoes, boots, Zł	98 *kopy*			22
Saddles				12
Linen cloth, ell		11,600		18,800 + 6 bundles + 22 *kopy*
Sermiaga cloth, ell		187		
Kraszenina, *kopy*				10
Caftans	7	1,592	111	129

Table 7.1 (*cont.*)

	Brześć		Grodno	
	1583*	1605	1600	1605
Jugs				16 + 16 *kopy* + 9 carts
Radno	200	100		
Bags, purses	218	20	120 *gr.lit.*	55 *kopy*
Scythes		200		
Harnesses, *kopy*		393.5		
Słuck haberdashery	500 arrows	154 *kopy*		68 *kopy*
Flax, *kamień*				1 + 4 *wantuchi*
Hemp, *kamień*		8		2,492.5 + 4 *solianki*
Linseed, barrels		14.5		752 + 7 *solianki*
Hemp seed, barrels				15 + 1 *vat*
Wax, *kamień*	281.5	1,381 + 24.5 pcs + 4.5 jugs		467 + 160 pcs + 2 *solianki* + 20 jugs
Soap, *kosiaki*	6 *kopy*	3,300 + 70 *kopy*		22,600
Tallow, *kamień*		387 + 19 fasy + 5.5 carts		1,964.5 + 29 vats + 5 brls + 64 packs
Lard, *kopy*	28	32 + 16 carts + 20 *fasy*		
Meat, *polt'*	117	142		
Fish, barrels	23	203 + 20 carts + 9.5 *kopy*		
Hops, *kamień*	10	322 + 14 *chet'* + 34 carts		343 + 61.5 carts + 35 *wantuchi*
Honey, pails		15		15
Grain, barrels				839 + 57 *krakowki* + 2 *solianki* + 12 l.
Tar, lasts				20
Potash/ash, last				261 + 9 barrels
Cattle, heads		1,047		104
Salt, barrels		43,000 + 7 carts		

* February-May 1583.

(*Source*: LMAB RS f. 16, b. 3 (*AS*, III, pp. 289–322, IV, pp. 252–60); VUB RS F4–13160, 13159 (A-233), 13161)

Table 7.2. Muscovite goods passing through the Witebsk customs in 1605

	From Toropets	From Belaia	From elsewhere
Squirrel	240	514	
Marten	2,400	3,020	
Ermine	8	100	
Weasel	100	1,080	
Mink	47	10	
Fox	33	22	
Polecat	25	589	
Beaver	1	1	
Otter	4		
Lynx		2	
Wolf	3	1	
Bear		4	
Iufti		8	
Elk	1	2	1
Cow	31	943	31
Calf		1,189	
Horse	139	1,136	180
Goat	3	33	5
Sheep	483	2,786	45
Chamois	10	94	10
Fur etc. coats	36	288	
Gloves	870	4,275	20
Boots, pair		4	
Mats		96	150
Linen cloth, ell	20	2,630	100
Cloth, ell	40	4,160	40
Sermiaga, pcs	340	112	
Kraszenina, pcs	7	7	21.5
Linen towels	151		
Aprons	10	32	
Felt strips		195	
Soap, *kosiaki*		645	
Hemp, *kamień*		66	13
Linseed, barrels		7	
Hops, *pud*		70	
Bear grease, *pud*	3 + ½ *kamień*		
Honey, *pud*	2	70	

(*Source*: VUB RS F4–13157)

Table 7.3. Exports of goods to Lithuania by Russian merchants through Viaz'ma

	1649/50	1651/2	1652/3	1653/4
Sables	5,240 + 3 boxes	800 + 11 boxes	2,227 + 1 box	
Sable bellies	8,960 + 1 box	1,840	1,960	
Sable tails	800	83		
Ermine	2,400	360		1,080
Marten		40	200	
Foxes	712	5,259	1,290	
Wolves	65	44		50
Lynx	6	20	6	
Bears		2		
Squirrels	58,200 + 1 box	14,100	14,962	980
Hides			315	
Sheets of *metze*		390		
Fish		6 barrels	4,000 pcs (dried)	
Herring, barrels	6			
Sturgeon/sterlet		1,499	650	130
Chalbyshi			150	
Anash, *pud*			56	
Saffron, *pud*				
Seeds			150 (?)	
Salt, *pud*				
Honey	124 *kadushki*	135 *pud* + 2 *kadushki* + 20 carts	48 *pud* + 22 jugs	121 *pud* + 12 jugs
Fur coats	1 box		2	
Gloves	150	210		200
Ploughshares	85	70	100	
Ladles			700	
Frying pans	850	1,093	2,030	
Soap, *kosiaki*	17	20	18	
Haberdashery	5 boxes	R 227	R 351	

In addition, there were small quantities of spices, iron, clothing, textiles, etc.

(*Source*: RGADA, f. 137, No 14, 16, 18, 19; Demkin, "Vneshniaia torgovlia cherez Viaz'mu," pp. 13–4)

Table 7.4. Lithuanian overland imports through the Smolensk customs, 1673–9

Item	1673/4	1675/6	1676/7	1678/9
Squirrel	18,500, R 10	3,490, 17 pelts		
Fox	240, 8 bundles, R 8, 10 throats	490, 46 bundles, 27 backs, 12 throats	48, 10 throats,	10, 18 backs
Tails	320			
Sable	80, R 45 of bellies	103, 3 ends, 12 tails		
Hare		73		
Ermine	80	293	2, 150 tails	
Marten		1		
Mink		2		
Cats		30		
Polecat		10, 2 pelts		
Lynx		11	1	
Wolf	10	15	2	
Bear		2	7	
Beaver wool, *pud*	1:30			
Raw skins	20			100
Iufti	50 *pud*, R 120	20	90	
Cow hides	266	417		105
Sheep skins	3			
Bukhara hides		136		690
Linen, *arshin*		210	4 pcs	2 pcs
Kitaika, *arshin*		21	2 pcs	
Krashenina, *arshin*		10		
Tafeta, *arshin*		21		
Silk, pud		2	14, 33 *tai*	
Frying pans	508			
Nuts, *chet'*		2		
Barley, *pud*		4		
Hops, *pud*		5	2 bundles	
Tar, vats		2		
Lard, *pud*		20		
Tallow, S#				5
Fish		600	300	

N.B. These figures are estimates. Russian exports are typically not specifically identified.

(*Source*: RGADA f. 145, kn. 12)

Table 7.5. The scale of Lithuanian export trade in the secondary border towns of western Russia

	1668/9	1669/70	1670/1	1671/2	1673/4	1674/5
Dorogobuzh						
Number of merchants					11	4
Value of goods, R					323	10.7
Value of specie, R					603	413.2
Viaz'ma						
Number of merchants	17				5	13
Value of goods, R	865.80				71	462.70
Value of specie, R	656.5				80	305
Velikie Luki						
Number of merchants	14		6	11		
Value of goods, R	254.83		105.27	162.635		
Value of specie, R				184.405		
Toropets						
Number of merchants		1		5		
Value of goods, R		87.5		96.37		
Value of specie, R				63		

	1675/6	1676/7	1678/9	1679/80
Dorogobuzh				
Number of merchants	14		5	
Value of goods, R	221		115.5	
Value of specie, R	1,267		12	
Viaz'ma				
Number of merchants			2	1
Value of goods, R			168	7
Value of specie, R			65	
Velikie Luki				
Number of merchants	8			
Value of goods, R	184			
Value of specie, R	755			
Toropets				
Number of merchants		3		
Value of goods, R		112.50		

(*Source*: RGADA f. 145, 1675 g., stb. No 9; 1676 g., stb. No 19; 1677 g., stb. No 6; 1678 g., stb. No 24; f. 137, Viaz'ma, kn. 28, 31, 33, 36, 40a, 41; f. 210, Denezhnyi stol, kn. 117, 337, 350, 352, 365)

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEW HORIZONS: RUSSIAN TRADE WITH ASIA AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

The second half of the 16th century introduced an important new dimension to the economic geography of Muscovite Russia. The takeover of the middle and lower Volga in the 1550s transformed the periodic commercial and diplomatic interaction with the steppe populations and more sedentary Asian powers into regular commercial exchange with Persia and the Central Asian khanates alike. Similarly, the Muscovite conquest of Siberia significantly extended the area of contact with Inner Asia. Among other things, it took Russia to the gates of China and the closing decades of the century saw the establishment of regular, and rapidly expanding, trade relations with the Middle Kingdom. At the same time, Russia's much more long-standing trade relations with the Ottoman Empire underwent a marked change as trade on the historic Dniepr route shifted in the direction of the Balkans and especially the Duchy of Moldavia.

While trade with Asia had important elements of the kind of overland border trade we observed along Russia's European frontiers, it also promised new opportunities for long-distance trade by placing Muscovy in the role of a potential intermediary in pan-Eurasian trade. Some of the goods obtained from Persia and China—above all silk—enjoyed considerable demand among Western European merchants. Another attraction of the southern trade was the predilection of Asian merchants and rulers for "rich" Russian goods, most notably the more expensive furs which could be profitably transported overland over long distances. Thus on the export side, Russian trade with Asia was almost anachronistic, its composition representing a carryover form the 15th and 16th centuries. However, imports from Asia played an important role in stimulating the more "modern" trade with Europe.

The source base for Russian-Asian relations differs markedly from the data on Russia-Eurasian trade. Many of Muscovy's Oriental trade partners have left behind no centralized archives and next to no known source base on economic—as opposed to diplomatic—rela-

tions with their northern neighbor. Perhaps no less importantly, Russia was a destination of fairly marginal importance to many Asian states and merchants, which diminished the need to document the commerce. Partly as a result, there is an extreme scarcity of Asian secondary scholarship on this exchange. Virtually all extant writing on Russian-Asian trade has been penned by Russian or Soviet scholars and the Russian State Archive of Old Documents in Moscow remains in most cases the sole source of primary data on Muscovy's eastward commercial ties.

Russian Commercial Relations with the Ottoman Empire

Muscovite trade with the Black Sea basin built on a centuries-old tradition of exchange, whether with the local Tatars, the Genoese colonies, or the Balkan principalities. Unlike trade on the other overland routes, it was almost entirely conducted in Moscow. However, the range of commodities involved in the southwestern transit trade appears to have been unusually narrow and the Russian exports were very heavily dominated by commodities monopolized by the tsar. According to M.V. Fekhner, the main categories were: hunting birds, walrus tusks, cloth, hides, and furs, which consisted of sable, ermine, marten, various kinds of fox, and squirrel. The Ottomans especially favored the most luxurious and expensive varieties, sable above all, but also silver fox.[1] The Siberian Chancellery exported large quantities of pelts every year and appears to have dominated fur trade with the Porte. Similarly, envoys from the empire almost invariably acquired furs in Moscow. For example in 1646, Moldavian Prince Vasile Lupu's request for R 4,500 worth of sables was met with 1,200 skins. A Moldavian envoy Aleksei Vasil'ev in 1671 arrived in Moscow with R 7,209 and goods, which he exchanged for sables and foxes.[2] However, the transactions, while often substantial, tended to be of mainly regional significance.[3]

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[1] Fekhner, *Torgovlia*, pp. 58–9, 97; Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les marchands," pp. 365, 367–9; Berindei, "Contributions," pp. 394–7, 402; Bushkovitch, *The Merchants*, p. 92.

[2] Podgradskaia, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi*, p. 68; *Istoricheskie sviazi*, II, pp. 193–4, 210; RGADA f. 52, op. 1, kn. 7, fols. 57^{v}, 59.

[3] The known value of the wares of exchanged by the Ottoman merchants for sable furs in Moscow amounted to R 1,044 in March-June 1672, R 1,138 in March-

The merchants of the Ottoman Empire in turn exported a whole range of goods to Moscow, even though their trade seemed to rely heavily on specie purchases. Almost all the Ottoman court merchants were issued gold or silver by the Treasury for their journey to the Russian capital. At least still in the 16th century, the sums involved could very substantial indeed.[4] The main Ottoman export goods were silk, cotton, and linen cloth, various processed hides, especially morocco leather, sabers, dyes, spices, incense, precious stones, Egyptian sugar, and soap. Moldavian merchants, at times on commission for the tsar, exported salted fish, salt, and wine to Russia, but also some precious stones, metal products, jewelry, horse harnesses, as well as Turkish textiles. Both Greek and Turkish merchants supplied the Russian capital with tobacco. Ottoman merchants often also sold Turkish horses which were popular with the Russian nobility. Even as luxuries dominated, there is ample evidence of also some less expensive types of cloth, most particularly often substantial quantities of simple cotton calico known as *kumach*, much of which was presumably mainly sold along the way to and from Moscow.[5]

The evolution of Russian-Ottoman trade over time can be determined only with difficulty. However, it is possible to identify certain critical turning points with an important effect on commerce. Given the historically prominent role of official diplomatic missions, it is hard to dispute M. Berindei's suggestion that the fur trade declined into insignificance under the burden of the Muscovite Time of Troubles. Moreover, the subsequent Cossack wars since 1622 made the Ukrainian lands a hostile environment for long-distance trade in valuable commodities.[6] Another setback came in 1624 when Crimean Tatars assaulted a Russian embassy. Three Ottoman embassies to Moscow in 1627–33 sought to once again revive commerce between the two countries and promised secure passage.[7] The 1640 peace

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July 1673, R 1,363 in September 1673 and August 1674, and R 23,190 between October 1674 and July 1675. Two envoys in 1679 bought 200 sables and 50 foxes for a total of R 1,375.5 in Putivl'. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade*, p. 218; Berindei, "Contributions," p. 408.

[4] Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les marchands," p. 369; Fekhner, *Torgovlia*, p. 85.

[5] Podgradskaia, "Moldavskoe kniazhestvo," pp. 96–9, 100–1, 123–4; Fekhner, *Torgovlia*, pp. 66–95; Kostomarov, *Ocherk*, pp. 41, 281, 288.

[6] Berindei, "Contributions," p. 403.

[7] Zaborovskii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 143, 147.

treaty singed by Sultan Ibrahîm with Poland appears to have marked a temporary return to normalcy. One clause of the treaty dealt with Turkish merchants bringing necessary goods, "such as sable furs," from Russia and the need to control the Cossacks who raided merchant caravans. However, soon enough, a new Cossack war—starting in 1648—and military campaigns by the Russians, Tatars, Transylvanians, and Swedes yet again destabilized the southern borderlands.[8]

An important dimension of the Russian-Ottoman relationship had to do with efforts by the Moldavian Prince Vasile Lupu to established close relations with Russia. During the decade following 1639, Lupu sent 47 envoys to Moscow and received 19 Russians in Iaşi.[9] Prince Gheorghe tefan pursued this *rapprochement* further, even seeking to exchange Ottoman suzerainty for a comparable arrangement with Muscovy. He evidently viewed Khmel'nyts'kyi's agreement with Russia as a model to follow.[10] The relative importance of Moldavian merchants is likely to have increased in the wake of a commercial treaty concluded in Moscow in 1656 by tefan. In it, the tsar allowed Moldovian merchants to trade across all of Russia's provinces and freely import and export all commodities.[11]

A further impetus to trade came from the Andrusovo treaty of 1667, followed by a 1668 Russian embassy to Istanbul. Very soon, however, instability returned to Russia's southern frontier. The Turkish invasion of 1677 led to few long-term changes, as the 1681 Treaty of Bakhchisarai kept the key commercial areas of the Left Bank and Kiev in Russia hands. Following the conclusion of peace, the tsar sent the sultan a generous gift of 1,194 sable furs, 20 walrus tusks, and 10 hunting falcons. Further turmoil was created by Sophia's unsuccessful Crimean expeditions in 1687 and 1689 and Peter's Azov campaigns of 1695–6.[12] However, it is possible that these conflicts were localized enough, and the network of trade routes flexible enough for at least private merchants to continue their operations nearly throughout periods of political instability. Indeed, according

[8] *Catalogul*, II, p. 78; Berindei, "Contributions," p. 403.
[9] Podgradskaia, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi*, p. 27.
[10] *bidem.*
[11] Iorga, *Studii i documente*, IV, pp. 244–5; Ionescu, "Tratatul;" Ionescu-Nişcov and Constantinescu, "300 ani;" Berindei, "Contributions," p. 408.
[12] Berindei, "Contributions," pp. 404–5; Dukes, *The Making*, pp. 43, 45; Hughes, *Russia*, pp. 17–8.

to J. Kilburger, Greek merchants were by the 1670s a regular appearance in Moscow where they had their own guesthouse where many of them stayed around the year. Kilburger claimed that most of the Balkan wares and merchants at the time came from Moldavia with Istanbul playing a secondary role. Grigorii Kotoshikhin put the number of visiting Greek merchants at 50–100 a year.[13]

Data collected by Zaborovskii and Podgradskaia points to a marked, albeit discontinuous, expansion in Russian-Ottoman commercial exchange, especially in the first half of the century. The total value of sables exported as merchandise or gifts to the Ottoman Empire totaled some R 900 in 1613. This figure rose to R 2,190 in 1615. By 1622, there were already sable exports of R 5,880, a figure that had more than trebled to R 17,900 by 1643. The 1645 figure was more or less comparable at R 16,240. It is difficult to discern an obvious trend in the second half of the century. However, annual totals typically exceeded R 10,000.[14] Some of the Ottoman merchants carried very valuable consignments of goods. In many cases, the sums involved attained several thousand roubles, sometimes above R 10,000. The tsar had priority, but not a monopoly, in buying goods from foreigners in Moscow.[15]

Commercial exchange with the Ottoman Empire was driven primarily by Ottoman and Moldavian envoys and merchants, although there is occasional evidence of also Russian merchants venturing out to the Balkans, mostly in connection with Russian government missions.[16] The relatively limited interest of Russian merchants in the Ottoman routes may have been completely rational. Turkish fur

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[13] *Sochinenie Kīl'burgera*, pp. 131, 152; Kotoshikhin, *O Rossii*.

[14] Zaborovskii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," p. 183; Pogradskaia, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 360–82.

[15] For instance in 1638, a Walachian Petr Iur'ev explain brought R 1,095.60 worth of goods—mainly textiles and handicrafts—to Russia. A group of Istanbul merchants in 1654 sold R 1,114 worth of cloth to the Treasury, while Istanbul merchants Manuil Konstantinov, Fedor Ivanov, etc. sold a variety of goods from the for a total of R 6,950. The Istanbul merchants Manuil Konstantinov and Ivan Dmitriev came to Moscow in 1655 with R 1,305 worth of goods, R 1,205 of these jewelry, while three of their compatriots sold more than R 10,300 worth of goods the same year. Total sales by another group in 1656 exceeded R 14,689. Another R 1,211 worth of Ottoman cloth and other wares were acquired from Turkish visitors. In 1656, the Treasury bought over R 5,700 worth of jewelry from a Istanbul merchant Ivan Iur'ev and his comrades. Podgradskaia, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, p. 43; RGADA f. 52, op. 1, 1654 g., stb. No 7, fols. 8–9, 46, 53, 63.

[16] In 1628, the Russian envoys S.D. Iakovlev and P. Evdokimov sold 660 sables

trade with Russia produced a significant surplus for the Muscovites which the Ottomans settled with the large quantities of specie they typically carried along. Anecdotal accounts of Tatar raids of Ottoman caravans point to vast loots of specie. Few Russian merchants had the capital to be important participants in such trade. More importantly, the government had few real incentives to encourage their participation. Leaving the Ottomans in charge of the precarious journeys minimized Russian costs and risks alike.

The involvement of various types of merchants in Ottoman-Russian trade changed a great deal in the course of the century. On the Ottoman side, the relative significance of Treasury merchants began to decline around the middle of the century. Private merchants—predominantly Greeks—gradually emerged as the new leaders in this trade and it became common for groups of 50–100 Greek or Moldavian merchants a year to undertake a journey to the Russian capital. Vasile Lupu was interested in centralizing the evidently significant Muscovite transit trade in his principality and ordered his troops to attack a new trade route passing through Bender which avoided the Moldovian customs. In contrast, the imperial Ottoman caravans had always been tax-exempt and their continued prominence would have been unlikely to produce such a reaction. At least initially, a significant proportion of the Ottoman merchants involved in trade with Russia appear to have been Moslems, although subsequently the number of Christians quite evidently grew and they seem to have been the dominant group in the 17th century.[17]

Astrakhan': Muscovy's Gates to the East

The Volga port of Astrakhan' naturally assumed a central position in Russia's economic interactions with the Caucasus, Persia, and Central Asia. By the time the 1667 New Commercial Code officially designated Astrakhan' as one the six border towns of Russia, it had become a commercial center of considerable importance. According to A. Olearius, annual customs duty receipts—presumably in the

for R 339, while I.D. Miloslavskii and L. Lazarevskii in 1643 sold over 2,880 sables for R 1,895. Zaborovskii, "Ėkonomicheskie sviazi," pp. 156, 179; *Ranniaia perepiska*, pp. 54–7; *Vossoedinenie*, II, pp. 181–2, 193.

[17] Berindei, "Contributions," pp. 402, 404.

1630s—amounted to R 12,000.[18] This may contain an element of error or deliberate exaggeration, since the figure is roughly one-half of Arkhangel'sk's and twice that of Novgorod and Pskov combined. However, it is conceivable that trade in the south revived more quickly after the Time of Troubles than it did in the north and Astrakhan' temporarily became the second most important border point in the realm. The only non-anecdotal estimate comes from the period September 1, 1671–April 1, 1672 when the combined customs and tavern duties reached R 23,919.[19] Unfortunately, it is impossible to say how much the total customs receipts alone would have been for a full calendar year but even assuming a busy summer season, probably not even R 30,000. At the time Arkhangel'sk yielded R 6–70,000 p.a. and the northwestern cities R 11–13,000. The data thus suggests that the economic significance of Astrakhan' has been underestimated by the historical literature, even allowing for a higher share of purely domestic trade.

The surviving source material on Astrakhan''s trade volumes, as limited as it is, supports the impression of a city steadily growing in stature to assume its place as one of the leading centers of Russian foreign trade. At least 407 consignments of wares are known to have been dispatched across the Caspian Sea ("*za more*") by private merchants in the 1670s and '80s.[20] Of them, 132 were exported by Russian merchants, 275 by their Asian counterparts. The consignments typically contained a mixture of Russian and western goods. There were a total of 130 consignments of purely Russian wares of which 40.8 percent went to Central Asia, 24.6 percent to Persia, and 34.6 percent to Terskii gorod and the rest of the northern Caucasus.[21]

Astrakhan''s importance was enhanced by its large domestic hinterland which covered the vast basin of the mother of all Russian rivers and thus much of central and southern Muscovy. Most of Astrakhan''s domestic trade was with the central Volga towns of

[18] Olearii, *Opisanie*, p. 455.
[19] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, p. 32; ASPF IRI RAN f. 178, op. 1, d. 6371.
[20] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, pp. 86, 239.
[21] Russian goods were particularly important in the trade with the Caucasus and with Central Asia and accounted for 65.2 and 65.4 percent respectively of the total imports via Astrakhan' of the two regions. In Persia's case, however, the corresponding share was only 12.5 percent. Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 91.

Saratov, Samara, Simbirsk, Tetiushi, Kazan', Sviiazhsk, Kokshaisk, Cheboksary, Koz'modem'iansk, Makar'ev, and Nizhnii Novgorod. Other towns of importance were Arzamas, Kurmysh, Tsivil'sk, and the rural communities of Pavlovo, Murashkino, Lyskovo, Blagoveshchenskaia sloboda, Rabotki, Pochinki, Mamadyshevo, etc. Central Volga merchants in the 17th century accounted for 40–50 percent of Astrakhan''s trade with the Russian interior. The second most important group were merchants of the Moscow region, whose share was just short of one-third of the total. Next in importance was the Upper Volga region, especially Iaroslavl', although their weight appears to have declined in the course of the century. At least for much of the period under review, a majority of the goods brought by Russians to Astrakhan' were domestically produced.[22]

The Russian exports to the Orient were mainly processed hides, linen cloth, and wooden utensils, but included some smaller quantities of metal products as well. The Western re-exports, in turn, were dominated by various types of especially woolen cloth, but also included finished clothing, leather goods, metals and metal products, haberdashery, etc.[23] Table 8.1 represents a very incomplete attempt to summarize Astrakhan''s exports. The quantities are derived from L.K. Ermolaeva's analysis of the surviving city administration materials, data on prevailing market prices at Arkhangel'sk, and estimates by R. Hellie.[24] An attempt to extrapolate total exports for the 1670s and '80s from the fragmentary data must be very tentative and treated with extreme care. However, a multiplier of 3.5 should generate rough estimates for the 21-year period. If we assume that the goods for which we do not have approximate values were worth up to one-third of the total, then we can generate a very rough estimate of R 1,000,000 for the total private exports during the period, in other words an annual average of R 50,000. The fragmentary data on customs duties cited above suggests that the total may often

[22] In 1673, 55.8 percent of the consignments reaching the southern port were purely Russian and there were at least some Russian goods in another 23.4 percent of the consignments. The share of purely Russian goods was much lower—22.5 percent—in 1698, although Russian wares were present in another 30 percent of the consignments. The other main category of goods brought to the Caspian were naturally western re-exports. Their share was 16.2 percent in 1673 but as much as 45 percent in 1698. Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, pp. 35, 42–5.

[23] *Ibidem*, pp. 94, 101.

[24] Hellie, *The Economy*.

have been significantly higher than this figure and is, moreover, likely to have increased substantially towards the end of the century. E.S. Zevakin, puts the annual volume of Russian-Persian trade in the second half of the century at R 600,000, divided equally between imports and exports. Official trade was estimated to account for one-half of this total. Zevakin further cites a 1716 total of R 409,037 worth of goods brought from Persia and the Caucasus to Astrakhan' in support of his estimate.[25]

Asian visitors played a leading role in Astrakhan''s export trade; Russian merchants were dominant only in the category of cheap wooden utensil exports, although they also accounted for one-half of all *iuft'* exports. In contrast, Asians took the majority of both Russian and Western cloth across the border (Table 8.2). Apparently, the situation only changed in the early 18th century, when Russian merchants became more active, especially in Persian trade.[26] The Russian weakness was, as usual, due to the relative absence of prosperous merchants. Ordinary townsmen and musketeers jointly accounted for the majority of known entries (51.8 percent), while the share of privileged merchants was only 7.9 percent.[27] The two most important groups of foreign merchants active in Astrakhan''s export trade were Armenians and Indians. In addition, there were Central Asians, foreigners from Terskii gorod, and inhabitants of Darband. In the 1670s and '80s, there were 10 particularly active Astrakhan' Armenians who exported 26 consignments of goods according to the available evidence (9.5 percent of the total), mainly to Persia and Trans-Caucasia.[28]

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[25] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 98. Other available data from the first half of the 18th century suggest a more modest figure, however. The known annual value of Russian exports to Persia and Trans-Caucasia in 1734–50 varied between R 39,480 (in 1734) and R 164,026 (in 1740). Direct comparisons are, of course, complicated by the profound political changes in the region in the first half of the 18th century. Iukht, *Torgovlia*, p. 49.

[26] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 108.

[27] Astrakhan' merchants were by far the most dominant group—76.1 percent of the total. The next largest groups in importance were the merchants of Moscow (7.9 percent) and Terskii gorod (6.7 percent). Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 110.

[28] *Ibidem*, pp. 113, 115.

Trade with the Caucasus and Persia

The Caucasus region and Persia were the most important focus of Astrakhan''s foreign trade throughout the 17th century, in spite of the long distances involved. For instance, the Russian merchant F. Kotob in the 1620s took 9.5 months to reach Isfahan and a year to return to Moscow.[29] Nor was the interaction between the two neighbors devoid of a culture clash: The contrast between Safavid Persia and late Muscovy was considerable and captured in the contemptuous Persian description of the neighbors as the "Yusbecs of the Francs."[30] Nonetheless, commercial relations appear to have been established early on. A Venetian envoy, Fr Diebolo, in 1557 observed numerous Persian and Armenian merchants in Moscow. The Genoan Paolo Giovio (Jovius) in 1567 remarked on large-scale trade with Asians, including Armenians, in Astrakhan'.[31] The two nations embarked on an era of institutionalized relations with the 1588 Russian embassy of Grigorii Borisovich Vasil'nikov.[32] From the very beginning, economic factors became the most important aspect of Russian-Persian interaction. In E.S. Zevakin's assessment, formal diplomacy consistently remained far secondary in importance to trade, and only served the purpose of promoting commercial interests. This assertion is supported by the rhetoric of Russian diplomatic missions which regularly emphasized commercial issues, promised to maintain open trade routes with Persia, and invited the shah's subjects to trade freely in Muscovy.[33] The development of Russian-Persian trade undoubtedly received an additional boost from the tsar's efforts to counter the Ottoman military threat through intensive diplomacy with Russia. The Safavid empire at the time dominated most of the region: Persia and Azerbaijan, as well as parts of Armenia, Georgia, and Dagestan.[34]

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[29] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 37.

[30] Jean Chardin quoted in: Dale, *Indian Merchants*, p. 79.

[31] Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, pp. 87–8.

[32] *Pamiatniki*, I, p. 4.

[33] Zevakin, "Persidskii vopros," p. 157; *Pamiatniki*, I, pp. 139, 146, 157, 376; II, pp. 138, 141–2; III, p. 663.

[34] The dominance of economic factors may explain that fact that the first formal Persian diplomatic mission—that of Asan-Bek and Agi-Mahmet—visited Moscow only in 1640, although they were then followed by another three missions in 1643–6. One has to assume that the Russian-Persian relations were mainly managed by merchants and commercial envoys up to that point and that weightier matters of

The surviving evidence in the archive of the Astrakhan' city administration sheds light on the territorial distribution of Russian trade with the Persian south. 257 consignments of wares are known to have been sent from Astrakhan' to Trans-Caucasia and Persia during the years covered by the data, 63.2 percent of these by sea.[35] 23 consignments went to Gilan, 89 to the Shakhova region, 29 to Trans-Caucasia (13 to Shamakhi and 16 to Nizovaia), and 99 to Darband. Also the northern Caucasus held considerable attraction for Russian merchants, in spite of the constant diplomatic rivalry between the Russians, Persians, and Ottomans in the region. A total of 69 consignments were dispatched to Dagestan, Kabarda, Chechnia, Ingushetiia, and Northern Osetia.[36]

The Caspian was obviously the main trade route between Muscovy and Persia. For seaborne trade, Astrakhan' had a so-called Gilan *busa*, a government-operated barge, which crossed the Caspian twice a year, at the beginning of the summer and again in October. It appears to have been built in 1639—after devastating Cossack raids—in response to requests by foreign merchants. Government shipping became more important towards the end of the century. A 1692 plea by a Persian envoy Khusein-khan-bek for permission to build boats privately was rejected on the grounds that "since 1680, *busy* were built exclusively with Treasury funding."[37] When government vessels were not available, some trips could be made by smaller boats, so-called *polubusy*, which usually began to operate in April. At least some of them belonged to Astrakhan' merchants and their numbers appear to have increased in the course of the century. The main destinations of the vessels were Baku and Darband and most merchants would proceed from there to Shamakhi where much of the Persian-Russian trade took place. Other important destinations were Tabriz, Kashan, Rasht, and Isfahan.[38]

Special guesthouses existed for the Persian visitors in Russia. Astrakhan' had its Gilan *sloboda*, and similar facilities existed in Kazan' and Nizhnii Novgorod. Even Moscow had a special Persian guest-

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political character played little importance in the early part of the century. Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 31.

[35] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, p. 87.

[36] *Ibidem*, pp. 87, 88–9.

[37] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, pp. 62–3.

[38] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 85; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 36, 40.

house (*Persidskii dvor*) in Kitai-gorod, a large operation with 200 shops.[39] The leading Persian cities, similarly, offered facilities for Russian merchants. According to Olearius, the Russians visiting Shamakhi stayed at a special guesthouse known as the Shakh Karavansarai. Overall, the Azerbaijani town appears to have boasted seven guesthouses for merchants and Isfahan and Qazvin had comparable facilities.[40]

Muscovite-Persian trade was heavily dominated by raw silk. The most important production centers were Gilan, Kozanderan, and Khorasan in Persia proper and Shamakhi in Azerbaijan. Other Persian exports to Russia included cotton, paint, velvet, rugs, morocco leather, etc. Particularly popular was cotton cloth available in two main varieties: *kindiaki* and *dorogi*. Under Aleksei Mikhailovich, efforts were made to import saltpeter from Persia. Azerbaijan even supplied oil which was used medicinally in Russia.[41] The Russian exports consisted of furs—especially sable, hides and leather, metal products, etc. A number of Russian goods fell into the category of "forbidden wares" (*zapovednye tovary*), however, and could not be taken out of the country without special permission. In 1621, the tsar decreed that Russian merchants could no longer sell Persians good hunting birds (gyrfalcons, falcons, hawks), or the best-quality sables, foxes, ermines, or squirrels, because doing so might devalue the presents given by the Russian monarch to his Persian counterpart. Other forbidden wares included armor, lead, tin, and copper. A 1625 decree to the Astrakhan' local administration extended the list to gold, silver, iron, firearms, arrows, and iron goods, such as axes, arrows, etc. Other goods in the category included live sables, foxes, and lynxes.[42] As late as 1621, Persian envoys were permitted to buy 20 slaves (*iasyr'*), although such trade appears to have been forbidden very soon thereafter. The list of forbidden wares was reduced in 1687 when the exportation of iron, tin, and copper was permitted in bars or sheets.[43]

Russian trade with Persia was historically dominated by official Treasury trade on a fairly substantial scale. A retinue of merchants

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[39] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 40, 51; Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 38.

[40] Olearii, *Podrobnoe opisanie*, pp. 506, 508, 554; Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 66.

[41] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 86; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 50, 59; Vorob'eva, *Azerbaidzhano-russkie torgovye sviazi*, p. 50.

[42] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 47; Zevakin, *Ocherki*, pp. 41–2; *Pamiatniki*, III, p. 555; *Akty istoricheskie*, II, p. 212.

[43] *Pamiatniki*, III, p. 671; Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 41; Burton, *The Bukharans*, p. 493.

typically accompanied diplomatic missions and, in addition, gift-giving by official envoys remained an important component of this commerce.[44] The so-called "Book of Persian Wares" (*Kniga persidskikh tovarov*) provides information about the impressive scale of purchases of Persian goods by the Muscovite Treasury. These amounted to R 73,378 in 1663–5, R 63,979 in 1666–70, R 22,561 in 1670–2, and R 15,949 in 1674–5, i.e. an annual average just short of R 20,000. The Russian exports were presumably more or less comparable. In 1663, official Russian exports amounted to R 76,749.49 and consisted of specie, sables, and various types of cloth (Table 8.3). Among other things R 4,000 worth of copper was sold at a profit of R 1,000. The total value of goods acquired by the tsar's agents in Shamakhi, Kashan, Rasht, Qazvin, and Isfahan was R 73,586.55.[45]

This official trade was typically conducted completely free of any customs duties.[46] Not surprisingly, therefore, Russian government revenues from these operations could be extraordinary. They reached R 63–73,000 in 1663–70, and more than R 22,000 in 1670–2.[47] In some cases, also ordinary merchants bought the right to operate free of duty. This was the case, for instance, with Bairam Shanbratov who in 1621 paid R 5,000 for the right to trade free of duty in

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[44] For example, in 1616, two Russian envoys took 200 sable skins worth R 650 to Shah 'Abbas. The following year, Persian diplomats brought R 8,324 worth of valuable cloth and rugs to Moscow. In 1641, Shah Sefi sent R 3,479 worth of presents, including rugs, saddle-cloths, *kutin* cloth, and *izarbaf* silk cloth. In 1649, a Persian envoy Magmet Kulibek brought R 8,500 worth of saddles and saddle-cloths, rugs, velvet, raw silk, and saltpeter. In 1658, another envoy, Khanadakul Saltan brought R 9,097 worth of raw silk and saltpeter. *Pamiatniki*, II, p. 35; III, pp. 720–1; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 47–8. N.B. The names of non-Russian merchants are typically given in the form in which they appear in the Russian sources.

[45] The same year, a serving man (*tseloval'nik*) G. Chernousov sent sables and various kinds of cloth to Tabriz. The combined value of the goods was R 16,580.80. Purchases in Tabriz consisted of R 10,260.14 worth of cloth and leather. *Tseloval'nik* Ia. Voinov exported R 2,480 of similar goods to Kazan' and acquired cloth and morocco leather for R 2,366.62. *Tseloval'niki* I. Romanov and S. Muromtsev received R 1,366 worth of sables and cloth for sale in Shamakhi, whereas G. Sevrin and M. Zhuk took R 15,926.58 worth of similar goods to Persia. "Kniga persidskikh tovarov," pp. 1425, 1430, 1435, 1438, 1441, 1449–50.

[46] An official letter forbidding the imposition of such duties on the Treasury merchants Magamet Kasym and Kurmalei in the autumn of 1617 is a revealing document on the nature of this trade. Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 44; *Pamiatniki*, II, p. 270. See also: *Ibidem*, p. 576; I, p. 96. For a brief overview of the Treasury trade, see: Kukanova, "Kazennaia torgovlia mezhdu Rossiei i Iranom v XVII veke."

[47] Shpakovskii, "Torgovlia," pp. 45–6; Kukanova, *Ocherki.*, p. 50.

Astrakhan' and on the Terek for five years.[48] The fact that one of the shah's merchants saved R 2,570.65 by avoiding toll in Astrakhan' and Kazan' makes Shanbratov's payment seem eminently reasonable. The system easily lent itself to abuse, however. The tsar periodically complained of Persian merchants selling their own goods free of duty by claiming that they belonged to the shah. Especially in the 1660s, the growing scale of trade by merchants accompanying diplomatic missions and operating in other official contexts increased pressures on the Russian government to modify the privileges of Persian government merchants. Over time, disputes about customs payments became increasingly commonplace. In 1672, the tsar proposed to levy tolls on *all* trade. Failing that, he suggested an upper limit of R 5,000 on duty-free trade.[49]

Also on the Russian side, the line between private and official trade was often very fine. For instance *Gost'* Vasilii Shorin in the 1650s and '60s pursued plans to increase trade with Asia through a partnership with the state. In 1651, he gained the government's support for his mission whose leaders were named official messengers. Similar missions followed in 1660 and 1664. The last one of these groups, headed by F. Miloslavskii, was accompanied by 350 people and goods valued at R 75,749. Most of the money generated by their sale was spent on silk, causing Dutch merchants to complain of a shortage due to Russian activism.[50] The Persians, apparently, did not appreciate this practice of disguising ultimately commercial missions as diplomatic ones any more than did Muscovite officials.

Even as official trade often dominated, private merchants soon established themselves as a regular component of Russian-Persian trade, although official policy at times curbed such activity. For instance, the silk monopoly imposed by the shah in 1620 prompted complaints by Russian *gosti*, since the Persians had started dealing with the English East India Company. In spite of this, however, a group of Shamakhi merchants at the time brought some 2,000 *ansyr* of raw silk to Russia. A Russian envoy, *Gost'* Pankrat'ev in the 1650s similarly failed in his efforts to bring about free silk trade, even

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[48] Shanbratov appears to have been a government merchant of Indian descent. *Pamiatniki*, III, p. 634.

[49] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 45–6.

[50] Attman, *The Russian and Polish Markets*, pp. 190–1; Matthee, *The Politics of Trade*, p. 170.

though access to producers had been granted to private merchants already by Shah Sefi in the 1630s.[51] In order to further encourage private trade, 'Abbas II in 1664 even granted Russian merchants the right to duty-free travel throughout his dominions.[52] Russian merchants were active in all the main commercial centers of Persia. The aforementioned Kotov claimed to have seen 200 Russians in Isfahan in 1624. A Russian envoy in 1683 noted that "many" merchants from Moscow and the lower Volga lived in Persia permanently and 2–3 new *busy* with merchants arrived from Astrakhan' every year.[53] Partnership arrangements along the lines of what was observed in Stockholm are likely to have been fairly common.

Information on the scale of Russian private trade with Persia is regrettably very scarce. We know, for instance, that ten Russian merchants lost their wares, 500 bales of silk valued at 15,000 tumans, to robbers during the 1629 Gilan uprising of Kalanjar Sultan. In 1634, there was a Russian merchant (possibly a diplomat) in Qazvin with 10,000 tumans worth of specie, furs, and English cloth. In 1635/6, a Russian merchant exported 4,000 tumans worth of goods.[54] An additional layer of complexity is created by the impossibility of disentangling official from private transactions. However, even the anecdotal data suggests that merchants who undertook the long and arduous journey did so with large and valuable cargoes, even if they probably paled in comparison with officially sponsored trade.

A special category of Russian-Persian trade were the operations of the Armenian merchants of New Julfa. The community had been created after Shah 'Abbas resettled Juga (Julfa) Armenians from the northwestern borderlands of his realm following the destruction of Erevan and Julfa in 1604. The Armenians eventually established themselves in an Isfahan suburb which came to be called New Julfa. The shah had high hopes for the industrious merchants and gave every encouragement to their business. With generous privileges, they were able to live as a largely autonomous and highly prosperous

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[51] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, pp. 74–5l; Geidarov, *Torgovlia*, p. 74; *Pamiatniki*, III, pp. 640–1; Vorob'eva, *Azerbaidzhano-russkie torgovye sviazi*, p. 27. *Ansyr* = 1–1.3 *funt*. Yet, substantial trade did take place and the Russian Treasury in 1654 paid R 11,300 for 303 *pud* of raw silk brought to Russia by *Gost'* Vasilii Shorin. Vorob'eva, *Azerbaidzhano-russkie torgovye sviazi*, p. 48.

[52] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 50; *PSZ*, I, No 366.

[53] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, pp. 67, 73.

[54] Matthee, *The Politics of Trade*, pp. 122, 139–40.

Christian community at the gates of the Persian capital.[55] Armenian trade with Muscovy remained highly sporadic until the 1660s. We know of R 2,607.81 worth of goods brought to Moscow by four Armenian and two Persian/Azerbaijani merchants in the spring of 1626.[56] In 1647, a Persian Armenian Ivan Shirmov syn Tavakalov petitioned the Diplomatic Chancellery for the right to trade freely in Russia.[57] Russian *gosti* claimed in a 1672 report to the Diplomatic Chancellery that Armenian and Persian merchants had in fact engaged in extensive silk trade in Astrakhan' and in the Russian interior during the reigns of Mikhail Fedorovich and Aleksei Mikhailovich, an assertion supported to a degree by the data of Western silk exports from Russian in the 1630s and '50s (Chapters 3, 6).[58]

Armenian trade with Russia—and interest in the Muscovite market—benefited greatly from the emergence of a permanent community of Julfa Armenians in Astrakhan'. Some of them operated on a very large scale. Thus a merchant by the name of Tavakalov in 1632 took R 2,500 worth of goods to Moscow. Another Astrakhan' Armenian, Nestor, in 1672 lost over R 5,000 worth of goods to robbers. In 1645, the family of Tavakalov received the right to trade between Persia and Russia for up to R 2,500.[59]

The strong interest of the New Julfans in the Muscovite market became obvious when a mission headed by Zakarii Sagradov (Sharimanian)—a son of a leading New Julfa merchant Sagrad Sharimanian—visited Moscow in 1660 and presented the tsar with R 24,443 worth of various luxuries: precious stones, cloth, etc., but most notably a diamond throne. The Armenians, intent on laying the foundations for commercial cooperation, stressed their right to duty-free travel within the shah's dominions and their shared Christian faith with the Russians. The tsar granted the Armenians R 4,000 in silver and R 19,500 in copper coin and allowed them to buy R 18,000 worth of Treasury sables.[60] Even though there is no evidence

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[55] McCabe, *The Shah's Silk*, pp. 50–4, 79–105; Troebst, "*Isfahan—Moskau—Amsterdam*," p. 182; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 67–8.

[56] RGADA f. 100, 1626 g., fols. 1–3 (Reproduced in: *ARO*, pp. 3–4); Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ekonomicheskie otnosheniia*, p. 67.

[57] RGADA f. 100, 1647 g., fols. 1–5 (*ARO*, pp. 8–10).

[58] Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ekonomicheskie otnosheniia*, p. 70.

[59] *Ibidem*, pp. 68, 71; Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 46.

[60] RGADA f. 100, 1666 g., fols. 4–6, 29–38, 44–8 (*ARO*, pp. 22–3, 27–9, 31–2); Kukanova, *Ocherkii*, p. 77; Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, pp. 94–5; Voskanian, "Novo-torgovyi ustav," pp. 37–40.

of Armenian trade in Moscow during the six years following the Sharimanian mission, the period witnessed an increase in Western interest in silk trade via Russia, especially after renewed warfare in the eastern Mediterranean in 1665 made operations through Aleppo highly risky. However, the Russian route had also other significant benefits. According to J. Kilburger, the sea journey between England and the Persian Gulf, circumnavigating the Cape of Good Hope, took almost 1.5 years, whereas going from Holland via the Gulf of Finland and the Volga-Caspian route took "only" 7–8 months. Moreover, supplying two bales of silk to Russian incurred average costs of R 1.5, whereas shipping them to Hormuz was much more expensive at R 2.64 and took at least three months.[61]

The New Julfans were determined to capitalize on this situation. In February 1666, a group of 40 Armenians arrived in Moscow for negotiations about a formal commercial treaty. In 1667, following an agreement with the shah, Russia gave an Armenian company represented by Stepanos Sagradian (Stefan Romodanskii) and Grigor Lusikents (Grigorii Lusikov) a monopoly on Russia's silk trade with Persia. The two merchants promised to concentrate all Persian silk trade—which, they said, consisted of 48,000 *pud* a year—on the Russian route, although they warned that this total was not attainable right away. Astrakhan' was to be the center of this trade, but in the event of a glut, the Armenians had the right to take the silk to Moscow and eventually even abroad.[62]

The Russian-Armenian treaty stands out as a peculiar incident in Muscovite economic history. Following 15 months of negotiations, the treaty was signed on May 31, 1667, 40 days after the adoption of the New Commercial Code which marked the high point of Muscovite mercantilism. Whereas the Code sought to exclude foreign merchants from the Russian interior, the new treaty granted the New Julfans an exclusive right in silk trade throughout Russia and beyond.[63] The apparent inconsistency made eminent sense from

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[61] *Sochinenie Kil'burgera*, p. 149; Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, p. 101.

[62] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 79–80; Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ekonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 83–4; *idem*, "Les Arménians," p. 438; Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, p. 96; Vorob'eva, *Azerbaidzhano-russkie torgovye sviazi*, p. 114; RGADA f. 100, 1679 g., No 7, fols. 5–7 (*ARO*, pp. 157–8).

[63] Such preferential treatment prompted vocal protests by Russian merchants in 1672, 1675, 1679, and 1681. Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ekonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 85, 91, 116; Voskanian, "Novo-torgovyi ustav," p. 33.

the perspective of Muscovite trade policy, however. Raw silk had been a product of considerable interest for Westerners operating in Russia from early on and the new treaty promised to ensure an adequate supply to meet the demand. The fiscal benefits would be considerable, both due to the duties levied on the New Julfans but also thanks to a likely expansion in Western European trade which could be expected to curb any negative effects of the New Commercial Code on Western shipping. Moreover, given the sharp price differentials in silk between Astrakhan' and Arkhangel'sk, the anticipated increase in the trade surplus at Arkhangel'sk was virtually guaranteed to more than make up for any deficit in the South and thereby boost Russia's specie receipts. Russian merchants had been unable to take over a significant proportion of the silk trade and granting Westerners free transit to Persia was anathema to the Muscovite authorities. Under the circumstances, the Armenian treaty looked to allow Russia to begin to realize its potential as a key intermediary of Eurasian trade and thereby to create a counterpoise to, and boost its bargaining power *vis-à-vis*, the Western merchants who had for so longer posed the main threat to Russia's economic independence.[64] Even more generally, the New Commercial Code prescribed more generous duties for Asian than for European merchants. The basic rate in Astrakhan' was to be 5 percent. Asians proceeding into the Russian interior paid another 10 percent. In spite of this relative leniency, the Code stipulated strict controls of the cargoes carried by Asians. The rates proposed by the Armenians and evidently adopted were 5 percent in Astrakhan', 5 percent (7.5 percent at Astrakhan' prices) in Moscow, and 5 percent (10 percent at Astrakhan' prices) in Arkhangel'sk.[65] A.G. Vorob'eva attributes the preferential treatment to the 1664 Persian decision by to allow Russian merchants to operate free of duty.[66]

The realization of the Armenian-Russian project was made impossible by the outbreak of the Razin uprising in the Volga valley.

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[64] Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, p. 89.

[65] In addition, there was to be a special lump-sum levy on every *pud* of silk, which varied between R 16–20 in Astrakhan', R 26–30 in Moscow, and R 36–40 in Arkhangel'sk, depending on the quality. Zevakin, *Ocherki*, pp. 44–5; Voskanian, "Novo-torgovyi ustav," p. 41.

[66] Vorob'eva, *Azerbaidhzano-russkie torgovye sviazi*, pp. 77–8; Shpakovskii, *Torgovlia*, pp. 25–6.

During the rebellion, several Armenians lost their goods and trade ceased. A diplomatic crisis ensued when the shah demanded compensation for the losses, but the Russians refused to grant any.[67] A Polish mission, headed by Bogdan Gurdziecki, was sent to Persia in 1669 for the purpose of reviving the Russian-Persian treaty with the hope of channeling some of the trade to Poland. Gurdziecki's meeting with Shah Sulayman in 1670 resulted in a *farman* ordering Armenian merchants to divert their operations from the Ottoman route to the Volga.[68] Also the Armenians were determined to restore their privileges. Lusikents was again dispatched to Moscow in 1671. His task was to explain the Armenians' failure to uphold the 1667 treaty by the Razin uprising and the security problems it had created. Lusikents, in an attempt to relieve the diplomatic tensions, also sought to convince the shah that Razin had acted independently of the Russian government. The New Julfans clearly envisaged a restoration of the 1667 treaty and appealed to the tsar to ensure the safety of the Volga route. The official letter to Aleksei Mikhailovich was signed by 23 of the leading Armenian merchants headed by the *kalantar* of the New Julfa settlement, Astvatsatur Miretents, which indicates that the project enjoyed the backing of the Isfahan Armenian community as a whole.[69]

Lusikents' negotiations revealed a Muscovite determination to ensure that the Armenians would commit to exporting the entire Persian output of raw silk via the Caspian-Volga route. His interlocutor A.S. Matveev complained of large-scale exports via the Ottoman Empire and other routes. He further insisted that the Armenians should only trade with countries that were on friendly terms with Russia. The new treaty was eventually signed on February 7, 1673. While it respected the spirit of its 1667 predecessor, it was a compromise which made it more difficult for Armenians to trade beyond Arkhangel'sk; travel to Europe was initially permitted only if wares could not be sold in Russia. During the ensuing three years, not a single Armenian merchant ever made it to one of the northern or western border towns and silk exports remained minimal: 24 *pud* in 1673 and less than 100 *pud* the year after. However, the negotia-

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[67] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 82; Troebst, "*Isfahan-Moskau-Amsterdam*," p. 194.

[68] *Ibidem*; Matthee, *The Politics of Trade*, pp. 194–5.

[69] Khachikian, *Armianskoe kupechestvo*, pp. 26–9, 43; Voskanian, "Les Arménians," pp. 441–2; RGADA f. 100, 1672 g., No 3, fols. 3–4 (*ARO*, pp. 90–1).

tions did set a special price of R 35 for a *pud* of *legia* silk and R 30 for *ardas* in the event that the Armenians, having failed to dispose of their goods elsewhere, were forced to sell them to the Muscovite Treasury.[70]

Among the first Armenian merchants visiting Moscow under the new treaty was Stepan Romodamskii, an agent of a prominent Julfan Zakharii Savel'ev who expressed willingness to supply any goods to the tsar. Romodamskii carried R 8,326.97 (at Isfahan prices) worth of luxury goods and the total purchases made by the tsar reached R 9,062.85.[71] Trade rapidly expanded thereafter, in spite of the centralization of all other Asian trade in Astrakhan'. Meletiia Bogdanov visited Moscow in January 1675 and a month later, Iakov Pogosov followed in his footsteps with 360 *pud* silk and other Oriental goods. Bogdan Gurdei, who visited Moscow in the company of Polish, Persian, and Shemakhian envoys and Armenian merchants carried 1,341 *pud* of raw silk valued at R 41,230. Magmed Shamshiev visited the capital with R 17,340 worth of goods, while Zakharii Iakovlev with eight companions arrived in July with R 15,000 worth of goods on which they paid R 763.76 in duty.[72]

The 1673 treaty failed to meet Muscovite expectations, however. The tsar was unhappy with the limited success in diverting trade from Aleppo—imports to Russia in 1675 totaled just over 1,000 *pud*—and the Russian elite merchants accused the Armenians of deliberately limiting supply in order to drive up prices and began to boycott their silk. Tsar Fedor Alekseevich, however, sought to stimulate silk trade by revising the Armenians' privileges and effectively granting them the unlimited right to direct export trade through Russia. In 1675, the tsar even created a post of silk factor and ordered the governor of Astrakhan' to initiate sericulture in Russia. The Russian concessions had an immediate effect. A petition to export over 500 bales of raw silk via Arkhangel'sk was approved in the spring of 1676 and others followed as a matter of course. In November 1676, Zakharii Iakovlev and Ivan Makar'ev arrived in Moscow with 70

[70] Troebst, "*Isfahan—Moskau—Amsterdam*," pp. 194–8; Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ekonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 118–9; Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, pp. 104–5.

[71] Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 109–12; RGADA f. 100, 1666–74 gg., No 2, fols. 168–9 (*ARO*, pp. 82–3); 1673 g., No 1, fols. 9–10 (*ARO*, p. 101).

[72] Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 144–5; RGADA f. 100, 1675 g., No 2, fols. 75–9, 137–9 (*ARO*, pp. 121–4).

tai, or 6–700 *pud*, raw silk worth R 20,000, as well as other luxury goods.[73]

The Julfans received further backing from the Dutch ambassador Koenraed van Klenck who in 1675/6 petitioned for direct trade between Armenian and Dutch merchants, only to encounter a storm of protests on the part of Russian merchants. Warning against undue regulation of the Armenian trade, Van Klenck promised annual exports of 8,000 bales p.a. which was supposed to generate duty receipts of R 204,000, as well as another R 33,600 in transit dues.[74] In the end, Van Klenck's proposals were accepted without major modification. The Dutch were permitted to trade directly with the Armenians in Arkhangel'sk and the New Julfans regained their permission to travel to Europe with their goods. Matveev in July 1676 informed the Armenians of their restored rights to free transit via Arkhangel'sk. The government even notified the Muscovy Company and Hamburg merchants of the arrival of Persian raw silk in Arkhangel'k.[75]

The rise of Armenian silk trade created a dilemma for the Russian government. In the absence of a domestic navy, the government's target of maximizing customs revenues could only be met by tolerating direct trade between Armenians and foreigners and permitting direct Armenian exports beyond Russia. For instance in November 1676, Saran Lazarev with eight associates was allowed to sail from Arkhangel'sk to the Netherlands to sell raw silk. Other journeys followed in 1680–1 by A. Matveev and S. Sergeev, among others.[76] The obvious risk with this position was that it directly threatened the livelihood of Muscovite merchants. Especially the *gosti*, partially deprived of a significant potential revenue source, repeatedly made their displeasure known. Petitions form 1672 and 1676 detail a typical list of grievances and express the Russians' frustrations with deal-

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[73] RGADA f. 100, 1675 g., No 6, fols. 1–2 (*ARO*, p. 125).

[74] The *gosti*, in contrast, proposed that the Dutch buy their silk from the Treasury at a price that would be comparable to that available in the Ottoman Empire. Troebst, "*Isfahan-Moskau-Amsterdam*," pp. 195–204; Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 149, 150a; Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, p. 107; RGADA f. 100, 1675 g., No 3, fols. 490–523 (*ARO*, pp. 490–523).

[75] Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, p. 108; *Posol'stvo Kunrada Fan-Klenka*, p. 463; Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, p. 155; RGADA f. 100, 1679 g., No 1.

[76] RGADA f. 100, 1676 g., No 16, fols. 2–4 (*ARO*, pp. 152–3); Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, p. 163.

ing with skilled and wealthy businessmen who used their privileges and bargaining power to the fullest.[77] Nonetheless, for instance a 1679 complaint by Russian merchants that the Armenians were pushing them out of their intermediary role in silk trade now fell on deaf ears. The shah also issued an order forbidding his subjects to sell silk to anyone other than the Armenians who were forced to bring it all to Russia, so as to prevent any of it reaching Turkey.[78]

After the liberalization of trade, the scale of Armenian operations in Russian grew apace. Between 1675 and 1681, the New Julfans brought nearly R 4,500 *pud* colored silk to Astrakhan' and there was a growing number of very substantial consignments of goods. For example in 1690, Stepan Safarov with 17 companions shipped R 33,608 worth of goods to Moscow.[79] The number of merchants active in this trade steadily rose from a handful to exceed 10 by the late 1680s to reach 21 in 1695 and 24 in 1696. The expansion of trade was accompanied by the establishment of a permanent Armenian community of merchants in Moscow. A December 1685 decree by Tsars Ivan and Peter ordered Vasilii Golitsyn to investigate the state of the Persian-Armenian community of the capital. V. Voskanian estimates that more than 300 Armenian merchants and commercial agents spent time in Moscow between 1667 and 1700.[80]

During the late 1670s and early '80s, most Armenian merchants operated on the Astrakhan'-Moscow-Arkhangel'sk axis. However, many of them began to show growing interest in expanding their operations to the Swedish Eastern Baltic ports. The Muscovite authorities chose to accommodate this interest and Safar Vasil'ev and Anush Vardanov became on September 1, 1686 the first Armenians to receive permission to proceed to Novgorod and on to Sweden. Zevakin suggests that the Russian flexibility on the issue was motivated by a desire to gain the shah's support—whether tacit of explicit—in the war against the Ottomans. However, as Baiburtian suggests, that the Russian membership in the Holy League and the desire for a *rapprochement* with Sweden may have been no less important.[81]

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[77] Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 160–1.

[78] Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, p. 111; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 58.

[79] Kukanova, *Ocherki*, p. 58; RGADA f. 100, 1690 g., No 8, fols. 5–6.

[80] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, I, pp. 113–4; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 89–99; Voskanian, "Les Arménians," p. 442; RGADA f. 100, 1684 g., No 7, fols. 1–2.

[81] Zevakin, "Persidskii vopros," p. 153; Baiburtian, *Armianskaia koloniia*, pp. 112–3; RGADA f. 100, 1686 g., No 5.

The initial diversification of operations soon led to a complete diversion of silk trade to the Baltic. The last known Armenian to have journeyed to Arkhangel'sk was Bagdarar Il'in who in October 1691 departed from the northern port with cloth, mirrors, books, etc.[82] The Novgorod route, in contrast, came to see the peak of New Julfan trade in late Muscovy with individual consignments often valued in the tens of thousands of roubles.[83] The Armenians also made use of their right to overseas travel and, for instance in 1696, took 67,300 pounds of raw silk to Lübeck.[84] The expansion on the Baltic axis revealed the wisdom of the Muscovite assumptions in 1667 that Armenian trade would considerably enrich the Treasury, even if this in the end happened at the cost of a gradual loss of Russian control on the direction of this trade. In 1695, Peter communicated to Persian envoys his desire to expand Armenian trade even further. Peter explicitly recognized the role of silk trade in further stimulating Western European interest in the Russian market and enquired about possibilities of foreign commercial missions traveling to Persia through Russia.[85]

In spite of the growing dominance of the New Julfans in Persian-Armenian trade, their control was never absolute. Also some non-Armenian merchants from Persia continued to operate in the Russian interior. In 1678, Mirin Bechkohov, an envoy of the Shamakhi khan, was authorized to take his goods to the Arkhangel'sk fair and even to sail to Western Europe in the event that his goods were not sold in Arkhangel'sk. Mirimbek Khodzha Vagidev, another Shamakhian envoy, in 1680 sailed to Western Europe via Arkhangel'sk.[86] Aga Kerim, who in 1694 sold Persian Treasury goods in Moscow, was,

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[82] RGADA f. 100, 1691 g., No 2, fols. 8–10.

[83] In 1691, Stepan Safarov brought some R 60,000 worth of silk (2,045 *pud*) for export via the Baltic. The silk was valued at R 100,000 in Western Europe. In 1693, Safar Vasil'ev paid R 2,293 in customs duties on some R 46,000 worth of goods at Astrakhan' prices. Agadzhan Gasparov and Bogdan Moiseev paid R 1,598 in duties in Astrakhan'. Parsei Vasil'ev with his companions brought R 12,000 worth of goods, while Iakub Sergeev paid R 2,023 in duties on R 20,000 worth of goods. In October 1695, Grigorii Davydov brought R 23,183 worth of goods to Astrakhan.' Two months later, Arakel Petrov and Grigorii Terent'ev followed with cargo worth R 22,831. Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 174–5; RGADA f. 100, 1694 g., No 1, fol. 3; No 3, fols. 2–6; No 5, fol. 10; 1695 g., No 8, No 9, fol. 1.

[84] EAA 1646–1–1089.

[85] Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 176–8; RGADA f. 100, 1695 g., No 7, fols. 48–9.

[86] Vorob'eva, *Azerbaidzhano-russkie torgovye sviazi*, p. 106.

similarly, permitted to travel to Arkhangel'sk and the West, a trip he ultimately completed. This relative permissiveness likely again reflected Russian hopes for Persian support and sympathy during the Ottoman war.[87]

Nor did the activities of Russian merchants in Persia ever cease altogether. In the 1670s and '80s, *gosti* and merchants of the Hundreds sent a known total of 21 consignments of goods to Persia and Trans-Caucasia. O. Filat'ev, S. Luzin, V. Voronin, S. Iakushev, and V. Gorezin were among the *gosti* active on this route. Among other things, they dispatched 2,394.5 *iufti* and 23,000 sable skins, as well as substantial quantities of West European cloth and metal products, to Persia. In contrast, trade with the Northern Caucasus was virtually entirely conducted by Astrakhan' and Terskii gorod *strel'tsy* and townsmen.[88]

In spite of the dramatic expansion of Armenian-Russian trade, the conditions facing the Julfans in Russia were far from optimal. Armenians visiting Moscow were expected to first present their wares at the tsar's Treasury which had the first right of refusal. While the authorities often purchased goods from the New Julfans, they were apparently much less conscientious about paying for them. For instance, Stepan Romodamskii in 1673 complained of R 1,500 owed to him by the government and the difficulty of conducting normal trade in Russia because of the cash shortage such behavior caused. The Armenians were further disadvantaged by the fact that they did not enjoy an automatic right to purchase furs and other goods and the Siberian Chancellery.[89] Many problems persisted even later on. A 1690 petition by 17 Armenian merchants speaks of lengthy delays, illegal levies, bad river barges, fear of Kalmyk and Tatar attacks, corrupt officials, etc.[90]

How extensive was Persian-Russian trade in the 17th century? The available quantitative evidence on the scale of the official trade is reviewed in Table 3 and Figure 1. The shah's known exports to Russia in most years clearly exceeded R 10,000 and could be greater

[87] Zevakin, *Ocherki*, p. 34–5.

[88] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, pp. 110–1.

[89] However, Romodamskii, having presented the tsar with R 736 worth of gifts, was given the right to purchase 3,240 sables worth R 5,700 and R 300 worth of walrus tusks from the Siberian Chancellery. Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, p. 113; RGADA f. 100, 1673 g., No 1, fol. 14 (*ARO*, pp. 102–3).

[90] Voskanian, *Armiano-russkie ėkonomicheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 183–4; RGADA f. 100, 1690 g., No 2, fols. 27–8.

than R 100,000. The export volumes of the Shah of Shamakhi appear to have been perhaps 10–20 percent of that. Our data on the official Russian exports is more fragmentary and suggests smaller totals than in the case of Persian exports. However, the data is calculated with Moscow prices which in many cases were significantly lower than the going rates for sought-after Russian products in Persia. The commercial activities of the New Julfa Armenians grew rapidly in the last quarter of the 17th century and became an important—in some years clearly the most important—component of Russian-Persian trade. Their total annual value at least once exceeded R 100,000, although it usually tended to vary in the range of R 10–40,000. The regular trade conducted by other private traders pales in comparison to these often impressive totals. However, it was undoubtedly the case that Persian and Caucasian trade accounted for most of the R 50,000 figure estimated for Astrakhan''s annual exports above. R 3–40,000 might not be an excessive estimate. Summing up then, the total annual trade between Persia and Russia early on reached the level of tens of thousands of rubles and appears to have peaked at perhaps as much as R 250,000, imports and exports combined.

Trade with Central Asia

The khanates of Bukhara and Khwārazm (Khiva) were the second major destination (after the Safavid lands) of shipments departing from Astrakhan'. 81 consignments of goods are known to have been sent from the Volga port to Central Asia in the 1670s and '80s, 19.9 percent of the total number of documented cargoes sent across the Caspian in various directions.[91]

Although commercial ties between Russia and the Central Asian khanates were of long standing, they underwent a significant transformation in the one and a half century following the Russian takeover of Kazan' and Astrakhan'. Much as with Persia, the new proximity of Central Asia and Muscovy led to regular diplomatic interactions which, in turn, stimulated trade and often constituted an important element of it with the local khans exporting hides, saddles, bridles,

[91] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, pp. 85, 89.

sheepskins, and wooden dishes and importing cotton, silk, and dyes to Russia.[92] In general, Russian trade with Central Asia conformed to the basic trichotomy of Muscovite commerce with Asia more generally. First, there was "ordinary" (*povol'naia*) trade carried out by private merchants. Secondly, there was "official" trade, usually consisting of private merchants selling wares from the tsar's or the khans' treasuries and warehouses. This trade was typically exempt from customs duties. Thirdly, there were gifts (*liubitel'skie pominki*) carried by diplomatic missions, a category which remained of considerable importance throughout the century.[93]

The Central Asian merchants active in Russia operated primarily in Astrakhan', but many of them, like their Persian counterparts, sought to travel further up the Volga. A steady growth in Central Asian interest in the Russian interior led to government attempts to regulate this trade. There were four Bukharans wishing to proceed from Kazan' to Moscow in December 1616 and 16 of them three years later. To limit trade beyond Astrakhan', the government in December 1619 increased the duties levied on Central Asian goods in Kazan'. Whereas the transit dues remained at 1.5 percent, the new levy on "soft" goods—silk, textiles, hides, etc.—was set at 6.5 percent and the rate on weighed goods at 9 percent.[94] At least occasionally, Central Asians journeyed even beyond Moscow. One of them visited Tver' in 1644 and they began to appear in Arkhangel'sk at the end of the century.[95]

Most Central Asian trade with European Russian involved crossing the Caspian and Astrakhan' had at least one and possibly a couple of special vessels (*busy*) for trade with Karagan'. Apparently, these facilities became inadequate over time. Nazar Malik, who served as an envoy of Bukhara, Khwārazm, and Balkh alike, in 1641 tried to convince the Astrakhan' local administration to double the number of vessels between the Volga port and Karaganskie pristanishche to four. Typically, Russian and Central Asian merchants loaded their goods on the boat in May-June after it had returned from Mangyshlak.

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[92] 13 Bukharan, five Khwārazmian, and two Kazakh embassies visited Moscow in 1569–1600 while four Russian missions traveled to Central Asia in 1578–1600. Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 42; Apollova, "Istoricheskoe znachenie," pp. 332–3.

[93] Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviaze*, pp. 70–1.

[94] Ziiaev, *Ŭrta Osiĕ va Volga bŭlari*, p. 28 ff.; Burton, *The Bukharans*, pp. 469–71.

[95] Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 147.

In September, the vessel was loaded again with goods destined for Central Asia. The duration of the journey on the Karagan'-Bukhara route was 28–40 days. Undoubtedly in reflection of the growth in trade, the Khan of Khwārazm in 1675 proposed to Aleksei Mikhailovich that a city be built at Mangyshlak to serve as a meeting place for the merchants of the two sides.[96] In addition to seaborne exchange, many caravans took the land route around the Northern Caspian which went from the Iaik to the Emba and on to Urgench, Kharasan, and Bukhara. Other roads were said not to exist. The so-called Khiva road, the main overland connection came into being in the 1640s.[97]

The ordinary private trade tended to rely very heavily on Central Asian merchants selling relatively cheap and popular products in Russia. By far the most important category were various types of light cotton cloth (*kindiaki*), especially a variety known as *zenden'*. In addition, there was silk cloth (*shai*), various utensils, dyes and paints, as well as finished cotton textiles. Central Asian merchants frequently also brought Indian, Chinese, and Persian re-exports to Russia. These included luxuries, pearls, spices, and precious stones. Bukharans in 1671 indicated their preparedness to supply Russia with saltpeter.[98] One of Boris Pazukhin's assignments as the Russian envoy in 1672 was to find out more about Bukharan sericulture and to encourage silk trade between the two countries. Pazukhin found that also Khwārazm was an important supplier of silk to Bukhara. Khiva was said to produce at least 1,000 *pud* p.a. and to sell it at a per-*pud* price of *c.* R 34.[99] The overall scale of the activities of Khwārazm and Bukhara merchants appears to have been relatively limited, however. The surviving evidence from the Astrakhan' records points to only 312 *iufti*, 1,000 pieces of wooden utensils, some squirrel pelts, etc. A February 1687 purchase of 1,720 sable bellies for R 223.17

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[96] Kostomarov, *Ocherk*, p. 48; *Materialy*, pp. 161, 225; Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 143.

[97] Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 85–7.

[98] An envoy Mullo Farrukh informed Duma Secretary Ivan Astaf'ev that Bukhara had "a lot of saltpeter and [it was] better than Persian [saltpeter]." According to the envoy, raw silk was available at R 2 a *pud* while saltpeter cost 10 *dengi* a *pud*. RGADA f. 109, kn. 1, fols. 51–2, 54, quoted in: Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 58, 162; *Materialy*, p. 319; Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh*, pp. 71–2, 79.

[99] Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 175–6; "Nakaz Borisu i Semenu Pazukhinym," p. 60.

by a Bukhara merchant was already quite unusual by the modest standards of this exchange.[100] The available data on this route is summarized in Table 8.5.

Also Russian merchants were active participants in trade with Central Asia. The available data on their numbers is scarce, but fragmentary customs data suggests figures in the order of 23–43 a year. A Khwārazm envoy, Amīn Bahādur in 1643 claimed that "40–50 [Russian] merchants went to Khiva every year and many of them went to Bukhara and Balkh, where they spent 2 to 3 years selling their wares."[101] Indeed, Central Asia was unique among Muscovy's Oriental export destinations in the 17th century in that Russian merchants played a much more prominent role as active exporters than they did in Persian or Caucasian trade. Thus in the 1670s and '80s, they exported at least 6,822 *iufti* to Khwārazm and Bukhara, which was 95.6 percent of the total known *iuft'* exports on the route. Their dominance in the exportation of wooden utensils was equally commanding. In addition, they exported flour (1,476 sacks and 5 *chetvert'*) and furs: 28 sables, 257 beavers, 451 otters, and 88 squirrels. Other exports included clothing, leather goods, metals goods, and haberdashery.[102] Among the Russian merchants, Central Asia trade was almost entirely conducted by townsmen and musketeers. Privileged merchants accounted for only three of the 74 recorded consignments of wares exported by Russians in the 1670s and '80s. *Gosti* and merchants of the Hundreds exported 1,046 *iufti* as compared to 5,776 exported by other Russians. However, privileged merchants are likely to have been the main exporters of Treasury furs of which R 4,251 worth was sent to Central Asia in 1665 alone.[103]

In contrast to the relatively modest scale of private trade, diplomatic caravans and official merchants invariably carried substantial quantities of goods. M.V. Fekhner estimated the value of the goods sent to Moscow by the Shah of Bukhara, Abluda, in 1585 at R 2,000–2,500. Goods from the ruler of Khwārazm, Azim, in the same

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[100] Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, p. 119; RGADA f. 214, kn. 921, fols. 497[v].

[101] Burton, *The Bukharans*, p. 500; *Materialy*, pp. 364–75; Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 85.

[102] *Materialy*, p. 211; Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 109.

[103] However, a Kazan' merchant Ivan Myl'nikov in 1646 lost R 550 worth of sables in Khiva. Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 253; Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi Astrakhani*, p. 112.

year were almost equal in value. In 1622, a Russian envoy I.D. Khokhlov, returning from Bukhara, had to request that five *busy* be sent to Kabalykskoe pristanishche to carry his purchases.[104] In 1634, Khadzhi Atakuli, a merchant sent by the Bukhara Khan to Moscow, carried R 4,891 worth of goods, mainly different types of cloth but also 735 *funt* silk, by the time he reached Iaroslavl'. In 1635, Imam-Kuli-khan sent to Russia his merchant Bebut with R 3,788 worth of goods. In 1640, Balkh Khan Nadir-Mukhammed demanded the return of R 7,500 worth of goods belonging to a merchant Shakh-Usein who had died in Moscow. In 1646, a Khwārazm envoy Nazar Nadyrkulov lost an even more impressive array of goods to highway robbers in the Urochishche Beluzh'e on his way to Astrakhan'. In 1671, Astrakhan' townsman Anisim Gribov was given R 10,000 worth of goods from the Treasury for his trip to Bukhara.[105] A diplomatic caravan headed by Nazar Mahomet in 1671 is supposed to have carried R 200,000 worth of gifts for the tsar, a probably highly exaggerated figure, but the envoys and merchants were raided by Kalmyks on the Iaik. A Muscovite diplomatic caravan of Daudov and Kasymov was raided by a Iaik Cossack Vas'ka Petrov in 1677 and the total losses were said to exceed R 70,000.[106]

Some estimates of the overall importance of this "official" trade can be based on the available quantitative evidence on diplomatic missions. We know of nine Russian diplomatic missions to Central Asia in the course of the 17th century. Bukhara (and Balkh) sent 16 missions and Khwārazm 26 in the opposite direction.[107] However, it should be noted that many of the Central Asian envoys visited only Astrakhan' or other provincial towns, usually Kazan', Samara, or Iaroslavl'. While full embassies could often carry more than R 5,000 worth of goods, the wares brought by the Central Asian diplomats to the provinces may well have been less impressive. Assuming an average value of R 3–5,000 on the goods carried by these envoys, the total value of this official trade should have ranged between R 153,000 and R 255,000 for the century as a whole, an annual average of R 1,500–2,500.

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[104] Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 115.

[105] These included R 4,251 worth of sables, R 2,500 worth of gold pieces, R 268 in cash, and R 100.20 worth of walrus tusks, and various textiles. *Materialy*, pp. 143, 152–3, 192, 198, 211, 220.

[106] Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 210.

[107] *Materialy*, pp. 400–17.

Russian-Central Asian trade, perhaps even more than in the case of Persia, was subject considerable year-to-year fluctuations. Commercial exchange was vulnerable to endemic political instability in Central Asia, for example civil war in Khwārazm in the early part of the century. In contrast, the military campaigns of the Bukhara Khan Imam-Kuli in 1611–42 significantly enlarged the territory of the khanate and improved the security of merchants. His reign saw a marked increase in Russian-Bukharan trade, further supported by diplomatic activity in Moscow and Tobol'sk. Russian-Bukharan trade declined again around the middle of the century due internecine warfare, campaigns against India, and destructive raids by the Khwārazm Khan Abū 'l-Ghāzi. Similarly, various local lords frequently stopped caravans to demand dues and bribes. Evidently also Russian local administrators were no strangers to such behavior.[108] The various nomadic hordes of Inner Asia—Kalmyks, Cossacks, etc.—remained a threat to merchants and diplomatic caravans throughout the century. The Iaik Cossacks appear to have been especially destructive in the 1620s and '30s. Similarly, pirates frequently raided the *busy* plying between Astrakhan' and Karagan'. In the '30s, a group of Kalmyks temporarily seized the northern littoral of the Caspian and conducted raids on Khwārazm from there. The unpredictability of the Kalmyk hordes made joint Russian-Central Asian action against them a high priority for Bukharan and Khwārazmian missions to Moscow starting in the '40s.[109] Also local rulers engaged in arbitrary behavior. Commercial activity was virtually paralyzed for a while following an August 1646 raid by Abū 'l-Ghāzi on a caravan of 25 Russian merchants traveling from Bukhara to Khiva and the arrest of its members. Aleksei Mikhailovich, on hearing of the incident, ordered all Central Asian merchants in Astrakhan' detained until the Russians were duly returned. The exact duration of the crisis is unknown, but Khiva merchants, concerned about their interests in Astrakhan' and elsewhere, demanded the release of the Russians. Things appear to have reverted to normal by early 1649 with the Astrakhan' *voevody* instructed to extend every courtesy to visiting Central Asian envoys.[110]

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[108] A Bukharan envoy Shaikh Bobo in 1644 complained in Astrakhan' of duties levied on government trade. Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 44–7, 84, 97, 103, 108, 123, 145, 153.

[109] Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 91, 123, 136.

[110] *Materialy*, p. 328; Burton, *The Bukharans*, p. 478.

Government intervention on several occasions had an adverse effect on trade volumes. The Russians in 1653 decided to declare rhubarb a state monopoly. Rhubarb, which came from western China, Mongolia, and Tibet, was widely used in Russia and Europe as an astringent drug. Up to that time, Bukharans had made considerable profits in supplying the sought-after root to Moscow, a representative example being a large consignment of 826.5 *pud* shipped to Tara in 1653/4.[111] Trade further suffered from the New Commercial Code and the Armenian silk monopoly. Many Bukharans had carried silk among their goods, the khanate having an established tradition of sericulture and textile production. Aleksei Mikhailovich, however, took pains to reverse the decline. An ambassador was sent to Bukhara to promote "free trade" between the countries and a visiting Bukharan envoy was granted exceptional leeway in his commercial activities. The tsar also agreed to permit Bukharan merchants to trade for money or goods at the frontier, something that significantly violated the spirit of the New Commercial Code. A Moscow envoy Daudov in 1675 was told to inform his Central Asian interlocutors that Bukhara traders were to be given free access to Moscow and supplied with food and transportation.[112]

The gifts sent to Russia by Central Asian rulers tended to consist of various types of expensive cloth, rugs, beaver and steppe tiger skins, morocco leather, saddles, cotton, precious stones, and weapons of various kinds: sabers, shields, etc.[113] The Russian gifts tended to reflect the exports carried by merchants. Thus for instance, Abdul-Aziz-khan in 1643 requested hampers, clocks, cloth, sets of armor, etc, whereas the Khwārazm khan in 1670 asked for Western luxuries, sables, fish bone, and squirrel fur coats.[114] Savin Gorokhov and Anisim Gribov in 1641 took a gift including R 300 worth of sables to the Bukharan khan. The Bukharan envoy, Mullo Farukh was in 1671 given R 700 worth of sables for the khan and R 50 worth for himself. Boris Pazukhin, traveling to Bukhara in late 1671, carried,

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[111] Burton, *The Bukharans*, pp. 482–3, 514; Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin*, p. 10.
[112] Burton, *The Bukharans*, pp. 488, 490–1.
[113] Evidently, Russian envoys also received cash. For instance, Boris Pazukhin was in 1672 given a stipend of R 1,250 on his departure. Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, pp. 61, 180; Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 78.
[114] Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 79.

among other things, R 1,445 worth of walrus tusks for the khan. Mukhammad Iusuf Kasymov, on his way as the Russian envoy to India in 1676, presented the khan of Balkh with R 261.30 worth of sables, cloth, hides, mirror, and walrus bone.[115] A particular category of goods in great demand were hunting birds: hawks and gyrfalcons. However, the Russians jealously guarded their monopoly in such birds and Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in 1623 categorically forbade a Bukhara envoy to export gyrfalcons. Illegal hunting of such birds was to be punishable by death. The gifts sent to Central Asian rulers with the 1646 embassy of Anisim Gribov included 3 gyrfalcons, as well as 680 sable skins, 12 fox skins, 1 *pud* of walrus bone, and R 10,000 worth of other goods. Khodzha Farrukh in 1675 received a gyrfalcon, as well as R 490 worth of sables skins.[116]

An important category of Central Asian trade with Russia in the early modern period was the commercial activity of especially Bukhara merchants in Siberia. Geography "naturally" placed the Siberian border fortresses in the economic sphere of influence of Central Asia and commercial interaction between the two regions significantly predated the Russian conquest of Kuchum Khan's lands.[117] In an effort to supply its new colony with basic necessities, the Muscovite government actively encouraged commercial exchange with Central Asia. The local administration in Tara was in 1596 ordered to let Bukhara merchants pass freely, clearly with the expectation that they would bring cattle and horses, as well as other goods, to the agriculturally underdeveloped region. The same year, Bukhara and Nogai merchants were granted the right to trade free of customs payments. The first guesthouse in Tobol'sk was constructed in 1601.[118] The dependence on Bukharans was especially great during the Time of Troubles which left Siberia more or less to its own devices. Vasilii Shuiskii in 1607/8 sent envoys to Bukhara in order to persuade merchants to return to the Siberian fortresses that so desperately needed their goods. Merchants were to be guaranteed safe conduct

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[115] Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, pp., 142, 167, 171; RGADA f. 109, kn. 6, fol. 177^{v} (reproduced in: *RIO*, p. 230).

[116] Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 138; Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 253.

[117] Vilkov, *Ocherki*, p. 173.

[118] Miller, *Istoriia Sibiri*, p. 293; Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 83; Burton, *The Bukharans*, p. 506; Vilkov, *Ocherki*, p. 174.

and initially granted an exemption from customs duties. However, by November 1609, visitors to Tiumen' and Tobol'sk were asked to make two payments of a 10–percent toll.[119] The young Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, similarly, resorted to diplomacy to stimulate commercial exchange between Central Asia and Siberia. However, he gradually increased the restrictions on trade in certain goods, forbidding in 1618–20 all dealings in tobacco, hunting-birds, and military equipment. In spite of this, tobacco trade especially remained a perpetual problem which the Muscovite authorities proved unable to successfully combat. In 1646, Aleksei Mikhailovich further banned the export of bullion.[120]

The Russian government further sought to stimulate trade with Central Asia through a special regime of tolls. By 1622, but possibly also during the Time of Troubles, Bukharans paid customs duties at only half the usual rate: 5 percent instead of 10. Tolls in Siberia were not affected by the New Commercial Code, undoubtedly due to a combination of the continued local dependency on trade and relatively limited threat posed by Central Asian merchants. Towards the end of the century, Muscovite policy became stricter and, for instance, the numerous merchants accompanying envoys of Kalmyk khans were in 1699 required to pay a 10-percent toll. There were attempts to apply this new regime to Central Asians as well. By that time, the list of "forbidden wares," moreover, already included sables worth more than R 40 a forty, beaver, foxes, gold coin, weapons, lead, and gunpowder.[121]

The growth of trade was accompanied, and further enhanced, by a gradual settlement of Bukharans in Siberia, an exodus which appears to have begun in the middle of the 16th century.[122] The "yurt" Bukharans, who numbered around 40–60 adults in Tobol'sk and 34–82 in Tara—soon established themselves as a local hereditary commercial elite. The total wealth of the leading members of the community could total a couple of thousand roubles, and some of

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[119] Burton, *The Bukharans*, pp. 506–7; Vilkov, *Ocherki*, p. 177.

[120] Burton, *The Bukharans*, pp. 508, 511–2, 516.

[121] Burton, *The Bukharans*, pp. 510, 512, 516–7, 521; Kostomarov, *Ocherk*, p. 50; Vilkov, *Remeslo i torgovlia*, p. 171; Ziiaev, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 30, 52; Vilkov, *Ocherki*, pp. 178–9.

[122] Miller, *Istoriia Sibiri*, p. 201. For instance, Tara in 1624 had three *iurti* accommodating 21 Bukharans. Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 82.

them had annual turnovers reaching as high as R 4,532, although they typically remained in the tens or hundreds of roubles.[123] Tsar Mikhail authorized Tobol'sk Bukharans to freely travel to Kazan', Astrakhan', and Arkhangel'sk and apparently some "yurt" Bukharans did indeed make use of these privileges. For instance in 1666, Alim Sulemanov claimed to have paid the government more than R 1,000 in duties on his operations in the White Sea port. At the beginning of 1684, a group of Bukharans arrived in Moscow with R 24,866 worth of Siberian and Chinese goods.[124] The Bukharans further enjoyed various extraterritorial rights which made them relatively independent of the local administration. In addition, they were exempted from direct taxation, which gave them an important advantage over their Russian rivals. On the other hand, however, the "yurt Bukharans" frequently faced abuse by the authorities. In many cases, local customs officials and governors resorted to outright theft and customs duties were at times levied at three or four times the usual rate. One, but by no means the only, reason for such abuse were the real or perceived links with the Kuchumites and the Kalmyk princes. Such behavior resulted in repeated government interventions in support of the Central Asians. The Bukharans' rights were reaffirmed in 1686, even though Peter I made ultimately unsuccessful attempts to lift them.[125]

The Russian government took pains to carefully monitor the activities of the visiting Central Asian merchants across Siberia. Tobol'sk—the leading administrative center of the vast new colony—was for most the century was the near-exclusive center of Central Asian trade in Siberia. At times, the Russian government in fact formally forbade trade in smaller towns, for instance in 1646 in Tiumen'.[126] Typically, 1–4 Bukharan caravans a year—with a total of 40–70 merchants—visited Tobol'sk, usually between September and November. However, the 1655/6 total, for instance, was as high as 120. There were even occasional instance of Bukharan diplomats visiting the city, e.g. in 1622 and 1640.[127] The scale of Bukharan

[123] Vilkov, *Ocherki*, pp. 207, 209, 212–4.
[124] Ziiaev, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 29–31; *DAI*, XI, No 67.
[125] Burton, *The Bukharans*, pp. 510, 512, 516–7, 521; Kostomarov, *Ocherk*, p. 50; Vilkov, *Remeslo i torgovlia*, p. 171; Ziiaev, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 30–2; Vilkov, *Ocherki*, p. 208.
[126] Burton, *The Bukharans*, p. 510.
[127] In 1640, an exceptionally large diplomatic mission headed by Kozchiian'

commercial activity in Tobol'sk reached impressive proportions early on. The total turnover of Bukhara traders attained R 3,106 in 1633, followed by R 2,738 a year later, and R 1,827 in 1635. The value of their goods usually amounted to R 3–4,000 a year, although in 1637/8, the total reached R 14,633 (Figure 8.3). It at times exceeded 10 percent of the total sales at the local market. Tobol'sk, however, declined at the end of the century and, according to Vilkov, Central Asians stopped visiting the fortress after 1674.[128]

Tara, further up the Irtysh, was the second most important center of Siberian-Central Asian trade. 20–30 Bukhara merchants—or 2–3 caravans—a year typically visited the fortress, although in 1653/4, there were as many as 69. Their goods were largely identical to those sold in Tobol'sk, albeit less numerous. In spite of this, the leading Bukharan visitors by 1669 had turnovers exceeding R 1,000.[129] Tiumen' was the third most important focus of this trade, albeit clearly behind Tobol'sk and Tara. Combining the figures for the three leading Western Siberian border fortresses would seldom yield more than R 10,000 p.a., in some rare cases R 16,000.[130] In some instances, very large caravans were observed elsewhere as well. In 1687, a group of six Bukhara merchants brought R 10,215 worth of goods to Tomsk. Already the following year, however, the value of such trade fell back to R 297.[131]

More or less regularized Bukharan commercial activity took place also in a number of secondary towns, such as Surgut and Berezov. Some R 100 worth of Central Asian wares were sold in Berezov in an average year. Comparable, and sometimes, greater numbers were taken through the city to other destinations. There were various Bukharan goods available in Surgut in 1674/5, although they were not directly sold by Bukharans.[132] Over time, Bukharan merchants

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consisted of 200 people and carried a wide range of cloth and other goods. *Materialy*, pp. 348–9; Arkhiv Rossiiskoi akademii nauk f. 21, op. 4, No 11, fol. 20^{v} (reproduced in: Dzhamalov, *Torgovo-diplomaticheskie otnosheniia*, p. 140); Ziiaev, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 32, 50.

[128] Ziiaev, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, p. 27; Kabo, *Goroda*, p. 83.

[129] Ziiaev, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 58–65; Vilkov, *Ocherki*, p. 179; *Materialy*, pp. 350–5.

[130] Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 82.

[131] Aleksandrov, *Rossiia na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, p. 105.

[132] Leont'ev, *Torgovlia Berëzova*, p. 315; Ziiaev, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 66, 68, 70; Vilkov, *Ocherki*, pp. 180–2; Vilkov, *Gorod Surgut*, pp. 19–22.

extended their operations eastward. They are known to have visited Krasnoiarsk starting in the 1670s. The largest recorded caravan in 1685 carried R 1,200 worth of goods. By 1684, Bukharans—sometimes together with Jungurians—even extended their operations to Irkutsk. A Bukharan caravan with 90 camels loaded with Central Asian and Chinese goods visited the fort in 1685 and two caravans followed in subsequent years. Trade with Irkutsk declined after the late '80s due to warfare in Mongolia and the reorientation of trade to China.[133]

Alongside with their operations in Siberia, Bukhara merchants were active participants at the Lake Iamysh fair, which was held on the upper Irtysh in the steppe borderlands of Inner Asia during the two weeks leading up to the Feast of the Dormition in August. The fair constituted an important meeting place for a variety of Inner Asian merchants. Bukharans, for instance, sold Chinese and Central Asian goods alike and frequently bought some of their offerings from Kalmyks. The various caravans visiting Iamysh could be accompanied by as many as 700 people, although the number of Russian merchants tended to be much smaller, 48 in 1685 being considered a high number. The lake was an important source of salt and the Russians sent as many as 40 river barges p.a. there in the 1660s and '70s to obtain it.[134] Apparently, however, Kalmyks in the second half of the century made it increasingly difficult to visit the fair and Russian expeditions came to assume the air of armed crusades.[135] The Croatian monk and mercantile theorist Juraj Križanić during his Siberian exile became fascinated with the fair which he wanted to turn into a point on a road to Bukhara and India, as well as a major center of trade with Bukhara and Junguria. He argued that the fair could easily supply 30–40,000 hides a year, as well as cheap cattle. Given the low prices, processed hides could then be taken to Western Europe at a considerable profit. Križanić had especially high expectations for commerce in Indian imports.[136]

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[133] Bakhrushin, *Nauchnye trudy*, IV, p. 121; Vilkov, *Ocherki*, pp. 182–3; Ziiaev, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi*, p. 72; Zalkind, *Prisoedinenie Buriatii k Rossii*, pp. 190–1.

[134] Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, p. 83; Kabo, *Goroda Zapadnoi Sibiri*, p. 69; Ziiaev, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, p. 47.

[135] Ziiaev, *Ėkonomicheskie sviazi*, p. 47; Iuldashev, *K istorii torgovykh i posol'skikh sviazei*, pp. 83–4; Miller, *Istoriia Sibiri*, p. 315; Kabo, *Goroda Zapadnoi Sibiri*, p. 69.

[136] Miller, *Istoriia Sibiri*, p. 352.

Furs typically accounted for more than one-half of the total value of the purchases by Bukharans in Siberia. As early as 1609, Turinsk *voevoda* wrote that duties were levied on furs exported by Bukharans via Tobol'sk and Tiumen'. Central Asia merchants also acquired Siberian furs in Verkhotur'e, Tomsk, Krasnoiarsk, and at the Iamysh fair. At Lake Iamysh, fur purchases accounted for 16.6 percent of the total purchases in 1640–55 and 19.3 percent in 1675–91.[137] Table 5 below summarized the most important Bukharan purchases in Tobol'sk. The leading secondary Russian exports were cloth and castor.

The central problem with assessing the overall scale of Siberian-Central Asian trade is the high frequency of smuggling. Effective control of trade flows across Siberia's vast expanses was impossible. The tsar was indeed, as the proverb had it, far away and so, often, were his administrators. Several valuable commodities were in high demand and the economic incentives associated with smuggling tobacco, rhubarb, etc., must have significantly outweighed the potential costs of detection. New incentives for illicit trade were created by efforts, especially towards the end of the century, to prevent sable sales to Bukharans.[138] Another limitation of the customs books is that they do not give us an accurate sense of Central Asian exports from Siberia, since goods bought with money received from the sale of Central Asian goods—the so-called *tovarnye den'gi*—were not recorded. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in spite of often substantial year-to-year variations, this trade was of considerable regional significance. The data provided by Figure 3 provide a useful bottom-line estimate. We can surmise that the value of exports may have exceeded these totals somewhat. Adding the trade of other Siberian towns would, at various times, have added perhaps as much as 50 percent to this total. It thus seems reasonable to assume that there were years when the total value of Central Asian trade with Siberia could approach R 100,000 in one direction, or perhaps even exceed it, even if there just as clearly were many years with totals short of R 10,000.

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[137] *Materialy*, p. 109; Vilkov, "Kitaiskie tovary," p. 121; Aleksandrov, "Iz istorii russko-kitaiskikh ekonomicheskikh sviazei," p. 205.

[138] Ziiaev, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi*, pp. 57–8.

Trade with India

If the desire to discover a new route to India was the factor that brought the English Muscovy merchants to Russia, the Muscovites themselves were hardly less interested in establishing direct trade with South Asia. However, the realization of their plans proved difficult, even though one Russian, a Tver' merchant Afanasii Nikitin had visited India's Gujarat coast already in the 15th century.[139] The last Muscovite century marks the very tentative beginning of direct interaction with Mughul empire as formal relations were established after several abortive missions. Yet geographic considerations, and perhaps also an enormous culture gap between the two countries, meant that direct Russian-Indian commerce barely reached its infancy by the outbreak of the Great Northern War. In contrast, the story of Indian merchants involved in Russian trade was dramatically different. It is no exaggeration to say that the 17th-century history of Russian-Indian trade is really a story of the great Indian merchant diaspora which established a significant presence in the Muscovite state.

The Russian interest in Indian goods was of long standing and, in fact, explained in part the Muscovites' desire to develop close ties with Persia which could be expected to serve as a transit route to the subcontinent. In the 16th century, Indian goods regularly reached Muscovy via the West. However, after the conquest of Astrakhan', Ivan IV indicated that he wished to open up direct relations with the Mughul Empire in order to expand the trade in Indian spices. Belatedly heeding the tsar's call, Indian merchants appear to have first reached the Volga estuary in 1615–6.[140] Such activity gradually grew and for instance a positive report by an Indian merchant visiting Astrakhan', Kazan', and Moscow in 1645 prompted 25 of his compatriots to travel to the Volga estuary in 1647. However, an Indian merchant Sutur complained to Moscow about the losses suffered by Indians at the hands of a jealous Urgench merchant Devlet Abyz and warned that Indians would no longer return to Astrakhan' undless Abyz was apprehended. In return for the government solving

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[139] *Khozhdenie za tri moria Afanasiia Nikitina.*

[140] *RIO*, p. 6; An Indian merchant Sutur, in a 1648 petition, said he had been living and paying customs duties in Astrakhan' for 25 years. RGADA f. 159, d. 1401, fol. 2. The early history of Russian-Indian contacts is reviewed in: Baikova, *Rol' Srednei Azii v Russko-Indiiskikh torgovykh sviaziakh*, ch. 2.

this problem, Sutur promised a dramatic expansion in Russian-Indian trade and considerable profits for the tsar's Treasury. Sutur claimed—with evident rhetorical flourish—that 10,000 Indian merchants lived in Isfahan and they would all be willing to come to Russia if their security was guaranteed. The tsar's decree of May 1647 ordered the expulsion of Abyz's agent and called upon the local administration to protect the local Indians.[141] By that time, an Indian merchant community had already established itself in Astrakhan'. Sutur wrote to Moscow in 1648 requesting permission to build an Indian guest-house in the city due to the growing number of Indians active there. The permission was duly granted and the building completed the following year, at which time it housed 26 traders who had been living in the city "for a long time."[142] By the 1660s, numerous Indian artisans were settling in Astrakhan' and the government was hoping to use them to set up domestic silk and paint production, among other things.[143]

The Indian community of Astrakhan' grew apace in the second half of the century, even as it became more difficult to operate in the Russian interior. In the 1670s and '80s, more than one hundred Indian merchants permanently resided in the Volga estuary. Apparently, at least some of them were granted passes for Moscow and there were attempts on the part of the Russian administration to extend the generous treatment of the New Julfa Armenians to Indians as well. At least one official made an unsuccesful petition to that effect in 1678 on the basis of the revenues that the activities of Indians generated for the Treasury.[144]

Indian merchants were, among other things, active as creditors. This was one of the advantages that allowed them to flourish even after the introduction of the New Commercial Code when they with increasing regularity appeared both in Moscow and at the Makar'ev fair.[145] The active involvement of Indian merchants in internal Russian trade was extensive enough to prompt a complaint by more than 160 Russian merchants in 1684. According to them, "Indians . . . live in Moscow and Astrakhan' for many years without leaving and

[141] Gol'dberg, "Russko-indiiskie otnosheniia," pp. 141–2.
[142] RGADA f. 127, 1648 g., d. 1, fols. 425–32 (*RIO*, pp. 89–91).
[143] Gol'dberg, "Russko-indiiskie otnosheniia," p. 143.
[144] Golikova, *Ocherki*, pp. 163, 165.
[145] *RIO*, pp. 10–3.

falsely call themselves Astrakhan' inhabitants although they have wives and children abroad in India."[146] Quite clearly, the rules limiting the activities of Indians were not regularly enforced and in 1697, Astrakhan' foreigners were explicitly permitted to visit Moscow again.[147]

The personal story the aforementioned Sutur, who clearly was one of the most prominent members of the Astrakhan' Indian community, is undoubtedly at least somewhat representative of the local Indians more generally. Sutur was a highly mobile commercial operator, who traded in a wide range of commodities—"all kinds of goods" in his own words. His activities covered a considerable distance from Isfahan in the south to Moscow in the north. At one point, he lived for three years in the Russian capital. Business and kinship connections gave the Indian merchant community's activities unusual scope. For example, two of Sutur's brothers were active in Qazvin.[148]

There were some instances of truly significant commercial operations by the Indians of Astrakhan'. In 1663, Indian Armenians visiting Moscow concluded an agreement with the government to provide the Pharmacy Chancellery with medicaments. They offered gifts worth R 10,420 of sable, cloth, and other things.[149] A group of 12 Indian merchants imported R 80,000 worth of Indian goods in 1684. They paid R 8,000 in duty in Astrakhan' and another R 4,000 in Moscow. They acquired R 80,000 worth of Russian and western goods in Moscow and were charged R 6,000 in duty on them in Astrakhan'.[150] According to documents analyzed by R.V. Ochinnikov, 65 Indians operating in Astrakhan' in the closing quarter of the century exported a total of 91 consignments of goods. Their exports consisted of, among other things, 4,000 *iufti*, 1,070 *savry*, nearly 5,000 sables, over 12,000 squirrels, fur coats and hats, as well as, less

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[146] According to them, "From Armenians and Persians . . . these Indians in Astrakhan' and Moscow take goods when they arrive impoverished and with us, your slaves and orphans, they trade and exchange for our goods poor or rejected goods which they themselves cannot get rid of for a long time. They take their own high-quality goods with themselves to Moscow and to the Makar'ev fair and they sell at retain and buy, living in Moscow . . . where they [live] in the old guesthouse in the very best shops roofed with tiles." RGADA f. 56, 1684 g., d. 2, fols. 55–8 (*RIO*, pp. 306–7).

[147] Golikova, *Ocherki*, p. 165.

[148] Dale, *Indian Merchants*, p. 43; RGADA f. 56, 1647 g., d. 1, fols. 8–9, f. 1, 1650g., d. 2, fols. 243–7; 1683g., 1a.5, fols. 370–500 (*RIO*, pp. 85–6, 97–9, 126–30).

[149] Apparently, however, the reception was fairly cool and the Treasury only bought some of their goods and did not pay a premium. Kostomarov, *Ocherk*.

[150] *RIO*, p. 13.

frequently, oil and linen cloth. However, the most important category were western re-exports.[151]

The second aspect of Indian trade—efforts to establish direct relations with the Mughul empire—remained largely in the realm of diplomacy in the 17th century, although Russian traders did express growing interest in the subcontinent. Indeed, it was above all Muscovite merchants who became the driving force behind the Russian diplomatic overtures. The first embassy, headed by Prince Kozlovskii and comprised largely of Kazan' and Astrakhan' merchants, was sent in June 1646, with the mission to learn to know the country and to spend R 5,000 of government money on local goods. The envoys were instructed to take with them R 3–4,000 worth of Treasury goods deemed appropriate for sale in India, as well as R 3–400 worth of gifts. However, the envoys only got as far as Persia where a local official refused them permission to proceed further on account of a war with India—probably over Qandahar—which, they claimed, would endanger the Russians' safety. Just as possibly, of course, they did not want the Russians to do anything that might strengthen their enemy.[152] After this setback, Aleksei Mikhailovich tried to improve relations by ordering *voevoda*s in Astrakhan' to give Indian merchants preferential treatment. Indians were now also permitted to visit Moscow and other cities.[153]

In 1651, there was another abortive mission organized by *Gost'* Vasilii Shorin, evidently in response a petition by Russian merchants: "the merchants and trading people humbly asked the reigning Tsar . . . Aleksei Mikhailovich [for permission] to depart for India for trading purposes and to send the Qizilbash Shah their State Letter about that so that he would allow the *gosti* and trading people to go to India."[154] The merchants took with them at least sable pelts and "Tver' copper."[155] However, they were stopped in their tracks already in northwestern Persia, "because most of the goods that the emissaries were carrying for trade in India were extorted, plundered or

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[151] Ovchinnikov, "Obzor dokumentov," pp. 217–27.

[152] Simultaneously with the mission, Onisim Gribov was sent to Bukhara with a brief to find out whether the Central Asian Urgench-Bukhara route would be more suited for trade with India than the Persia route taken by the embassy. Baikova, *Rol' Srednei Azii*, p. 53; Dale, *Indian Merchants*, p. 93.

[153] RGADA f. 56, 1647 g., d. 1, fols. 10–13 (*RIO*, pp. 86–7).

[154] Dale, *Indian Merchants*, p. 90; RGADA f. 1, 1651 g., d. 1, fols. 1 (*RIO*, p. 99).

[155] RGADA f. 77, kn. 14, fol. 257 (*RIO*, p. 116).

allowed to be extorted by Safavid provincial officials in Ardebil. . . ."[156] This would seem to lend further support to the hypothesis that the Persians were opposed to formal ties between Russian and the Mughul empire. In 1667, Shorin petitioned the tsar for R 837.70 in compensation for the losses suffered by his retinue.[157] In December 1667, A.L. Ordin-Nashchokin enquired with a visiting Khwārazm envoy, Pulat-Mukhammed Razumov, about possibilities for direct trade between Russia and India, likely goods involved in such trade, and routes between the two countries.[158]

The third mission, led by a Bukhara merchant Muhammad Yusuf Qasim in 1675, chose to travel through Central Asia having been informed of good relations between the local Khanates and the Mughul Empire. In preparation for the trip, the authorities enquired among the Indian merchants visiting Moscow what kinds of goods to take along. The merchants' reply revealed sables to be just as valued in India as in the other Asian countries Russian had entered into relations with, often fetching R 10–30 a pair. Other goods of interest were said to include red and green broadcloth, *iufti*, walrus teeth, coral, mirrors, and various types of velvet. In addition, "it will be best of all and most gratifying to the Indian rulers if the [Tsar] allows goods gyrfalcons and hawks to be sent. And the Indian ruler loves to amuse himself with Borzoi dogs. . . ."[159] The Russians eventually took with them sable, broadcloth, coral, leather, and mirrors worth some R 800. The sables alone—160 skins—were valued at R 500. There were also 60 *iufti* valued at R 2 a piece.

The envoys were given specific instructions which, among other things, ordered them to request that Emperor Aurungzeb send a mission to Russia. Any merchants accompanying it were to be allowed to trade free of duty. In addition, the Russian were instructed to look for masters of various arts, including stone bridge construction. Perhaps most importantly, the Russians petitioned that the Indians should send 2–3,000 *pud* silver p.a. to Russia for which they would be paid with sables, ermine, leather, broadcloth, etc.[160] However, in

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[156] Dale, *Indian Merchants*, p. 93.
[157] Baikova, *Rol' Srednei Azii*, pp. 54–5.
[158] Kurskov, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie vzgliady*, p. 233; *RIO*, pp. 162–71.
[159] RGADA f. 56, 1675 g.d. 1. fols. 83–4 (*RIO*, pp. 189–90); Baikova, *Rol' Srednei Azii*, pp. 65–6.
[160] *RIO*, p. 200. N.B. Baikova suggests that the request for silver was associated with the Russian government desperate efforts to finance the ongoing war with

1676 the caravan was stopped in Kabul, possibly because an Afghan-Mughul war or a rebellion in Delhi, but just as conceivably due to a perceived Russian violation of the diplomatic etiquette. The shah ordered the mission to be sent back with its wares, gifts included. The ambassadors were to be given R 2,000 from the Treasury and escorted back to the border.[161]

In 1695, the Russians dispatched the last 17th-century embassy to India. For the venture, the Muscovite authorities once again turned to one of their own merchants, a Semen Malen'kii. The embassy carried valuable sables worth R 200 a timber. The mission traveled through Shamakhi and Isfahan. It reached the Indian port of Surat without obstacles and received a passport for non-stop transit. The value of goods sold and purchased must have been substantial. On its return journey, the ambassadors' ship was twice attacked by corsairs in the Gulf of Persia and the total losses alone reached R 18,519.48. However, Peter I evidently was less interested in India than his father had been. The members of the embassy were not ordered to perform diplomatic functions or to gather intelligence. The only petition to Aurungzeb was that he assist the Russian merchants with the commercial operations. Malen'kii and his companions met the Mughul emperor at his campaign headquarters in Burhanpur and received the right to free trade in his dominions during their stay. During their time in Delhi, they bought indigo and various cotton textiles. The mission lasted for five years.[162]

Trade with China

Sino-Russian relations grew out of the gradual Muscovite expansion into Siberia. The key Siberian cities—Tiumen', Tobol'sk, Tomsk, Eniseisk, and Irkutsk—eventually became way stations of the Beijing road.[163] The challenges presented by Chinese trade were exceptional,

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Poland. Indeed, attempts to gain credit in the West had met with limited success. However, the embassy's instructions clearly stipulated that no special exemptions from duties would be made for Indian merchants in Russia. Baikova, *Rol' Srednei Azii*, pp. 59–61–3, 65–6.

[161] Baikova, *Rol' Srednei Azii*, pp. 62–3.

[162] Baikova, *Rol' Srednei Azii*, pp. 72–3; Dale, *Indian Merchants*, pp. 94–5; *RIO*, pp. 356–77.

[163] Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin*, p. 3.

however, given that trade with the Middle Kingdom involved longer distances—over vast and sparsely-populated territories marked by climatic extremes—than any other aspect of Russian trade. It took an average of three years to complete a trip from Moscow to Beijing and back. The trip between Nerchinsk—the Eastern extreme of the Muscovite leg of the route—and Beijing alone (the dominant route at the end of the century) took three months in one direction.[164]

Russian interest in China grew out of more localized trade between Muscovites and the nomadic hordes of the Mongolian plains. For example, the Jungurs had more or less regular commercial relations with the Irtysh valley, although substantial trade tended, for security reasons, to cluster around diplomatic missions which enjoyed protection and special privileges. For instance in the autumn of 1624, the Jungurs sent 200 horses for sale in Ufa and such trade is said to have been quite profitable for the city. The economic benefits were clearly mutual and economic factors appear to have been paramount in prompting the Jungur leader Urliuk to maintain peaceful relations with the Siberian fortresses until the 1640s. The elite of the Siberian serving Tatars, similarly, often used their diplomatic missions to the Kalmyk steppes as a way to acquire horses which they then sold in the Russian interior.[165] Bukharans often played an important role in intermediating nomad trade with Siberia. For instance, the Tara customs records from the late 1660s provide evidence of Bukharans driving Kalmyk horses and cattle to the fortress. However, towards the end of the century, Jungurs appear to have become more active in direct trade with Siberia as the restoration of peace eliminated the need to rely on outside intermediaries. At the same time, the pull of the Siberian fortresses steadily grew as they became an increasingly important source of various Russian and Western goods, especially metal products and leather. The Russian government actively encouraged direct trade by Siberia's nomadic neighbors.[166]

The Lake Iamysh fair became a key focus of trade involving Chinese goods for much of the century and served, moreover, as a

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[164] Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 163–7l; Aleksandrov, *Rossiia*, pp. 206–7.

[165] Jungur activities extended far beyond Siberia. Following expeditions across the Volga, Daian-Erki in 1640 led a Jungur contingent to Astrakhan' where he claimed to expect Kalmyk cattle traders, although he also attacked the city—unsuccessfully—in 1643–4. Batrakov, *Khoziaistvennye sviazi*, pp. 81, 83, 87–9.

[166] Batrakov, *Khoziaistvennye sviazi*, pp. 88, 90; RGADA f. 214, stb. 646, fols. 38–9, 43–4 (reproduced in: *Russko-mongol'skie otnosheniia 1654–1685*, pp. 129, 134).

center of trade with Junghuria. According to a Moldavian nobleman Nicolae Milescu Spătarul ("Spafarii"), "thousands" of Kalmyks, Bukharans, and Tatars sold horses, slaves, and Chinese goods at the fair for 2–3 weeks a year.[167] However, Iamysh eventually declined in importance as direct commercial relations with China were established following the conquest of territories to the east of Lake Baikal in the 1640s. The value of Chinese goods sold at Iamysh reached a peak of R 1,913 in 1683 and then fell to R 628 in 1703. The share of Chinese goods never fell below 51 percent of the total value of "Oriental" goods sold at the fair. Also some official trade took place at Iamysh. For instance in 1685, I. Chir'ev exchanged sable furs for 1,700 *pud* saltpeter.[168]

Primarily Bukharan merchants sold Chinese goods also in Tobol'sk and the government in 1652 decreed that it had a priority right to purchase them during the two weeks following the arrival of a caravan. With time, private trade also emerged between China and eastern Siberia. Chinese goods were available in Eniseisk as early as 1649. R 1,177 worth of Chinese cloth and rhubarb were sold there in 1653. In 1672, 13,000 sable skins were exported from Eniseisk to China and Bukhara. In 1683/4, an estimated R 25,000 worth of Chinese goods were imported via Nerchinsk.[169] Chinese wares were similarly available in Tiumen', Tara, and Tomsk. There was evidently at least some cross-border trade also in the Amur valley. Exchange in the region was heavily dependent on the activities of local populations who, in turn, came to depend on it. The Russian government sought to control this exchange and, in 1673, forbade people to visit China without official passes. It is unlikely, however, that all trade was successfully brought under state control.[170] In the second half of the century, with the gradual colonization of Siberia, Russian merchants began to challenge the dominance of Bukharans.

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[167] Batrakov, *Khoziaistvennye sviazi*, p. 91.

[168] Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 163–7l; Aleksandrov, *Rossiia na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, p. 106.

[169] Vilkov, "Kitaiskie tovary," p. 111; Vilkov, *Remeslo i torgovlia*, p. 173; Aleksandrov, *Rossiia na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, pp. 110, 115.

[170] According to the Mongolian-Jungur historian I.Ia. Zlatkin, the Oirat population of Junguria could no longer subsist without Russian trade in the second half of the century. Quoted in: Aleksandrov, *Rossiia na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, pp. 100–1; Vilkov, *Remeslo i torgovlia*, p. 173; Aleksandrov, "Iz istorii russko-kitaiskikh ėkonomicheskikh sviazei," p. 26.

There is a fair amount of anecdotal evidence of trips undertaken by northern Russian and Siberian townsmen to China.[171] Russians also periodically organized caravans to the borderlands between the two countries. In 1678, a group of merchants, some of them from Vaga, Pinega, Vychegda, and Ustiug, were allowed to depart for northern Mongolia. Chinese merchants, in contrast, did not, as a rule, visit Russia.[172]

The Russian "discovery" of China, in fact presented the Muscovites with an ideal new trading partner. In C.M. Foust's words, "The China market had a double advantage; Chinese finery and exotica could be obtained in exchange for the easily trapped and processed furs and carried back to Russia (and thence shipped to Europe)."[173] Thus Siberian furs could be used to turn Russia into a nexus of intercontinental trade. The Muscovite government had very high expectations for the new market. Government officials in 1674 estimated that exports of R 4,146 worth of furs to China would result in profits of R 14,320.[174]

Geographical factors alone almost inevitably led to more systematic Russian attempts to find out about their Oriental neighbors and to establish direct links with them. Accounts by two visiting Kirghiz princelings in 1608, prompted Tomsk *Voevoda* V.V. Volyn'skii to dispatch an ultimately unsuccessful trading expedition to the Middle Kingdom. In 1616, Tobol'sk *Voevoda* Prince I.S. Kurakin sent a fact-finding mission headed by a Lithuanian prisoner of war, Tomilko Petrov, with the ultimate objective of finding new sources of *iasak* revenues in the Russian-Chinese borderlands. On their return, two members of the mission submitted a report on their findings. Apparently more in the less simultaneously, there had been a mission by Ivan Petrov and Vasilii Tiumenets to establish relations with China. While they gathered information, they apparently did not meet any Chinese.[175]

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[171] Petr Viachanin returned from China in 1682. A group of Tobol'sk townsmen in 1683 joined a caravan of emissaries from Junguria and visited Shungra. There were even occasional Greek merchants. An Instabul Greek "Dmitrii Konstantinov" in the 1680s made two trips between Iamysh and China. In 1685, he imported over R 4,000 worth of Chinese cloth. Aleksandrov, *Rossiia na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, pp. 106–7.

[172] *Ibidem*, p. 112.

[173] Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin*, p. 4.

[174] *RKO*, I, pp. 318–20.

[175] Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 38–40.

These initial efforts were followed by more substantial missions which managed to establish direct contact with the Middle Kingdom. The first such embassy, headed by Ivan Petlin, was sent in 1618–9, still with the active involvement of Kurakin. Petlin's lack of gifts prevented a formal audience at the imperial court, but he did receive a formal invitation for the Russians to trade with China.[176] The next comparable mission followed only in 1653 when Fedor Isakovich Baikov, with a retinue of 100 people, was sent to Beijing along with R 50,000 for purchases of gold, silver, valuable cloths, and pearls. However, the mission was a diplomatic failure as Baikov refused to comply with the Chinese diplomatic protocol. His gifts were returned and he was ordered to leave without any supplies. On his return to Moscow in 1658, Baikov delivered a large array of goods ranging from precious stones and metals to various types of cloth, and even tea. However, the total was valued at only R 1,969.59.[177]

The third Muscovite embassy departed as early as 1657, probably in part to remedy the rift caused by Baikov's actions. It was headed by Ivan Perfil'ev of Tara and a Tobol'sk Bukharan, Se(n)tkul Ablin. They had the mission to conduct trade in China and with the Kalmyks, but also to hire Chinese gold and silversmiths, as well as jewelers for the tsar's service. However, the total amount of money and goods given to them was only R 750. Similarly, the combined value of the goods delivered by Perfil'ev in Moscow in 1662 was a relatively modest R 1,057.19.[178] Also this time, regular diplomatic eluded the Muscovites as the Chinese resented the Russian failure to recognize the Chinese tribute tradition.[179]

Persistent in their efforts, the Muscovite authorities dispatched Ablin on a second mission in 1666. He carried a much larger cargo of R 4,539.83 worth of Russian wares for sale and as gifts. The Russian hopes were finally met, both economically and politically. The Ablin mission yielded a handsome return as the goods he brought back were valued at R 18,751.[180] The emperor expressed his wish

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[176] In fact, Petlin had been given furs by the government, but possibly none were designated as gifts. Mancall, *Russia and China*, p. 43.

[177] Kurts, "Iak povstala derzhavna karavanna (valkova) torhovlia," pp. 250–2. For details, see: Demidova, *Pervye russkie diplomaty v Kitae* and Mancall, *Russia and China*, 44–53.

[178] Kurts, "Iak povstala derzhavna karavanna (valkova) torhovlia," pp. 253–4.

[179] Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 54–5.

[180] Kurts, "Iak povstala derzhavna karavanna (valkova) torhovlia," p. 258; RGADA f. 214. stb. 535, fols. 111–3 (*RMO 1654–1685*, pp. 137–8).

to see more trade with Russia in the future and the caravan was dispatched with provisions and a convoy to the Great Wall. However, due to an unstable political situation in Central Asia, the envoys returned home only in 1672. In the meantime, however, the Chinese sent clear signals of their interest in regular trade to an envoy of the Nerchinsk *voevoda*, Cossack Ignaty Milovanov in 1670. The offer came with strings attached, however, as the Manchus expressed willingness to "exchange . . . commercial privileges for an Amur settlement."[181]

In 1675, the tsar sent a caravan headed by the aforementioned Moldavian nobleman N.M. Sp tarul for the purpose of formalizing commercial relations. The mission was, however, characterized from the beginning by conflicting assumptions of the two sides. Nor did Spătarul's variety of commercial diplomacy do much to endear him to the Chinese. He threatened to cut off Russian commerce and claimed that, while the Chinese needed Russian goods, the Russians had little use for Chinese wares. In his final communication to the Chinese, Sp tarul demanded free travel between the two empires and asked the Chinese to send 40,000 *pud* of silver p.a. to Moscow in exchange for Russian goods sent to the Manchu court. In addition, the Russians hoped to see precious stones. The Chinese, for their part, continued to base economic relations on the assumption of Russia's tributary status. Ultimately, the mission ended in a complete failure.[182] This did little to diminish Russian interest in China, however. Already in August 1678, the tsar ordered the *voevoda* of Verkhotur'e to send R 2,270 (in Siberian prices) worth of Treasury furs from Tobol'sk to China and there evidently were at least some other missions, as well. The next formal Treasury caravan was dispatched in 1684/5, albeit only to Lake Iamysh. However, disputes between the two leaders of the caravan—Fedor Shuil'gin and S. Kulmametev—made the mission a failure.[183]

Regular trade relations ultimately grew out of an armed confrontation between the two powers. When Russian colonists in Siberia reached Dauriia around the middle of the century, they ran into opposition by the Manchus who claimed the Amur basin. The

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[181] Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 58, 62, 64.

[182] *Ibidem*, pp. 75, 82–110; Panaitescu, *Nicolae Milescu Sp tarul*, pp. 33–57; Vergatti, *Nicolae Sp tarul Milescu*, pp. 164–205.

[183] Kurts, "Iak povstala derzhavna karavanna (valkova) torhovlia," pp. 261–2.

Manchu military made it impossible for the Russians to establish permanent settlements along the river and the growing tension came to a head in the sieges of the fortress of Albazin in 1685–6, when the Manchus ultimately forced the Russians to surrender. In a bid to settle the persistent problem, the Russian government in 1685 appointed Fedor Alekseevich Golovin as its first ambassador plenipotentiary to China. His brief was to delineate a border on the Amur and to gain the Russians a secure right to trade in the river valley. He was ultimately authorized to cede not only the Russian settlements along the river but also Albazin, if this could be done in exchange for normal trade relations with the Middle Kingdom.[184]

Golovin's appointment was a success. As a result of two weeks of negotiations led by him in August 1689, a peace treaty was signed in Nerchinsk and the preconditions created for a stable trading relationship.[185] The Russians ended up ceding all rights to the Amur valley, as well as Albazin, but gained a regularized and potentially very lucrative commercial relationship. In C.M. Foust's words, "The Russians preferred the real and concrete advantages of Peking trade to the uncertain benefits of trapping in the Amur basin and sailing the river's waters to an unknown sea."[186] The arrival of the Manchu delegation for the negotiations also marked the beginning of large-scale border trade. In M. Mancall's words:

> As early as September 1689 agents of S. Luzin and O. Filatev went to Russia with large quantities of Chinese goods, probably purchased directly from the embassy. Since 1,416 rubles were collected in customs tithe at Nerchinsk in 1689, at least 14,160 rubles' worth of goods were imported that year from China through the new frontier trading post.[187]

The treaty envisaged Russian caravans to Beijing once every three years, but, in the decade following Nerchinsk, such trips were made more or less annually. The first commercial mission, headed by Golovin himself, departed in December 1689. It was followed in June 1691 by a caravan headed by Nerchinsk *Piatidesiatnik* A.S. Kasarinov. A third convoy, led by Irkutsk *Syn boiarskii* S. Molodoi

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[184] Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin*, pp. 4–5. For more details, see: Cahen, *Histoire*, pp. 33–50.
[185] The treaty is reproduced in: *RKO*, pp. 9–11.
[186] Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin*, pp. 6–7.
[187] Mancall, *Russia and China*, p. 168.

left in late 1692. In July, there followed the official mission of Isbrand Ides, discussed below. Three more commercial caravans were dispatched in 1695–7. Thus the years 1689–97 came to be marked by a flourishing private, or semi-official trade, which was dominated by privileged merchants.[188]

A special decree issued in August 1693 established the formal regulations governing Russian trade with China.[189] Nobody was allowed to cross the Chinese border without an official passport from the Siberian Chancellery. All trade was to pass through Verkhotur'e and Nerchinsk. Official documents were to be inspected in both places and all merchants had to carry a complete list of wares for taxation purposes. New regulations in 1698 simplified the system of taxation and customs duties were now levied only once. In addition, the regulations sought to limit the number of caravans going to China to only one every two years. The officials were apparently concerned that the more frequent traffic since 1694 was threatening to saturate the Chinese market.[190]

The core group of merchants, who dominated this private exchange, consisted of E.I. Filat'ev, S. Luzin, I. Ushakov, and G.R. Nikitin, all prosperous *gosti*. A 1690 inventory by the Treasury Chancellery (*Prikaz Bol'shoi kazny*) put the turnover of the Filat'evs' commercial operations at R 16,000, compared to R 8,400 for the Luzins, and R 1,000 for the Nikitins and Ushakovs alike.[191] The scale of this semi-official trade was impressive and quite comparable with the Treasury caravans, which were less frequent.

During the post-Nerchinsk decade, private trade established itself as an equal of Treasury trade on the route to China. For example, Liangusov's caravan carried nearly R 42,000 worth of Treasury goods, as compared to R 31,490 worth of private wares. In 1699, the exports of Treasury goods via Nerchinsk attained R 65,000, as opposed to some R 52,000 worth of private goods. The corresponding numbers in 1701 were R 76,000 and close to R 40,000, respectively.[192] Russian exports to China were dominated by furs. In 1696 alone, R 50,000 worth of furs were exported via Nerchinsk, almost

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[188] Aleksandrov, *Rossiia na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, pp. 205–6.
[189] *PSZ*, III, No 1474.
[190] *Ibidem*, III, No 1518, 1654; Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin*, pp. 8–9.
[191] Aleksandrov, "Russko-kitaiskaia torgovlia," p. 210.
[192] *Ibidem*, p. 225.

certainly more than through Arkhangel'sk. In addition to furs, the caravans also carried some Russian handicrafts and processed goods. The value of such exports was much less, however: R 2,044 in 1692/3, R 918 in 1695, R 987 in 1696, and R 173 in 1697.[193]

In 1696, total fur exports to China consisted of 7,849 sables, 24,309 sable bellies, 586,660 squirrels, 680 minks, 5,973 foxes, 265,499 ermines, 133 lynxes, 8,241 polar foxes, 283 squirrel coats, 596 hare coats, 113 otter coats, 7 fox coats, and 14 polar fox coats. The total value of these goods was R 47,500.[194] However, there were several restrictions on Russian exports. In particular, it was forbidden to export firearms, gunpowder, and lead, as well as specie. Similarly, several commodities, e.g. ungulate rhubarb and—later—furs, were reserved to the state because they were considered to be especially lucrative items.[195]

The first Treasury caravan after the Treaty of Nerchinsk was headed by an originally Danish merchant, Evert Isbrand Ides who had made his money in Arkhangel'sk trade and by 1688, owned a house in Moscow. His new focus on China represented an attempt to recover from economic setbacks elsewhere. Ides was dispatched in 1692 with an advance of R 3,000 and another R 3,000 worth of Treasury furs. He returned in 1695 and sold R 12,026.80 worth of Chinese goods to the Siberian Chancellery. The tsar's profit rose to R 7,646.82.[196] The next state caravan was sent off two years later, in 1697, headed by Spiridon Iakovlev Liangusov. The caravans were given R 2–30,000 worth of *iasak* furs from Eniseisk. Ultimately, Liangusov entered China with R 7,475 in specie and R 31,284 in furs. The combined value of Liangusov purchases in China exceeded the value of exports by R 24,054.32.[197]

The last Treasury caravan of the century was headed by Grigorii Timofeev Bokov of the *Gostinaia sotnia*. He left Moscow in 1699 and collected furs in a number of Siberian towns, amassing a total of R 26,328.37.5 worth, including 6,390 sables, 9,005 sable bellies, 7,649

[193] These exports were mainly morocco leather and other processed hides. In 1690, there were 180 hides, in 1693: 300 and five bundles, in 1696: 204 and 66 bundles. *Ibidem*, pp. 216–7.

[194] *Ibidem*, pp. 441–6.

[195] Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin*, p. 10.

[196] Evidently, he took R 4,379.98 worth of furs. Kurts, "Iak povstala derzhavna karavanna (valkova) torhovlia," pp. 264–9; Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 188–9.

[197] Kurts, "Iak povstala derzhavna karavanna (valkova) torhovlia," pp. 271–83.

ermine skins, etc. In addition, he also exported R 6,320 in cash, and R 63.54 worth of linen cloth. He returned to Moscow in 1703 with R 75,336.60 worth of Chinese goods.[198] Clearly, Treasury trade with China remained very profitable, the high costs and long distances withstanding. According to V.A. Aleksandrov's estimates, the Ides caravan made a profit of 48.1 percent over three years, the Liangusov caravan earned 15.7 percent over three years, and the Nikitin convoy had a profit rate of 48.6 percent over four years.[199]

As the last Muscovite century was coming to a close, trade with China was revealing itself to be one of the most promising directions of Russian export trade with apparently considerable potential for future growth. Ultimately, however, Russia needed China a great deal more than the Middle Kingdom needed Russian goods. Under the growing regimentation of the caravan trade, especially under the 1728 Treaty of Kiakhta, the bright promise of the 17th century turned to naught as the dreams of Muscovite policy makers and merchants alike were repeatedly frustrated. However, from the perspective of late Muscovite business practices, the dawn of the caravan trade clearly qualified as a great success, indeed one of the most profitable ventures on record in Russian external trade during the era.

Conclusion

In spite of centuries of interaction and a shared historical legacy, Asia became the "new frontier" to Muscovite traders and policymakers in the late 16th and 17th century. Regular commercial interaction on a large and growing scale was established with Safavid Persia, the Central Asian khanates, and eventually also Qing China. Modest exchange which once had revolved around periodic embassies evolved into highly profitable trade with considerable benefits for Russia. Among other things, Oriental trade played an important role in establishing Russian control over the remote and often inhospitable expanses of Siberia. The trade routes cutting through Russia's still imperfectly defined southern and eastern periphery deep into Inner Asia connected with the Volga waterway and central Russia

[198] *Ibidem*, pp. 286–91.
[199] Aleksandrov, *Rossiia na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh*, p. 228.

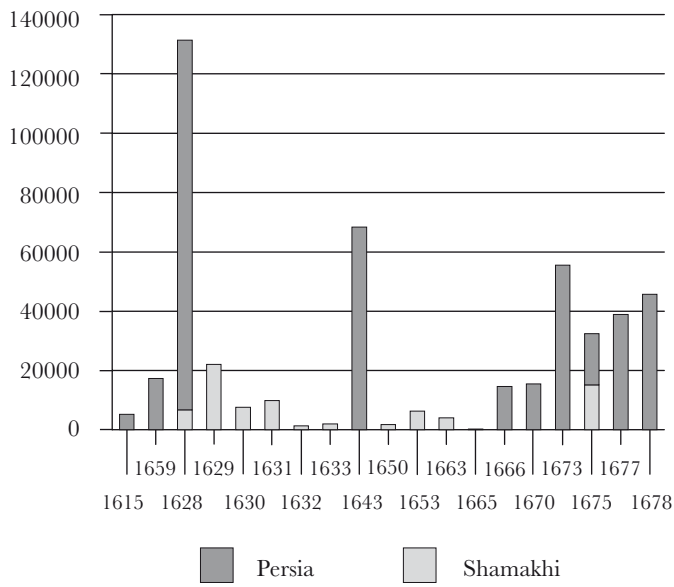
to create the basis for Russia's emergence as a bicontinental commercial power. Many of the goods imported from Asia—and none more than Persian raw silk—were in considerable demand in the West and they turned once-so-peripheral Muscovy into a key intermediary in Eurasian commerce.

How important was Russian commerce with Asia viewed from the broader perspective of Muscovite foreign trade? We have estimated Astrakhan''s annual exports by private merchants at R 50,000 in the 1670s. This figure clearly grew significantly by the end of the century due to the activities of the Armenian merchants alone, which could reach over R 100,000 in the best years, but in the 1670s usually totaled R 10,000 p.a. and in the '90s perhaps R 30,000. Then there was the official, diplomatic trade and presents on the Persian and Central Asian routes, an annual average of perhaps R 25,000 in the first and up to R 2,500 in the second case. The Central Asian trade with Siberia in most years fell short of R 10,000.[200] Direct trade with India was insignificant, while commercial transactions with China were so sporadic that it almost is not meaningful to estimate annual average. A reasonable estimate would be R 20,000 for the closing decade of the century. An overall estimate for the combined imports from Asia in the second half of the century would be in the order of R 130,000 p.a., although it is clear that in some peak years of the end of the century, the total was much higher, perhaps up to R 300,000. This would mean that trade on the southern routes was equivalent to just over one-tenth of that in Arkhangel'sk, although this proportion may have attained one-fifth in the 1690s, or perhaps even more in one-two years. In a number of ways, Asian trade—especially towards the end of the century, began to manifest qualities resembling Russia's European trade. Ultimately, however, trade with Asia was still in its infancy in the 17th century. Important new overtures were made, some more successfully than others and the rate of expansion of trade with the East came to be quite remarkable by the end of the century. Even so, late Muscovy conducted its commercial dealings above all with Western Europe and the true

[200] According to Chuloshnikov's apparently inflated estimate, the total annual value of Central Asian exports to Russia varied between R 4–50,000. Chuloshnikov, "Torgovlia," p. 85.

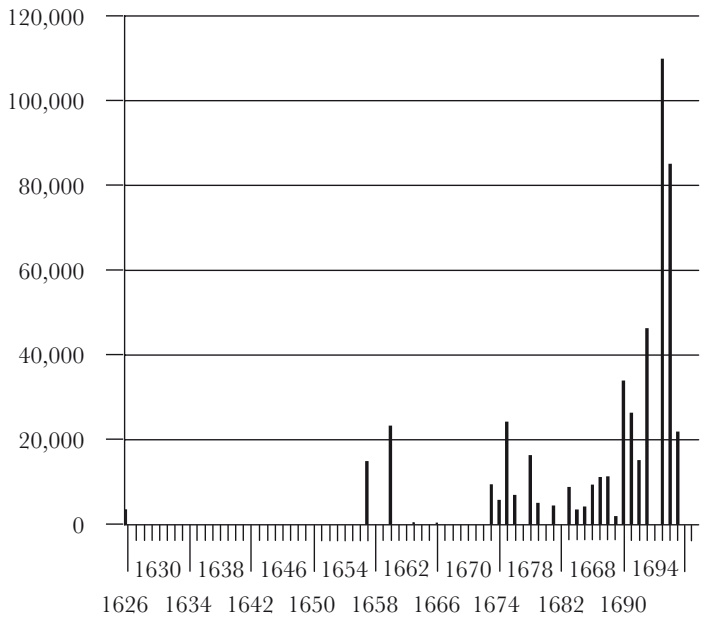
potential of its key position in Eurasian trade did not come even close to being realized during the period under review. New disappointments, of course, followed in the 18th century, leading the Petrine vision little closer to realization.

Figure 8.1. The known value of the goods brought by merchants of the state of Persia and Shamakhi khan to Moscow in the 17th century, roubles



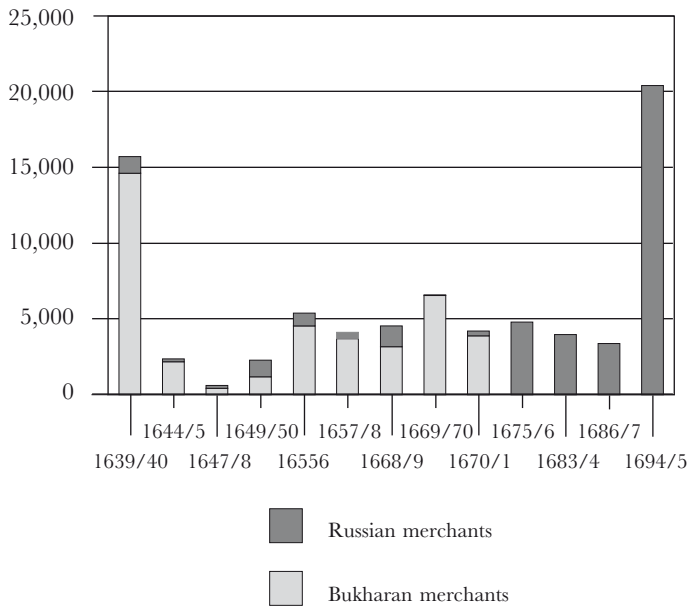
(*Source*: Zevakin, *Ocherki*, I, pp. 109–10)

Figure 8.2. The scale of trade by Armenian merchants, roubles



(*Source*: Zevakin, *Ocherki*, I, pp. 113–4; Kukanova, *Ocherki*, pp. 89–99; RGADA f. 100)

Figure 8.3. Exports of Oriental wares to Siberia through Tobol'sk, 1639–71, roubles



(*Source*: Vilkov, *Remeslo*, pp. 174–9; RGADA f. 214, kn. 44, 181, 231, 263, 327, 348, 371, 410, 533, 540, 547, 752, 797, 892, 1078)

Table 8.1. Astrakhan"s known exports to Asia in the 1670s and '80s (Based on incomplete data)

Good	Quantity	Approximate value, R	Destinations	
			Region	Percent of total
Iufti	19,641	22,500	Persia	56.4
			N. Caucasus	7.3
			Central Asia	36.3
Linen cloth	10,800–11,100 *arshin*	370	N. Caucasus	80.0
			Persia/Trans-Caucasia	20.0
Uklad Iron kettles, shackles, anchors, knives, locks, shovels, axes, frying pans, nails, bells	2,000 *klintsy*		Northern Caucasus	
Wooden utensils (*shchep'e*)[a]	69,761		Central Asia	88.7
			N. Caucasus	9.3
			Persia	2.0
Rye and wheat flour[b]	1,573 sacks 893 *chetvert'*		Central Asia	1,000+ s.
			N. Caucasus	285 s., 295 *ch.*
Sables	36,434	90,000	Persia, Norther Caucasus	
Beavers	291	600		
Otter	451	700		
Squirrels	51,817	1,400		
Hare[c]	1,088	35		
Western re-exports:				
Woollen cloth[d]	49,500–123,400 *arshin*	50–140,000	Persia	95+
			Central Asia	4+

(*Source*: Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, pp. 94–102; ASPF IRI RAN f. 178, op. 1)

a In addition, there were boxes (*korobki*) and chests (*lartsy*), as well as a whole range of other handicrafts ranging from mirrors to different types of leather goods, clothing, and utensils.
b Other agricultural/foodstuff exports included various groats, peas, oats, malts, butter, and tallow.
c There were also regular exports of feathers.
d Cloth dominated the western re-exports, being present in 95 percent of the consignments. Other western re-exports included metals (copper, tin, lead, steel), metal goods (pins, locks, scissors, needles, thimbles), haberdashery, clothing, medicine, etc.

N.B. "Northern Caucasus" here refers to goods sent to Terskii gorod, although some of the exports to Darband also ended up in the region.

Table 8.2. The relative importance of Russian and Asian merchants in Astrakhan's export trade in the 1670s–'90s

	Russian merchants		Asian merchants	
	Quantity	Percent	Quantity	Percent
Russian goods:				
Iufti	10,170	51.8	9,480	48.2
Linen cloth	3,920 *arshin*	35.8–36.6	6,870–7,130 *arshin*	63.3–64.2
Wooden utensils	64,870	92.9	4,880	7.1
Western re-exports:				
Cloth	14,500–35,400 *arshin*	27.1–27.7 *arshin*	35–88,000	72.3–72.9

(*Source*: Ermolaeva, *Torgovye sviazi*, p. 107; ASPF IRI RAN f. 178, op. 1)

Table 8.3. Data on Russian Treasury goods exported to Persia in the 17th century

Year	Treasury Merchant	Value of Goods, Roubles
1625	*Gost'* Tomila Tarakanov	38–46,000
1634	Savka Arapov, merchant	9,899
	Gost' Nadiia Sveteshnikov	24,304
1642	Volynskii, envoy	8,000
1651	Brilin, merchant	13,473
	Rodion and Ivan Nikitin, merchants	17,105
	Klementii Potokin, merchant	10,090
1662	*Gost'* Ivan Tiurin	54,737
1663	Scribe Demidov, Privy Chancellery	76,948
1675	Myshetskii, envoy	1,617

(*Source*: Zevakin, *Ocherki*, I, p. 125)

Treasury Exports in 1663–5	
Type of good	Value, Roubles
Sables, sable bellies	32,747
English cloth	19,497.48
Silver	7,249.08
Gold	3,000
Copper	4,000
Stamedy	4,049.09
Other goods	6,000

(*Source*: Shpakovskii, "Torgovlia," p. 90)

Table 8.4. The shah's merchants visiting Moscow in the 17th century

Year	Name	Value of goods, Roubles
1615	Khoz' Murtaza, merchant/envoy	5,269.05
1617	Mahomet Kasim, merchant	
1621	Aga Asan, merchant/envoy	3,415
	Mirkete Seit, merchant	13,900
1627	Mulla Rakhmet, merchant	
1628	Mirmakhtun and Aga Asan, merchants (with Mamesalibek, envoy)	124,700
1632	Aga Mahomet, merchant	
1636	Navrus Aga, merchant	
1638	Aga Asan, merchant	
1641	Aga Mahomet, merchant	
1643	Bezhim Bek, merchant	68,358
1657	Five merchants accompanying envoy Khan Dakul Sultan	
1660	Murat Khan, merchant	
1663	Adzhidat, merchant	
1664	Shamsedin, merchant	
1666	Asamdibek Adzhidatov, merchant	14,637
	Muratkhan Adzhidatov, merchant	
1670	Aga Mahomet, merchant	15,495
1673	Iusuf-khan-bek, envoy; Magomet Iusupov syn Zelebedinov, Khusein-khan-bek Mamet Kulibekov, merchants	55,500
1675	Mirza Mahomet Shamsheev, merchant (with envoy Mamet Khusein bek)	17,340
1677	Khusein khan bek Kulibekov, merchant	22,686
	Magomet Iusuf Zelebednikov, merchant	16,182
1678	Aga Mahomet Ali Asanov, merchant	31,223
	Murat khan Adzhidatov, merchant	14,531

(*Source*: Zevakin, *Ocherki*, I, p. 109)

Table 8.5. Exports of Russian goods from Astrakhan' through Karagan'

Date	Number of merchants				Cloth, clothing	*Iufti*, hides	Flour, sacks	Dishes (*shchep'e*)	Fur, skins	Other*
	A	R	B	K						
1678	18	4		2	4 *polovinki* 279 *arsh.* 50 *vershki*	1,056 4.5 elk hides	153	10920	23 otter 8 beavers	5,000 needles, 15 mirrors, 5 fur coats, haberd.
1681	15	16	1	1	8 *port-e* 46 *polov.* 298 *arsh.*, 2 *kosiaki* 1 caftan, 24 hats, 20 galosches	2,538 56 elk hides	222 2 sacks grouts	26,550 9 pails 1,500 fying pans	9 beavers, 20.5 *iufti*, 6 ends 89 squirrel, 7 coats 42 hare 108 otter	9 chests, 41 boxes, 108,000 needles, 560 rings, 220 bells, 2,200 buttons, etc.
1687	15	19			2 *polovinki* 49 hats, 170 gal., 4 coats, 3 caftans 46	1,389 6 *iufti* elk hides	603	13,000 2,300 bowls 100 pails 3 tubs 5 sieves 2 *laguny*	51 beavers, 32 *iufti* 188 otter 2 *iufti* hare 28 fur coats	1,502 boxes, 50 spades, 54,000 needles, 52 *saidaki*
1688	15	28			9 *port-e* 8 *arsh.* 101 galosches, 11 coats 22 *ansyri* silk	1960	462	11,200 40 pails	40 beavers, 43 *iufti* 6 squirrel coats, 2 *iufti* 182 otters 136 otter, sable hats	126 boxes, 109,000 needles, 3,900 soles, 50 rings, 20 bells, paper, 72 mirrors, 30 *saidaki*

(*Source*: *Materialy*, I, pp. 364–79)

* This column contains the most important examples.
A = Astrakhan' merchants, R = Other Russians (possibly including people from Astrakhan'), B = Bukhara merchants, K = Khiva merchants

Table 8.6. Purchases of Russian wares by Bukhara merchants in Tobol'sk, 1639–71, roubles

	1639/40	1644/5	1649/50	1654/5	1655/6	1657/8	1659/60	1661/2	1665/6	1668/9
Furs	909	105	17	21	404	25	41	53	4,4	
Clothing, cloth	23	28			202	20	63			5.7
Hides	43				505		3			67
Total purchases	932	286	18	21	1,219	45	107	57.8	4.4	296.2

	1671/2	1674/5	1675/6	1683/4	1686/7	1688/9	1690/1	1694/5	1696/7
Furs	81.2	97		54.3	123	46.25	80	233	228.4
Struia		218			110			16.5	
Clothing	125	33.5			6				0.5
Hides	72.5	54	290		115	5		20	140
Other animal products	40								
Sum total	344	420.4	320.6	54.3	354	96.25	80	269.5	368.9

(*Source*: Vilkov, *Ocherki*, pp. 199–201; RGADA f. 214, kn. 44, 181, 263, 327, 348, 371, 410, 412, 433, 490, 533, 562, 588, 611, 797, 892, 1078, 1118)

Table 8.7. Turnover of caravans passing through Nerchinsk in 1689–98

Departure Date	Return Date	Value of Goods, R	
		Exports	Imports
XII.1689	1690		14,473
VI.1691	III.1692	7,563	23,952
XII.1692	X.1693*	5,593	13,015
VII.1693	X.1693/VI.1694	14,043	25,562
VIII.1695	X.1696	16,909	12,381
Summer 1696	Summer 1697	49,300	57,000
VII.1697	VIII.1698	25,704	240,000 (Moscow)

(*Source*: Aleksandrov, *Rossiia*, p. 211)

Table 8.8. Russian goods carried by caravans passing through Nerchinsk in the 1690s

	1691	1692	1693I	1695	1696	1697	1697L
Sables	638	23	2,149	730	7,849	3,822	8,206
Bellies	1,130		4,340	2,320	24,309	3,040	9,722
Squirrels	49,650	83,447	69,650	141,430	586,660	244,990	160,520
Sq. coats	62		48	19	283	705	
Marten				320	680		
Fox	121		173	52	5,973	4,108	1,068
Polar fox	2,730	266	2,150	410	1,758	1,600	
Ermine	20,370	18,880	53,771	99,680	265,499	166,410	35,191
Lynx	120	22	138	10	133	26	1,020
Otter	70	100		340	113	10	
Hare coats	80	300	260	355	596	434	

(*Source*: Aleksandrov, "Russko-kitaiskaia torgovlia," pp. 444–5; Kurts, "Iak povstala derzhavna karavanna (valkova) torhovlia," pp. 271–2)

1693I lists the wares carried by E.I. Ides' mission.
1697 L lists the wares carried by S.Ia. Liangusov's caravan.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS: MIDWIVES OF AN EMPIRE

In 1600, the Grand Duchy of Muscovy was not a likely candidate for the status of a Eurasian superpower. It was a poor and sparsely populated country on the northeastern periphery of Europe. Nearly its entire population led a precarious existence based on subsistence level agriculture, and the limited surplus this generated could sustain only a small number of commercial towns of any significance. If anything, Russia's prospects subsequently further sharply deteriorated with a precipitous descent into the worst dynastic crisis in the country's history. Yet, by the early 18th century, the dire predictions that the catastrophe of the *Smuta* might have inspired had failed to materialize and Russia was clearly on the ascendant. The country had stood up to her enemies on all sides and began to shift the regional balance of power in its favor by successfully fighting Poland-Lithuania in the Thirteen Years' War which spelled the end of the Commonwealth's great power aspirations. By the time of the Treaty of Nystad in 1721, Russia had performed a veritable miracle. She had risen from the ashes of the Time of Troubles to become the regional hegemon of Eastern Europe. The age of the Swedish *stormakt* was over and Poland-Lithuania no longer possessed the resources to revert the balance of power in her favor.

This work has shown the crucial role foreign trade and foreign merchants played in the resurrection of late Muscovite Russia. The demand by the West European commercial superpowers for Russian goods led to the emergence—or dramatic expansion—of a whole range of productive activities. The contrast to the still highly autarkic 16th-century economy, whose exports were limited to furs, wax, tallow, and few other things, was striking indeed, even if not total. Indeed, as was seen above, with her scarce capital resources and lack of a navy, Russia possessed limited means to become a significant active player in foreign trade herself. For this reason, the Western merchants who integrated the Muscovite economy in a global system of commerce can appropriately be characterized as "midwives of an empire."

The lop-sided nature of this exchange could have easily resulted in quasi-colonial exploitation of a poor commodity producer by prosperous trading nations. To be sure, Western merchants were adept at changing the terms of trade in their favor and likely delayed Russia's development in certain areas. However, the evidence amassed here suggests a much more positive conclusion. Trade with the West made it possible for Russia to equip her armed forces and generated an important source of revenue in the face of recurrent acute financial crises. The specie generated by foreign trade made the monetization of the Russian economy, and the efficiency gains this entailed, possible. Even more important was the role of foreign trade in transforming the production profile of the Russian economy. As a result, the growing open sector became by far the most dynamic element of the nascent imperial economy. Trade had a direct impact on policy-making and it provided a crucial source of capital to an economy where it was otherwise sorely lacking. Finally, the expansion of commercial exchange through the length of Russia's borders and northern coast significantly promoted regional economic development in a more even and balanced fashion that would have been likely in a more closed economy. The fact that Russia by the end of the century had the beginnings of a modest bourgeoisie stands as testimony to the ability of Russian tradesmen and politicians alike to turn an initially highly uneven exchange at least partially to their advantage.

On the basis of the central findings of this work, it is possible to formulate five broad conclusions to characterize Russia's economic interaction with the rest of the world.

I *The Expansion of Foreign Demand*

In all directions of Russian foreign trade, the country's trade partners showed a growing interest in Muscovite goods. This demand-driven growth was particularly pronounced in Russia's relations with Western Europe, most notably the rapidly expanding "core" economies of the Netherlands and England. There was a secular increase in the tonnage of Western vessels calling at Arkhangel'sk in the course of the century. Even beyond the efforts of merchants, an expansion in trade was a central plank in English and Dutch diplomacy in Russia. Both countries, as well as German merchants, came to

recognize the crucial importance of the Muscovite market as a supplier of a range of commodities that could not be acquired elsewhere or were more expensive in other countries.

The increase in the number of Western visitors was even more marked in the Baltic ports, especially in the second half of the century after the region began to recover from the devastating effects of the Time of Troubles and the wars of the mid-century. The demand-pull of the Baltic region was further boosted by an aggressive economic policy of the Swedish government which made a complete diversion of Russian trade to the Eastern Baltic one of its central priorities. In spite of numerous inconsistencies, the Swedes did a great deal to reduce customs duties, simplify the system of levies, and to provide improved facilities for visiting merchants. In addition, the Swedish government promoted the development of industry in the Baltic region where processing facilities were created for a number of Russian goods.

The growth of trade in Asia, in contrast, demanded a more direct effort on the part of Russian merchants and diplomats, but the effects of Western European demand made themselves felt even there, not least in the spectacular increase in silk trade during the closing decades of the century. Ultimately, of course, the basic "fundamentals" of Asian trade remained strikingly different in that there were no major structural factors driving the Asian demand for Russian goods and the potential of expansion in fur trade was limited by supply alone. In the end, therefore, it was perhaps no surprise that the long-term momentum for Russian-Asian was insufficient to sustain the boom in the 18th century.

II *The Russian Supply Response*

In spite of major setbacks, especially during the Time of Troubles and the protracted wars of the 1650s–60s, the 17th century was clearly an era of rapid growth for the Russian economy. The nature of Western demand had an profound impact on the composition of the Muscovite export bundle away from furs and products such as tallow, wax, and unprocessed hides. The expansion of the Russian open sector, even in the face of a rapid depletion of Siberia's fur wealth, was to a significant degree due to the coincidence between the apparently inexhaustible Western need for naval stores and

Russia's ample resource endowments. Russia, in spite of the numerous idiosyncracies of her economic institutions and the striking imperfections (or even the near-total absence in some cases) of her factor markets, serves as a classic case of a transition from autarky to a more open economy. Trade with Asia, in contrast, was more anachronistic. The countries ranging from the Ottoman Empire to the Middle Kingdom remained an important outlet for Russian furs throughout the century, even if the scale of this trade was more modest than that of commercial interchange with Europe.

The severalfold expansion of Russian exports in the course of the century does not, as a rule, represent a mere diversion from the domestic to the international market. Extensive price data collected by R. Hellie for the 17th century reveals that the dramatic expansion of export trade, at a rate far in excess of population growth, resulted in virtually no inflationary pressures, suggesting that supply managed to keep up with demand as new industries and production regions were developed, often in direct response to trade. A particularly good case in point is the establishment of timber and potash production in the Smolensk region in the 1660s, almost entirely due to foreign demand in Riga. Muscovite potash production was even more generally created primarily in response to foreign interest and direct involvement and became one of the country's leading export industries for much of the century. Similarly, the severalfold expansion of flax and hemp sales via the Baltic ports clearly represents a development which is only explicable in terms of the steady rise in foreign demand. This process is likely to have benefitted from the rise of serfdom, which created a stable labor force, even if it is more difficult to posit the kind of causal relationship between trade and serfdom that people have argued for in the case of Poland-Lithuania.[1] The growth of *iuft'* production, which eventually came to account for nearly one-half of the total value of Muscovite exports, represents the most striking example of external demand stimulating proto-

[1] While the basic economic argument for the emergence of serfdom, as put forward by Domar and others is compelling enough, the actual process towards totally eliminating labor mobility appears to have depended to a considerable degree on historical contingencies. It is probably true that the overall openness of the Russian economy, and especially the stake of the Russian political elites in it, was less in 1649 than they had been in the Polish-Lithuanian case in the previous century. Domar, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Serfdom*, p. 227; Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change*, pp. 135–8, 145.

industrialization. There are numerous instances of foreign demand promoting a larger scale of production—with the emergence of *iufi'* "factories" in the second half of the century—and positive economies associated with them.

Grain trade was probably the one exception to this pattern, in as much as there is no evidence of a sustained supply response to clearly very strong foreign demand. This undoubtedly reflects the general weakness of the Russian agricultural sector which was highly vulnerable to climatic perturbations and generated a small surplus even at the best of times. Grain exports were invariably preceded by often drawn-out negotiations and took place almost exclusively during the three peaks of the early 1630s, the '50s, and the '70s. Sales were typically made from government reserves, at least sometimes in spite of bad harvests. Moreover, large-scale grain exports were almost always authorized only when the government needed additional revenue for weapons purchases. Indeed, the correlation between grain sales and military need was almost always greater than that between Western European prices and Russian exports.

Muscovy, in turn, used the strong Western demand to develop economic ties with Asia. Trade with Persia and China alike was, to a significant degree, an outgrowth of the foreign interest in re-exported luxuries and the Russian government's efforts to gain control over, and further develop, such trade. In particular, Westerners were virtually obsessed with the idea of gaining access to Persian silk throughout the century, yet the Muscovites were careful not to cede complete control of the trade to Western merchants. Eventually, the treaties with the New Julfa Armenians in 1667 and 1673 became a way to increase the importance of the southern flank as a new focus of Russian foreign trade.

The Russian supply response was made possible by a robust growth in the numbers of Russian merchants and tradesmen, whose position was enshrined in the 1649 *Ulozhenie*. Similarly, the stabilization of the agricultural sector in the wake of the formal imposition of serfdom largely solved the problem of geographic mobility of the peasantry and revived agricultural production in key areas of the country, something that undoubtedly at least partially accounts for the spectacular rise of fiber production. There was a steady expansion in the number of traders across the country, but developments in the northwest represent a particular significant example of an overall trend. The boatmen of the Novgorod region and Karelia

became the first active overseas merchants in Russian history. The impressive growth of trade with Stockholm after the 1630s reveals the extraordinary ability of local Russian merchants to organize in response to favorable demand conditions abroad. By the end of the century, northwestern Russian merchants were able to conquer much of the cross-border trade from their Swedish-Baltic rivals. There is a good deal of evidence of similar developments along the Volga and on the Caspian, although the data is scarcer and the relative importance of Russian entrepreneurs definitely less.

III *The Geographic Mobility of Russian Trade*

The changing orientation of Russian trade in the course of the century highlights the economy's responsiveness to Western demand. While the evidence surveyed here does not confirm the famous Attman hypothesis of full transferability of trade between the Arkhangel'sk and Baltic routes, there is considerable evidence to suggest that especially processed goods with a high value:weight ratio were potentially very mobile.

Arkhangel'sk had established its position of dominance in Russian foreign trade already by the beginning of the 17th century when the city almost certainly accounted for well over one-half of all Muscovite exports. The "market share" of the Baltic ports was probably in the order of one-third, with the various land routes accounting for the rest. The Time of Troubles seriously undermined trade in the Baltic, as well as the northwestern Russian economy more generally. This allowed Arkhangel'sk to consolidate its position and probably at least three-quarters of Muscovite export trade was channeled through the White Sea in the 1610s–40s. The position of the Central European land routes also declined, not least because of the loss of the Smolensk region in 1611.

A number of structural and contingent problems in the north, as well as a combination of new Swedish policy initiatives and a local economic recovery in the northwest, began to change this picture in the late 1640s. For nearly a decade, the Baltic ports regained much of their former importance. They came to account for some one-third of Russian exports, in some years even more. The Thirteen Years' War resulted in considerable devastation of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and also undermined the promising recovery of Baltic

trade. By the late 1650s, Arkhangel'sk had largely regained its former position and controlled up to 80 percent of Russian export trade. However, a resumption of the prewar pattern of growth in the Baltic followed the restoration of peace in the 1660s and proceeded at an unprecedented pace. Similarly, especially Asian trade grew dramatically in the closing decades of the century, albeit from a relatively modest starting point. By the end of the century, the Baltic ports had gradually risen to account for at least one-third—and probably more—of Russian exports. Arkhangel'sk's share appears to have been around one-half and that of the Caspian up to a fifth, with the land routes accounting for the modest residual. In terms of its geographic orientation, Russian foreign trade had come full circle, although overall trade volumes had increased severalfold in the course of the century. Ultimately, the development of trade on the Astrakhan'-Arkhangel'sk axis, with the Baltic, and with the Ukraine clearly contributed a great deal to the emergence of a more even pattern of demographic development.

The shifting orientation of Russian export trade highlighted the weakness of the government's strategy of depending on Arkhangel'sk as the central venue of export trade. The economic recovery of the Novgorod lands and Swedish economic policy restored the Baltic as a natural outlet of Russian export trade for important production regions. On the other had, the growing weight of northwestern Russia made the government more vulnerable to foreign attacks and undermined its economic autonomy by making the Russian economy increasingly dependent on the Baltic cities and Sweden more generally. The steady expansion of Russian transit trade in the Baltic was ultimately interrupted by a Muscovite military offensive both in the 1650s and in 1700. Even as hard data on Muscovite policy-making is scarce, commercial considerations are likely to have played an important role in shaping security policy, as befits a country with Russia's high dependence on trade. The eventual conquest of the Baltic littoral was a natural consequence of these trends and was ultimately followed by a more systematic transfer of trade to the Baltic and a secular decline of Arkhangel'sk. Peter I's decision to concentrate trade in St Petersburg was ultimately little different from Ivan IV's policy towards Narva.

An intriguing, albeit unanswerable, counterfactual question is how Russian foreign trade would have evolved with free access to the Baltic throughout the 17th century. A likely cost would have been the (relative?) absence of development along the Dvina-Sukhona

waterway which did a great deal to promote the development of Russian forest industry. Nor were the activities of the coastal residents between Pechenga and Pechora of trivial importance, even if these paled in comparison to forest products. However, there is no doubt that the economic potential of the Dvina-Sukhona settlements never rivaled—and could not rival—that of the Neva basin. A rouble invested in Novgorod was, other things equal, likely to yield a higher return than a rouble invested in Tot'ma. The Muscovite west and northwest had a more diverse and productive economy than the north.

The main blow for the Baltic, of course, came from the Time of Troubles and subsequent wars and these would have taken their toll even if the Russian military had proven more successful in the Gulf of Finland area. At the same time, it is likely that more resources would have been devoted to promote the recovery of the Northwest had Russia maintained its control of at least some of the Baltic littoral. On the other hand, it is possible that a more direct Russian presence in the Baltic—and a higher volume of export trade—would have created more incentives for military conflict in the region and thereby further checked the expansion of foreign trade. The focus on Arkhangel'sk, as was seen above, likely served as an important "insurance policy" by reducing the likelihood of such disruptions, even if it also undoubtedly curbed peacetime growth at a time when Russia was still not yet the regional hegemon that she was to become in the 18th century.

IV *The Evolution of Russian Economic Policy*

The importance of foreign trade is revealed, among other things, by the considerable attention that the Russian government devoted to commercial issues. The three main foci of government policy were: (i) overall promotion of trade with foreign powers as an important source of strategic goods and specie; (ii) appropriation of a share of foreign trade flows for the state budget, (iii) promotion of a domestic merchant class. These goals resulted in a shifting dialectic between economic liberalism and xenophobic protectionism.

The Russian government saw trade as a way of modernizing the backward state and of defending the country against its enemies. Links with foreign powers became a source of qualified professionals to help develop Russian industry, acquire weapons to equip the Russian army, and bring in specie to lubricate the wheels of the

national economy. In order to promote trade, the government adopted a strategy of granting privileges to foreign merchants. The treatment of the Muscovy Company in the 16th and the early part of the 17th century is a classic case in point, but the government also cultivated special relationships with the leading representatives of the Dutch merchant community. Particular favors were granted to merchants who supplied weapons. The treaties of 1667 and 1673 with the Armenian merchants of New Julfa fit this pattern, even if they were also undoubtedly designed to create a counterpoise to Western European merchants.

The Russian government's heavy reliance on customs duties as a source of budget revenue led to repeated efforts to streamline the system of levying and collecting imposts. The policies adopted sought both to promote trade and to increase tax revenues and curb tax evasion. The result was a greatly simplified system of duties which lent an important impetus to trade. However, while the tax system was radically simplified by the middle of the century, the rates of customs duty were increased, especially on foreign merchants.

Russia suffered from an acute lack of capital and, throughout the 17th century, government policy relied very heavily on coopting and rewarding successful entrepreneurs. Merchants who managed to accumulate large (by Russian standards) amounts of capital were typically rewarded with grants of privilege. These grants allowed them to operate free of duty and often monopolize trade in particular commodities. However, the government charters came with strings attached; and the elite merchants, in return for the privileges, were drafted into government service as tax collectors, etc. Especially in the first half of the century, significant increases in the appointments of elite merchants remained the government's favored method of promoting domestic trade and industry. However, the grants of privilege quickly turned elite merchants into an increasingly influential lobby in Russian policy-making. They came to see themselves as the self-appointed spokesmen for the Russian merchant class more generally.

By the late 1620s, the privileges merchants assumed an active role in calling for a more protectionistic policy toward foreign visitors. The implementation of this agenda was, in spite of repeated efforts by the merchants, very gradual. The cash-constrained government had every incentive to rely on well-organized and prosperous Western visitors as a major source of government revenue, not least because the fiscal emergencies brought on by frequent wars made institu-

tional experimentation highly risky. However, the government clearly came to recognize the potential of foreign trade to promote the development of a Russian merchant class and increasingly discriminatory policies were adopted to this end. While the results were mixed, it is clear that Russia at the close of the century had a large number of prosperous merchants far beyond the narrow confines of the elite corporations. The success of northwestern Russian merchants is particularly striking but similar examples abound in other parts of the country. More problematically, however, the excessive reliance on the elite corporations as instruments of economic policy, undoubtedly hindered and slowed down this process, a classic case of "good enough" becoming the enemy of best.

V *The Open Economy of Late Muscovy*

The 17th-century Muscovite economy was heavily dependent on foreign trade, quite probably more so than at any other time in Russian history (with the possible exception of Kievan Rus'l)—at least over a time period of comparable duration. While precise estimates elude us, the degree of openness of the late Muscovite economy was fairly high even by modern standards, almost certainly some one-fifth of the "GDP." The total export volumes were usually at least comparable to the total government budget, an enormous sum of eventually over R 2 million. This would have equaled the total annual turnovers of the trade passing through up to half a dozen of Russia's leading cities.

Russia's pivotal importance in the European economy was key factor behind the country's economic resilience in the 17th century. Russia experienced devastating economic crisis during the Time of Troubles and the Thirteen Years' War. In both cases, foreign trade played a crucial role in stabilizing the government budget and in reviving production in several areas. Foreign, especially Dutch, capital helped provide liquidity at a time when it was not otherwise available and overcame important bottlenecks, as well as laying the foundations for the emergence of Russian proto-industry. After both conflicts, a robust recovery ensued and constituted a crucial precondition for Russia's rise to one of the great powers of Europe.

The inevitable counterfactual to entertain at the close of this discussion is whether Russia's rise to the great powers of the world would have been possible even without the commercial revolution

of the 17th century. An exhaustive answer to this question is inevitably beyond the scope of this book and, indeed, of almost any single monograph. Nonetheless, this discussion has revealed a great deal of evidence to suggest that the answer would almost certainly be negative. The dependency of the Russian state on customs duties was very heavy as, indeed, was the reliance of the army of Western weapons and munitions into the 18th century.

How could a closed Russian economy have risen to comparable heights? It is naturally possible to imagine a scenario where a combination of good timing, military genius, and skillful diplomacy would have allowed Russia to critically weaken its enemies, probably one by one, so as to fundamentally alter the regional balance of power in her favor. However, the sustainability of such a strategy is doubtful. Shifting alliances were the norm in the early modern era. More to the point, a country with limited economic and military resources could conceivably win a battle, even a war, but would inevitably invite further aggression on the part of its contenders. An ascendant Russia was viable in the long term only if it was backed up with sufficient military muscle and economic resources that exceeded those of its neighbors in key areas. A great deal of reform and economic mobilization was required for Petrine Russia to recover from the 1700 fiasco of Narva to a point where it could defeat Karl XII.

The other possible scenario has to do with a systematic program of Gerschenkronian state-led catch-up, a sort of pre-modern case of "socialism in one country." Arguably, this is a strategy that Peter I eventually opted for, building on earlier reformist steps by his predecessors, most notably his father. Clearly late Muscovy already possessed some of the key preconditions for a superpower status. Its population was greater than that of Sweden or Poland-Lithuania. The enormous country was endowed large mineral resources, even if it was only dimly aware of this in the 17th century, and a rudimentary manufacturing tradition. It is likely that these deposits would eventually have been located and processed even under the scenario of near-total autarky.

As was seen in Chapter 4, many of Russia's economic weaknesses had to do with institutional and policy failures. Different policies could conceivably have been used to promote capital accumulation and commercial development in a more efficient fashion than was the case. In order to stand up to external enemies, the Russian government could have engaged in more effective "selective modern-

ization" by mobilizing and channeling the country's resources more effectively into strategically important sectors, most notably the military. This, of course, was a key element of Russian policy in any event and it is conceivably that a greater lag *vis-à-vis* the West would have further accelerated this process.

The main problem with all of this is obviously the question of timing. It is likely that the absence of Western capital, Western experts, and imported weaponry and metals would have significantly delayed these developments. The time lag would have given Russia's Western neighbors time to regroup and grow, thus making the eventual challenge all the greater. Sweden and Poland-Lithuania, their many problems and weaknesses notwithstanding, had relatively dynamic and open economies with a large number of vibrant commercial centers. While the countryside was not necessarily significantly different from Russia in institutional terms, agriculture tended to be more productive due to geographic factors alone. In essence, Russia's rivals were on a path of organic capitalist development that was far less likely to materialize in Russia. In modern terms, barring exogenous shocks, the trend GDP growth rate in Poland-Lithuania and Sweden was almost certainly higher than it would have been in autarkic Russia. Under the circumstances, the only thing that could have fundamentally changed the odds in Russia's favor was more aggressive mutual destruction by Muscovy's western neighbors.

Naturally, the absence of autarky in late Muscovy did not result in the maximization of the opportunities afforded by international commerce. The Russians did not systematically, or constantly, exploit foreign trade to the fullest imaginable extent. As was seen, there was a perpetual tug-of-war between the government's pseudo-mercantilist agenda and the country's leading merchants, on the one hand, and the military needs of the country, on the other. However, none of the counterveiling forces was ever sufficient to undermine the country's heavy reliance on trade at critical periods, whether it was to conduct a military campaign or to overcome the inevitable fiscal crisis that warfare entailed. In the absence of this lifeline, the setbacks of the early modern era would likely have exacted a much more devastating toll than they did and made the rise of Russia as a Eurasian hegemon even more unlikely than it was.

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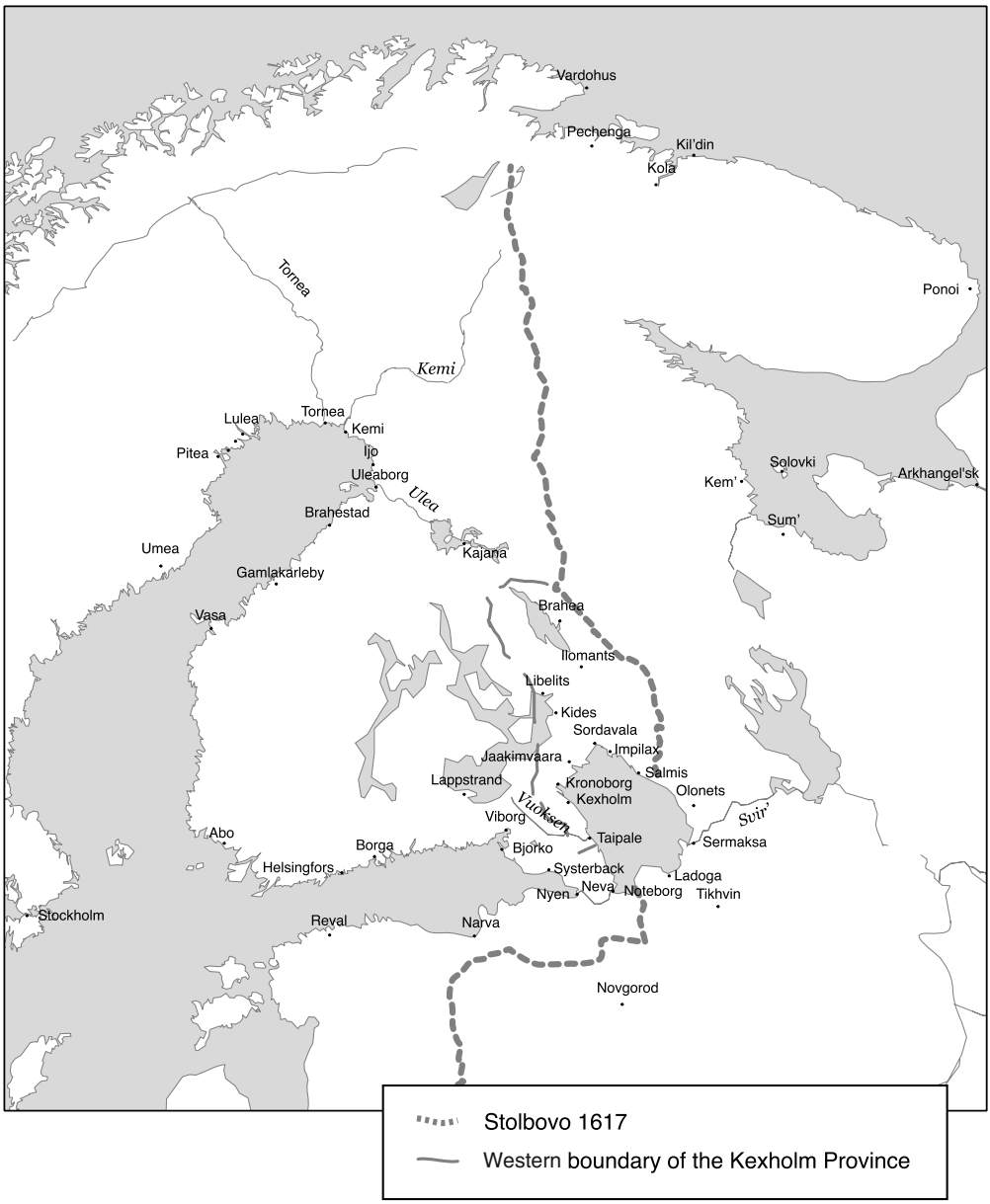
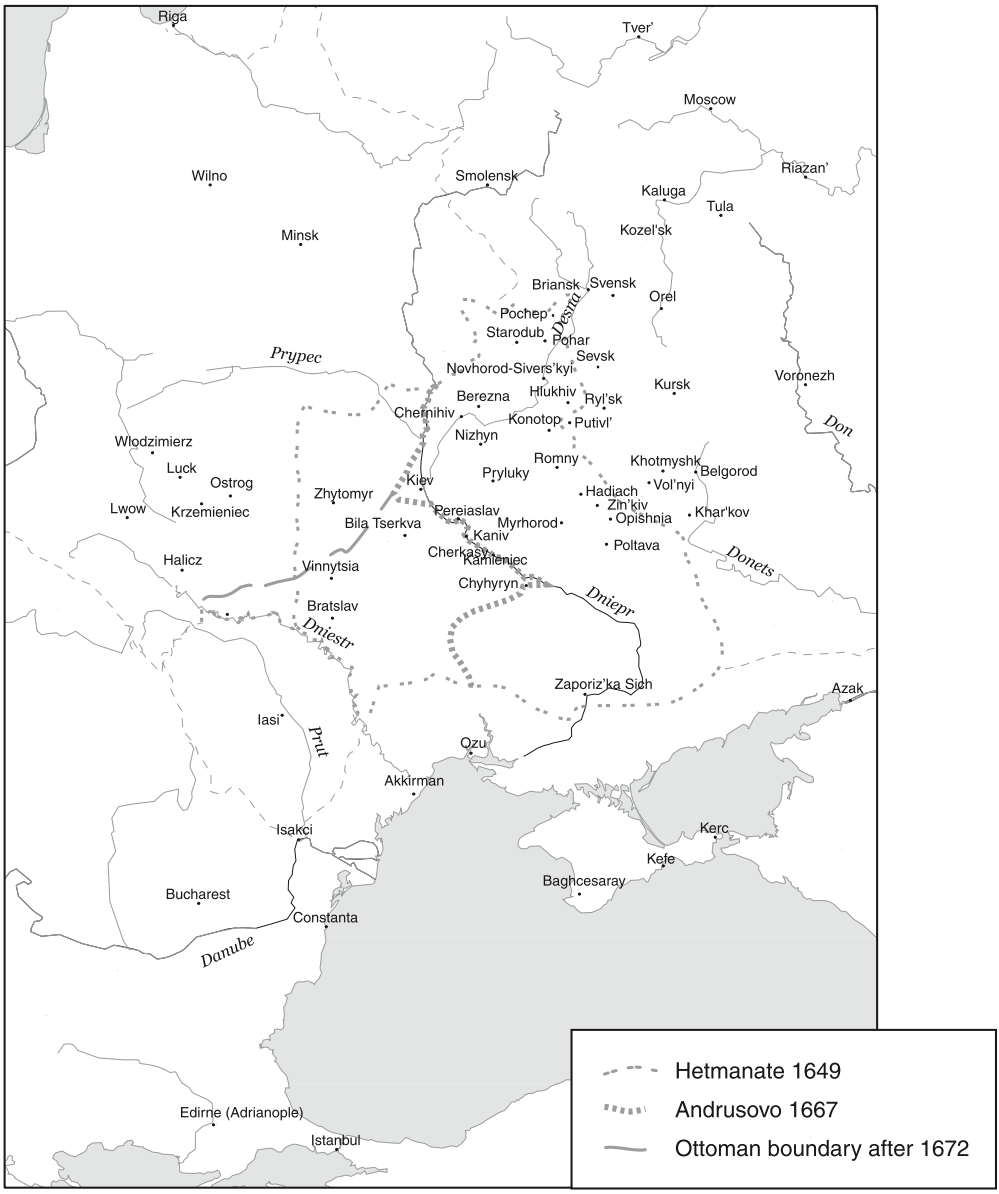
Map 1. The Russian North in the 17th Century.

Map 2. The Baltic Region in the 17th Century.



Map 3. The Grand Duchy of Finland in the 17th Century.

Map 4. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 17th Century.



Map 5. The Ukraine in the 17th Century.

Map 6. Asia in the 17th Century.

Fig. 1. Russia in 1614.

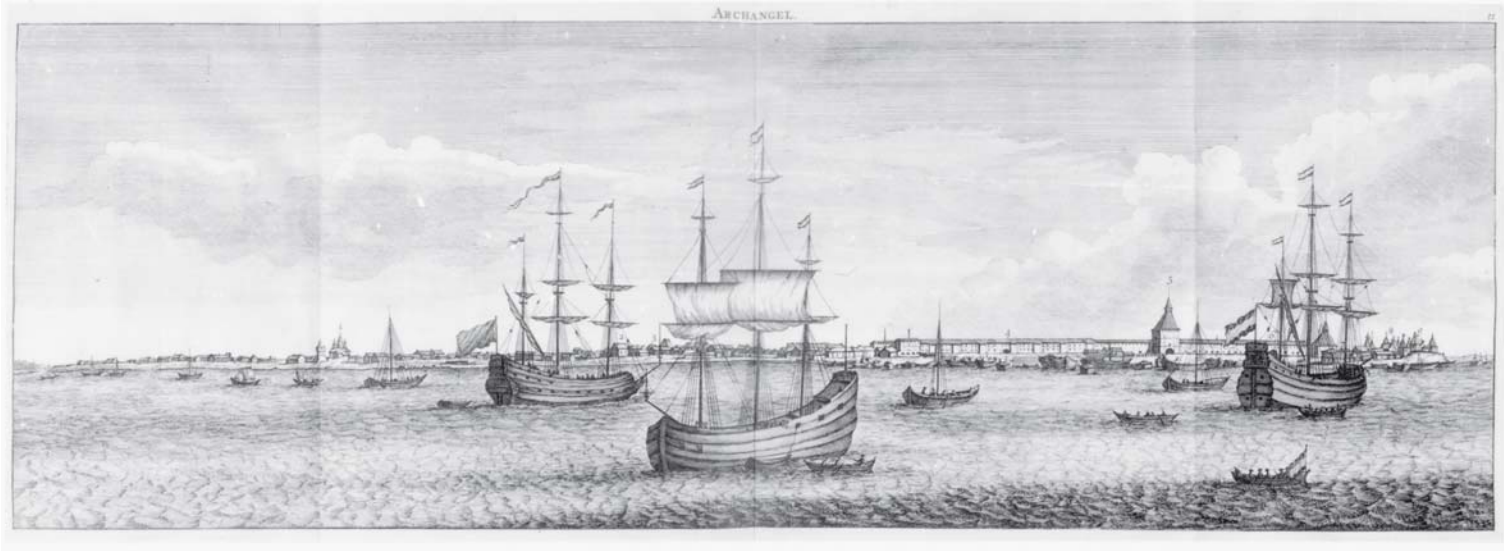


Fig. 2. Arkhangel'sk.

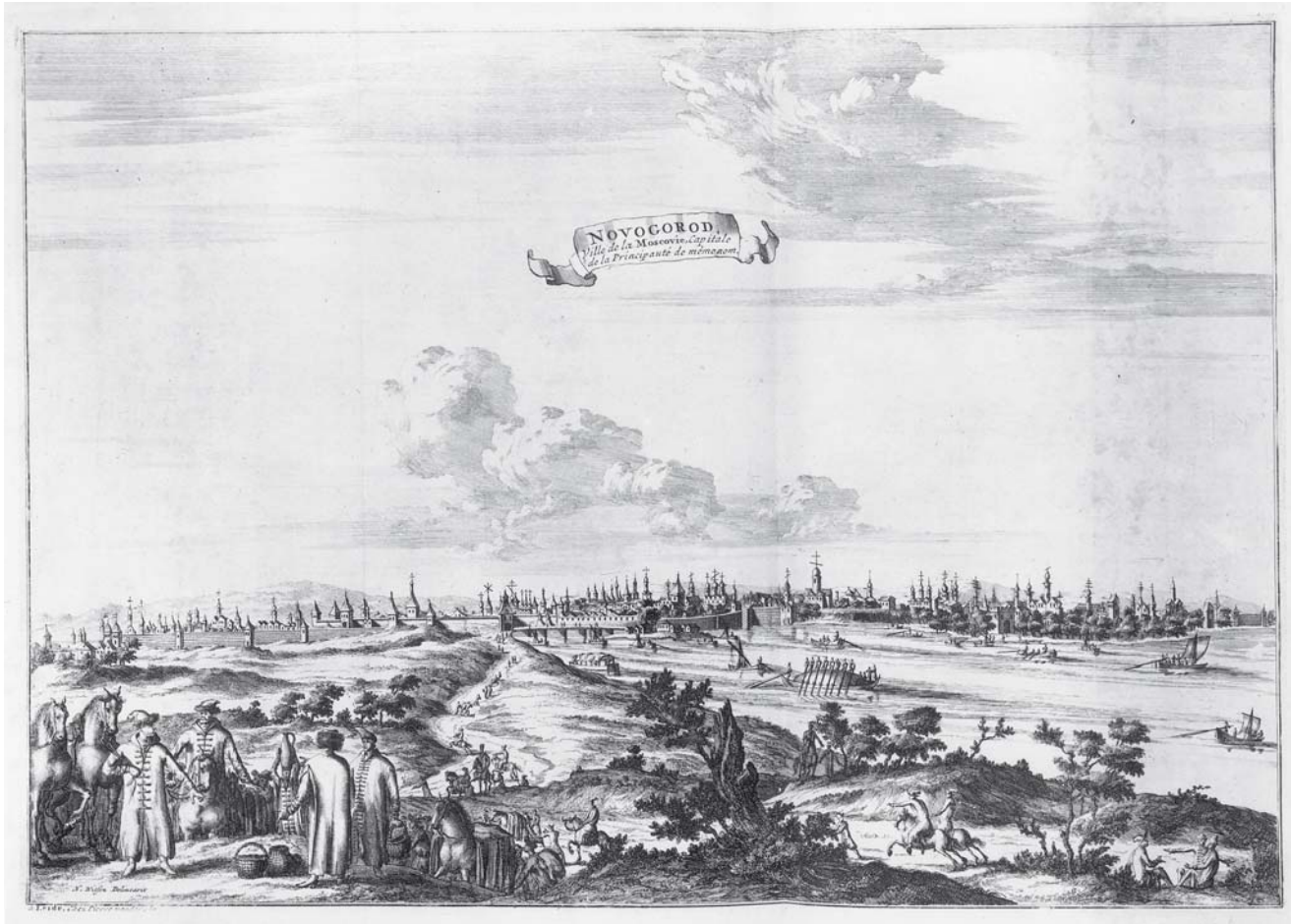


Fig. 3. Novgorod.

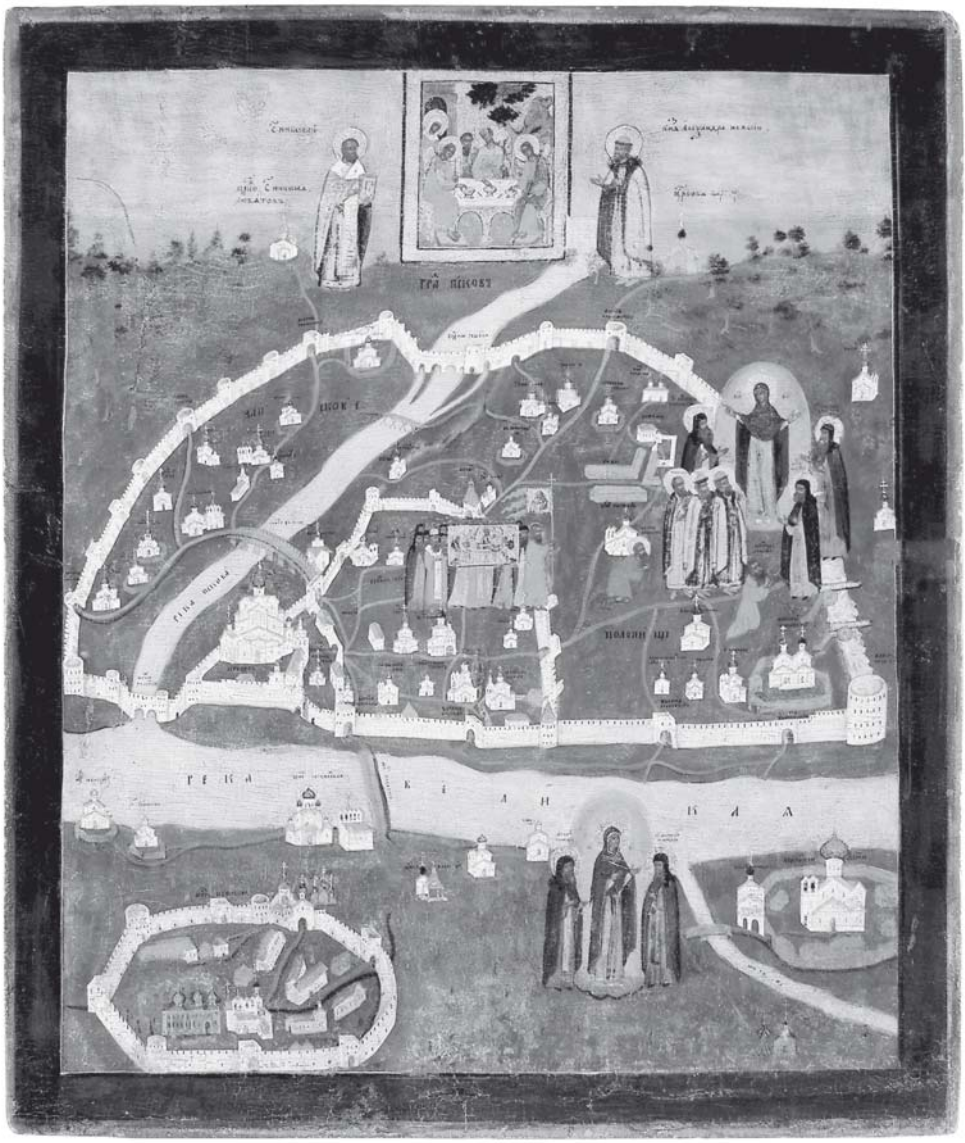


Fig. 4. Pskov.

Fig. 5. Vologda.

MOSCOVIA VRBS METROPOLIS TO:
tius Russiæ Albæ.
MOSCVÆ VRBS
LOCA INSIGNIORA
Secunda pars vrbis nõ circumdata muro, dicta Bielgorod
Tertia pars vrbis versus Septentrionem vocata Skorodum.

Fig. 6. Moscow.

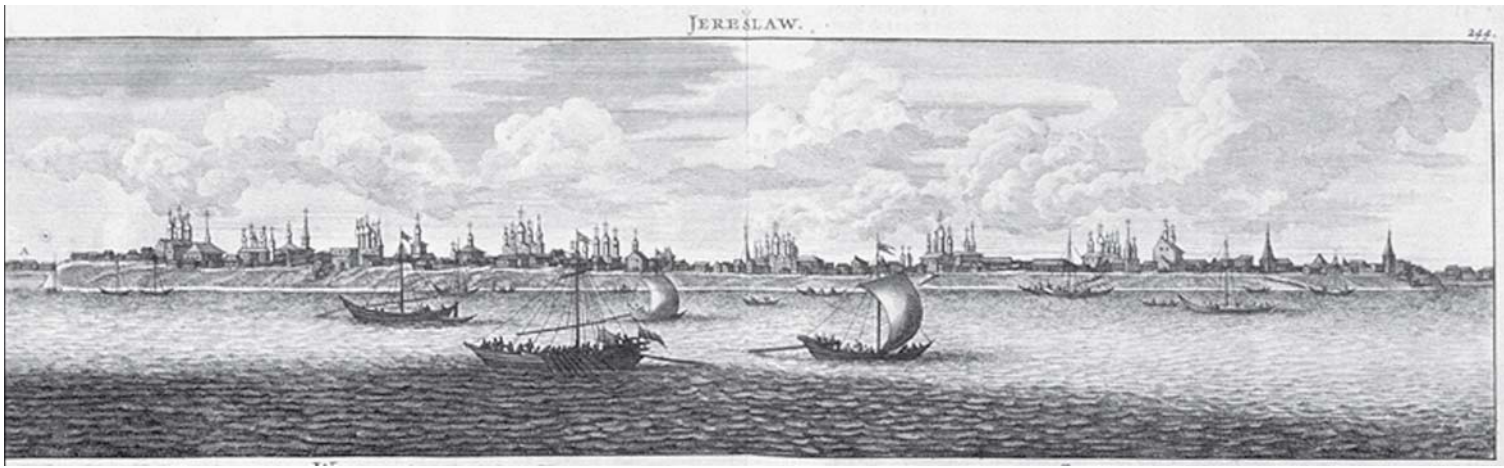


Fig. 7. Iaroslavl'.

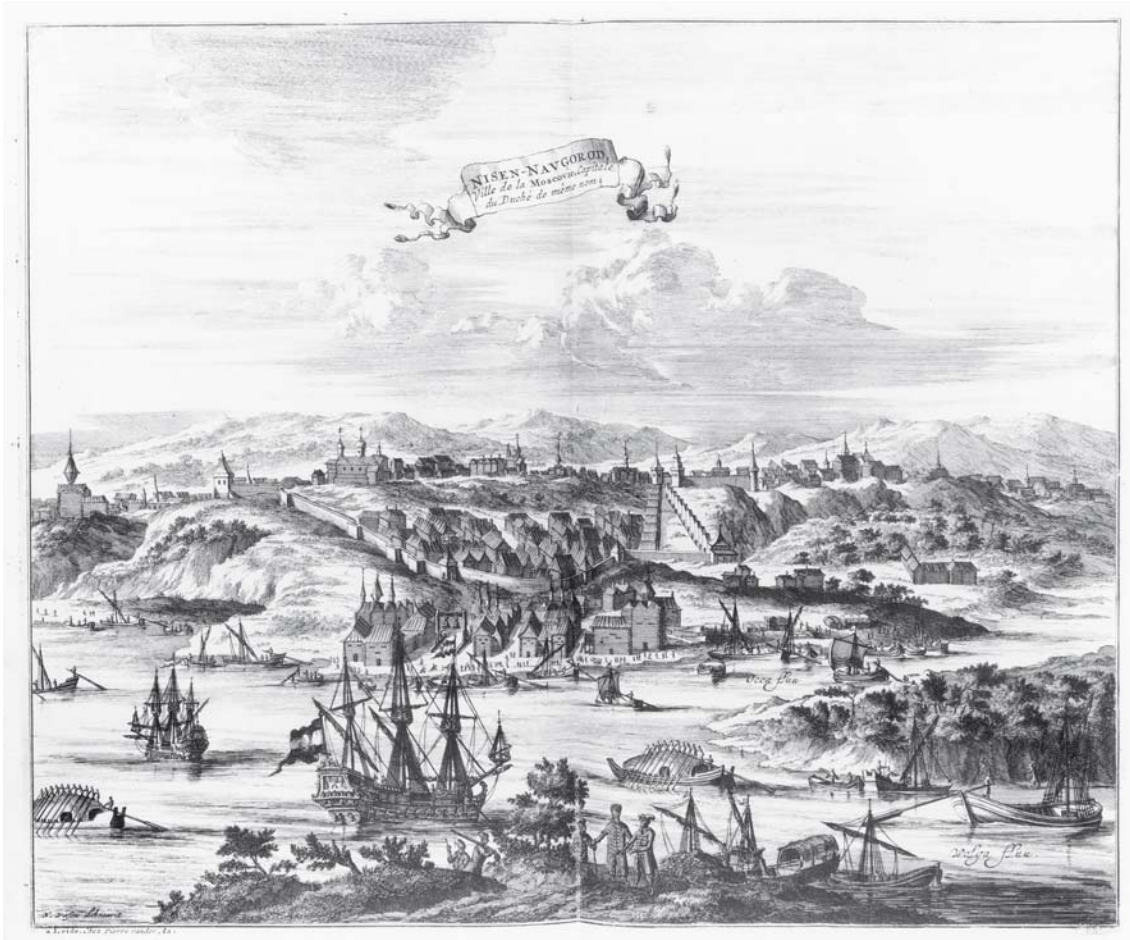


Fig. 8. Nizhnii-Novgorod.

Fig. 9. Kazan'.

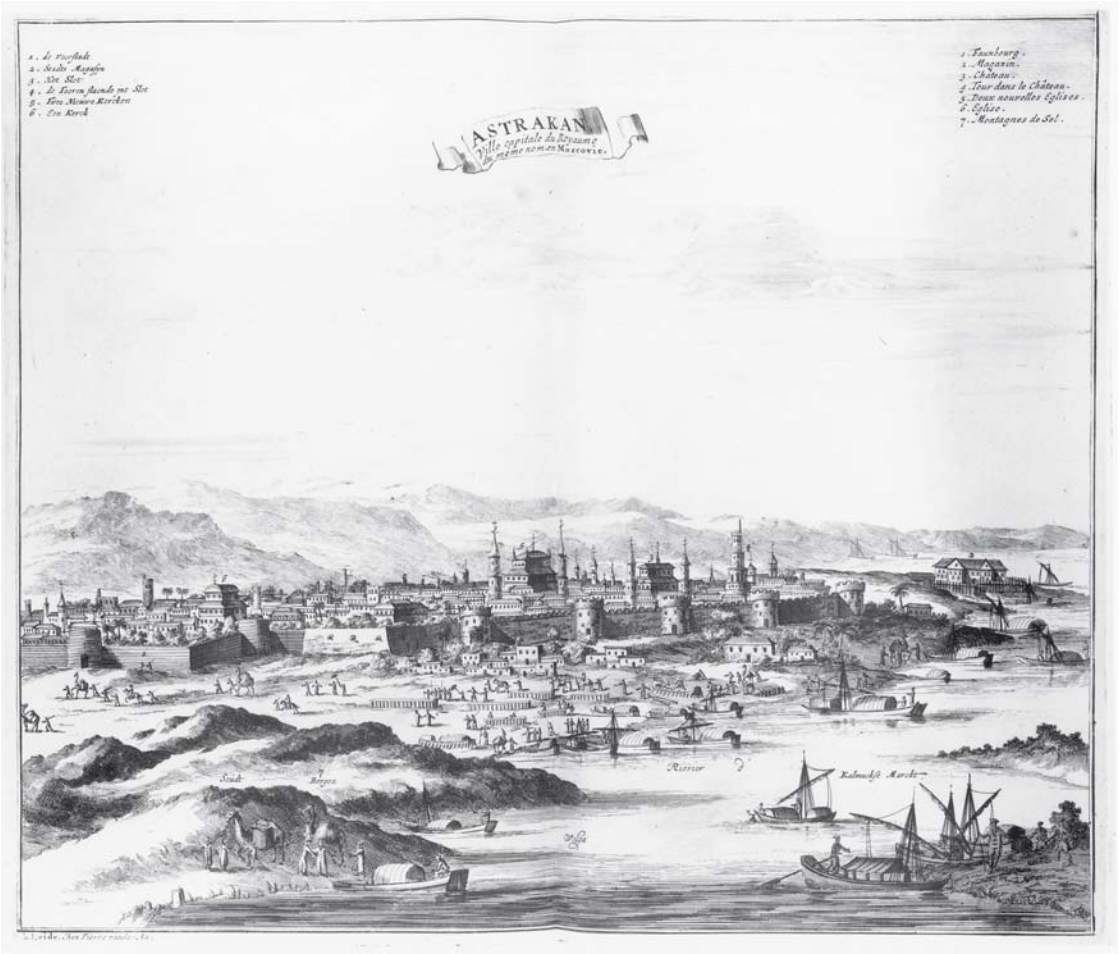


Fig. 10. Astrakhan'.

Fig. 11. Amsterdam.

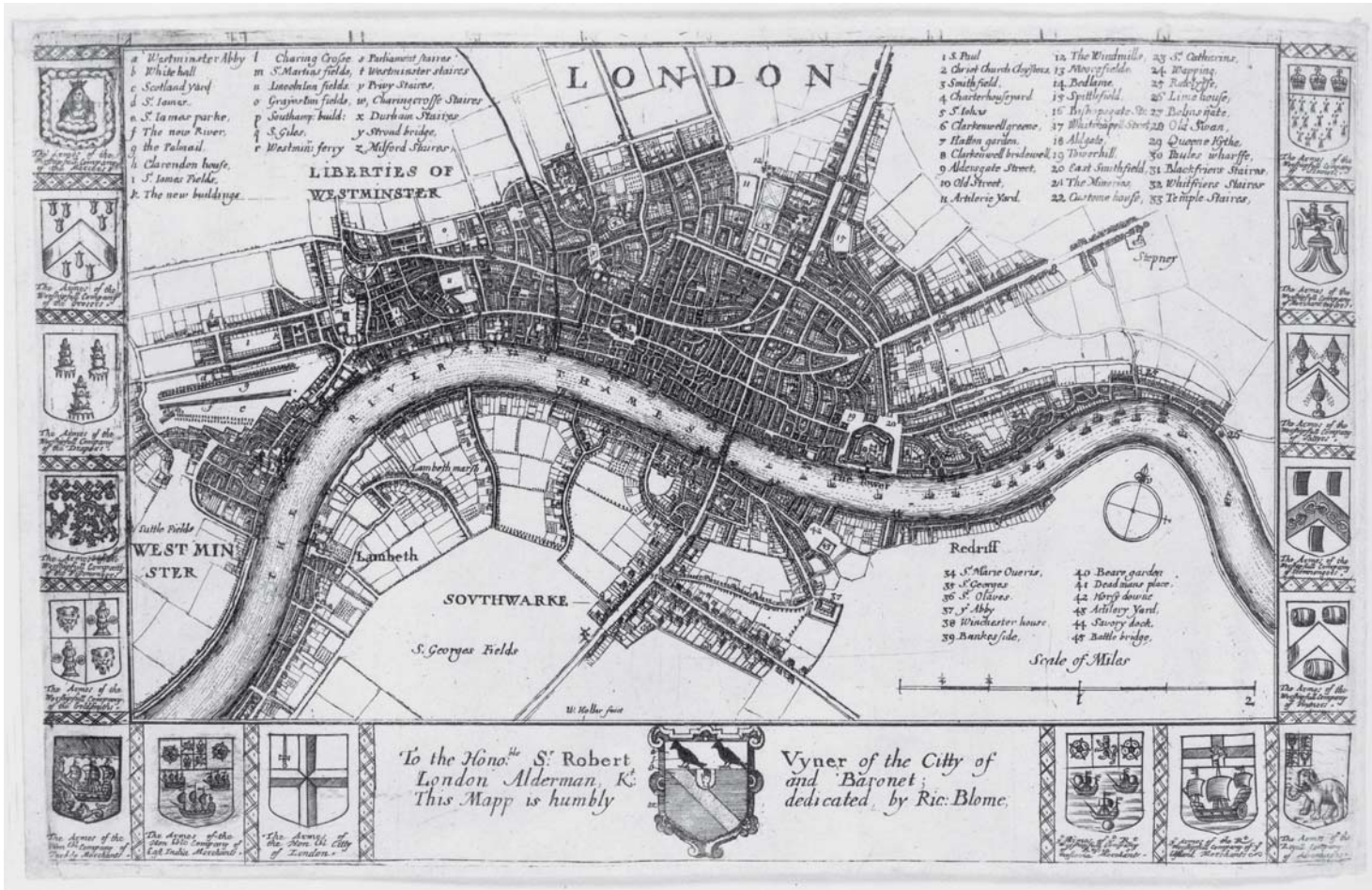


Fig. 12. London.

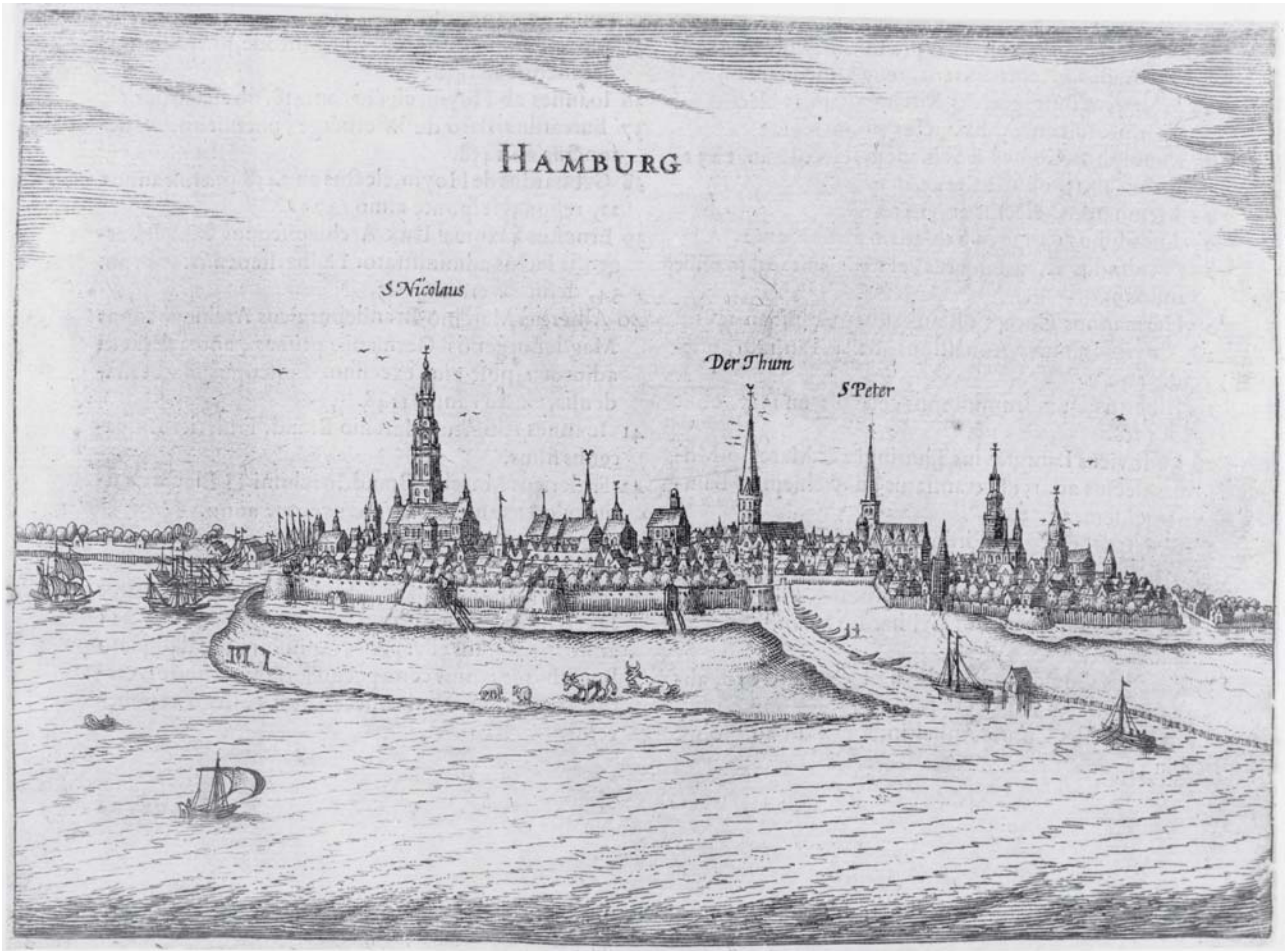


Fig. 13. Hamburg.

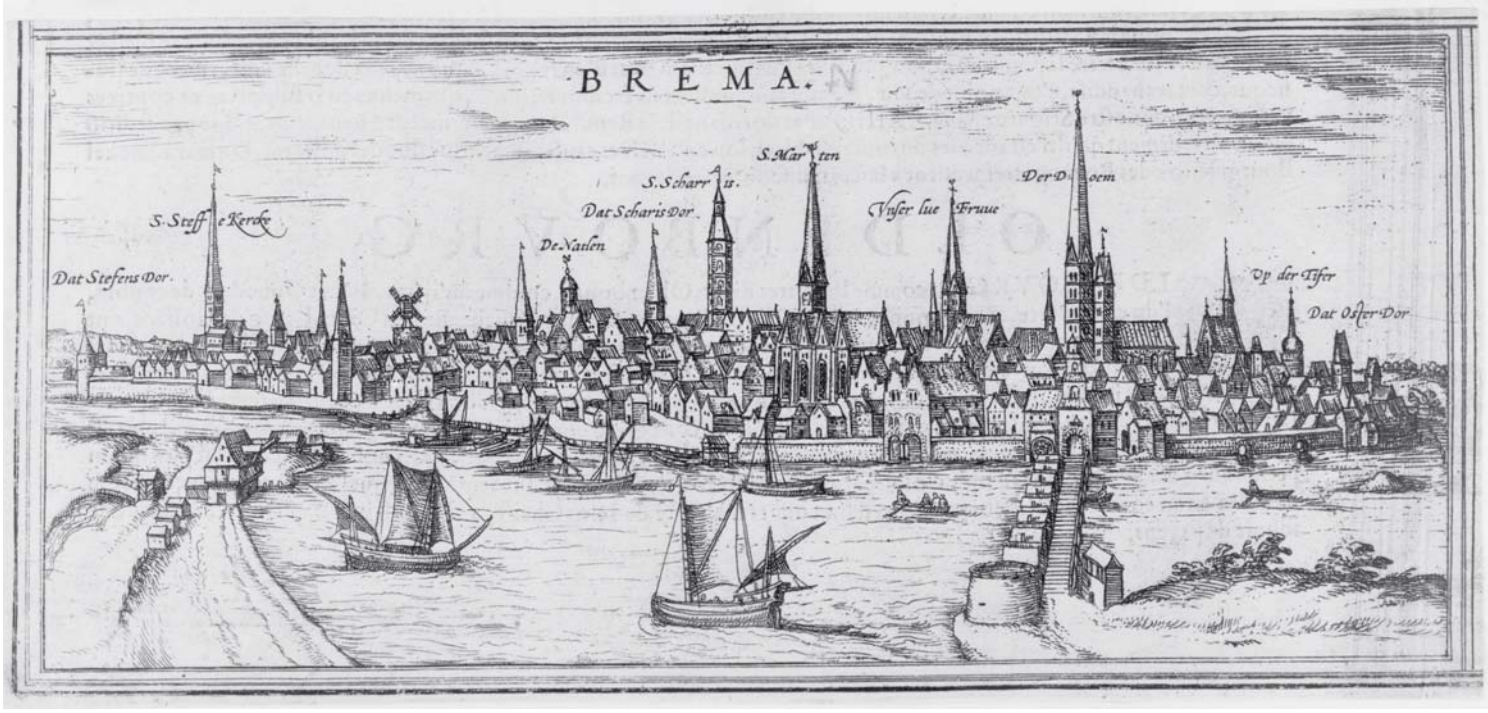


Fig. 14. Bremen.

Fig. 15. Lübeck.

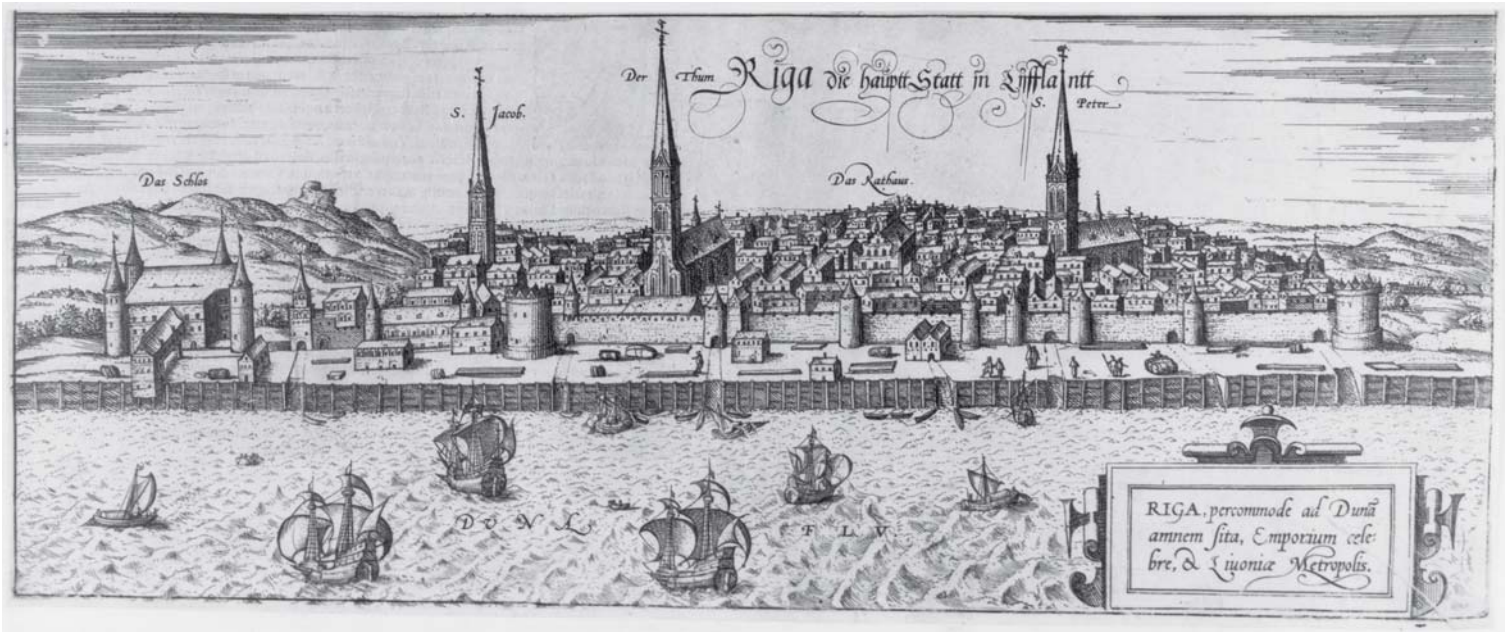

Der Thum Riga die haupt-Statt in Liffland
S. Jacob.
S. Petre.
Das Schlos
Das Rathaus.
D V N A
F L V.
RIGA, percommode ad Dunã amnem sita, Emporium celebre, & Liuoniæ Metropolis.

Fig. 16. Riga.

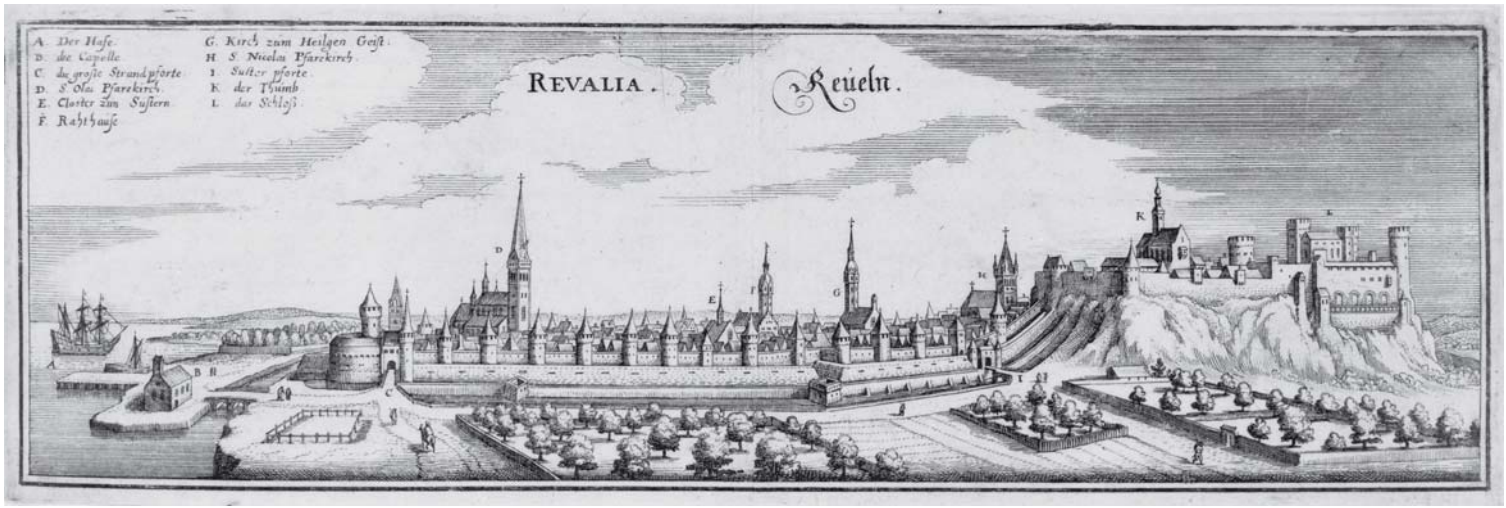


Fig. 17. Reval (Tallinn).

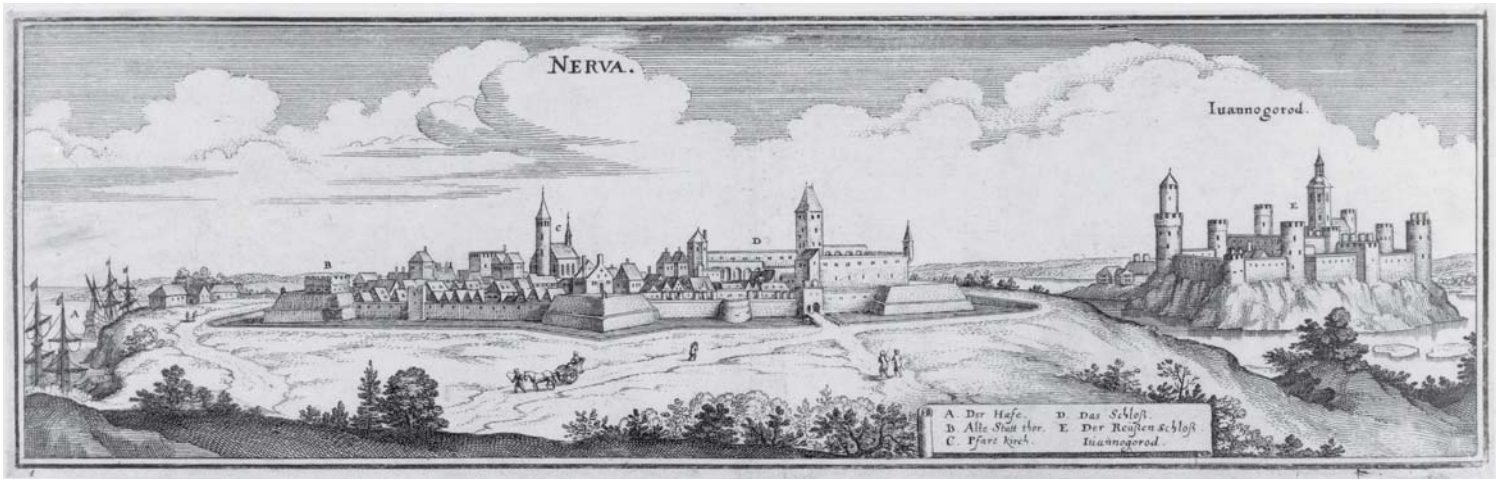


Fig. 18. Narva-Ivangorod.

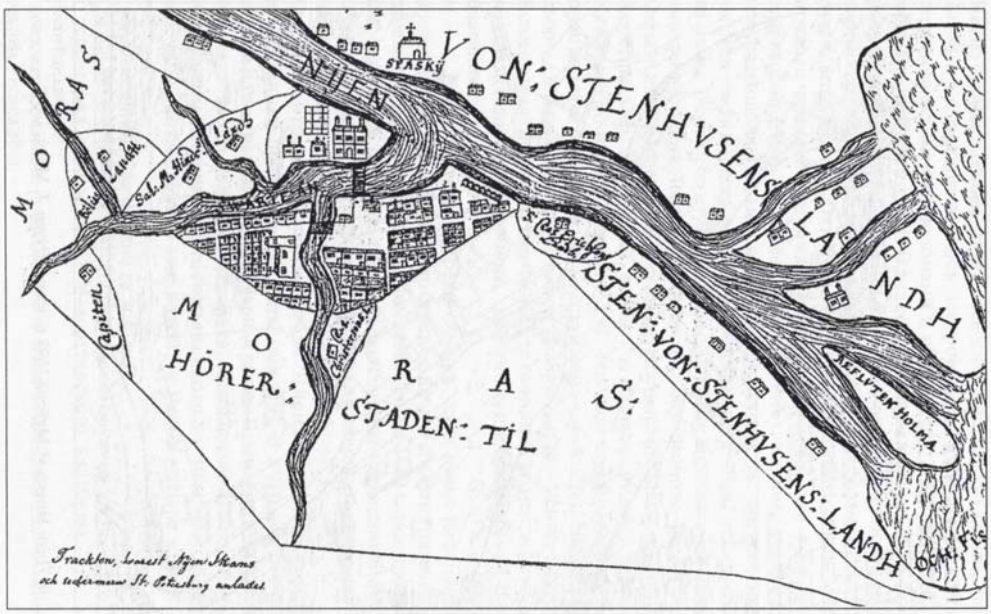


Fig. 19(a). Neva Estuary (1638).

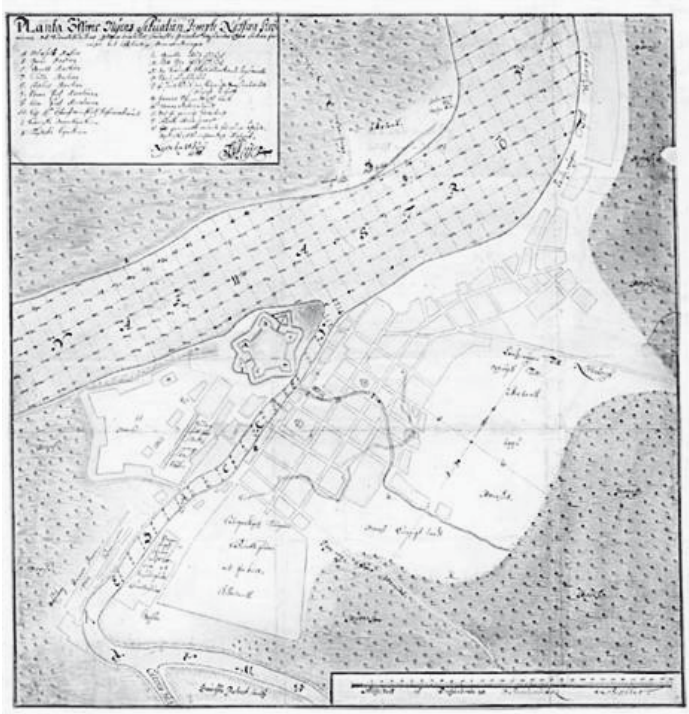


Fig. 19(b). Neva Estuary (1698).

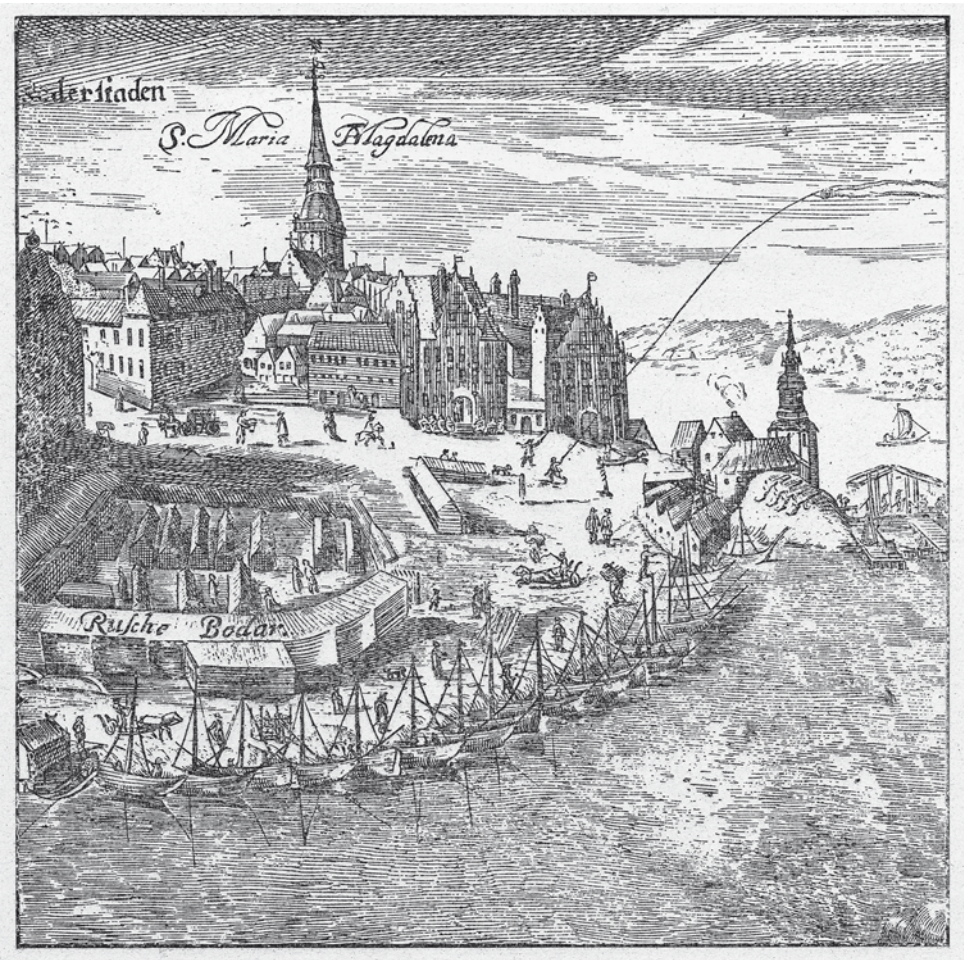


Fig. 20. Ryssgården.

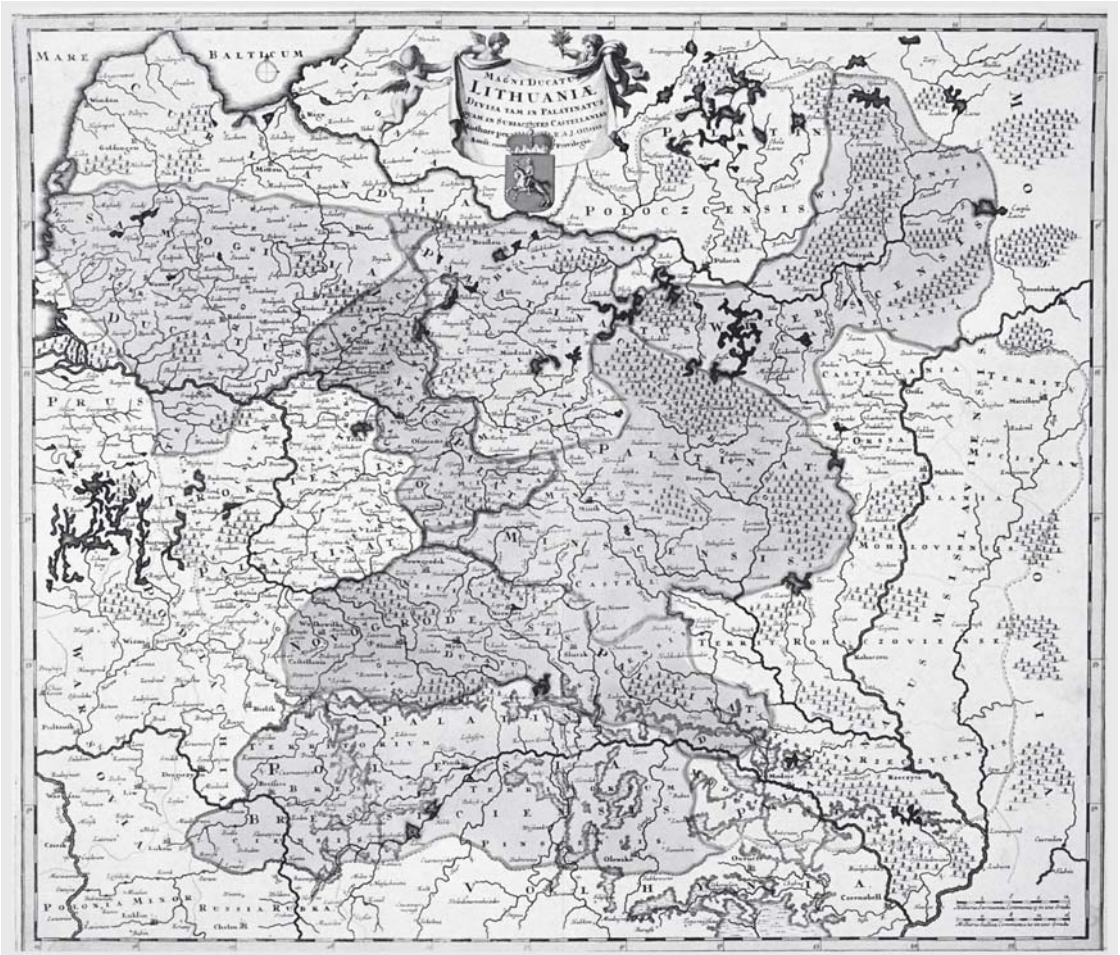


Fig. 21. Provinces of Lithuania.

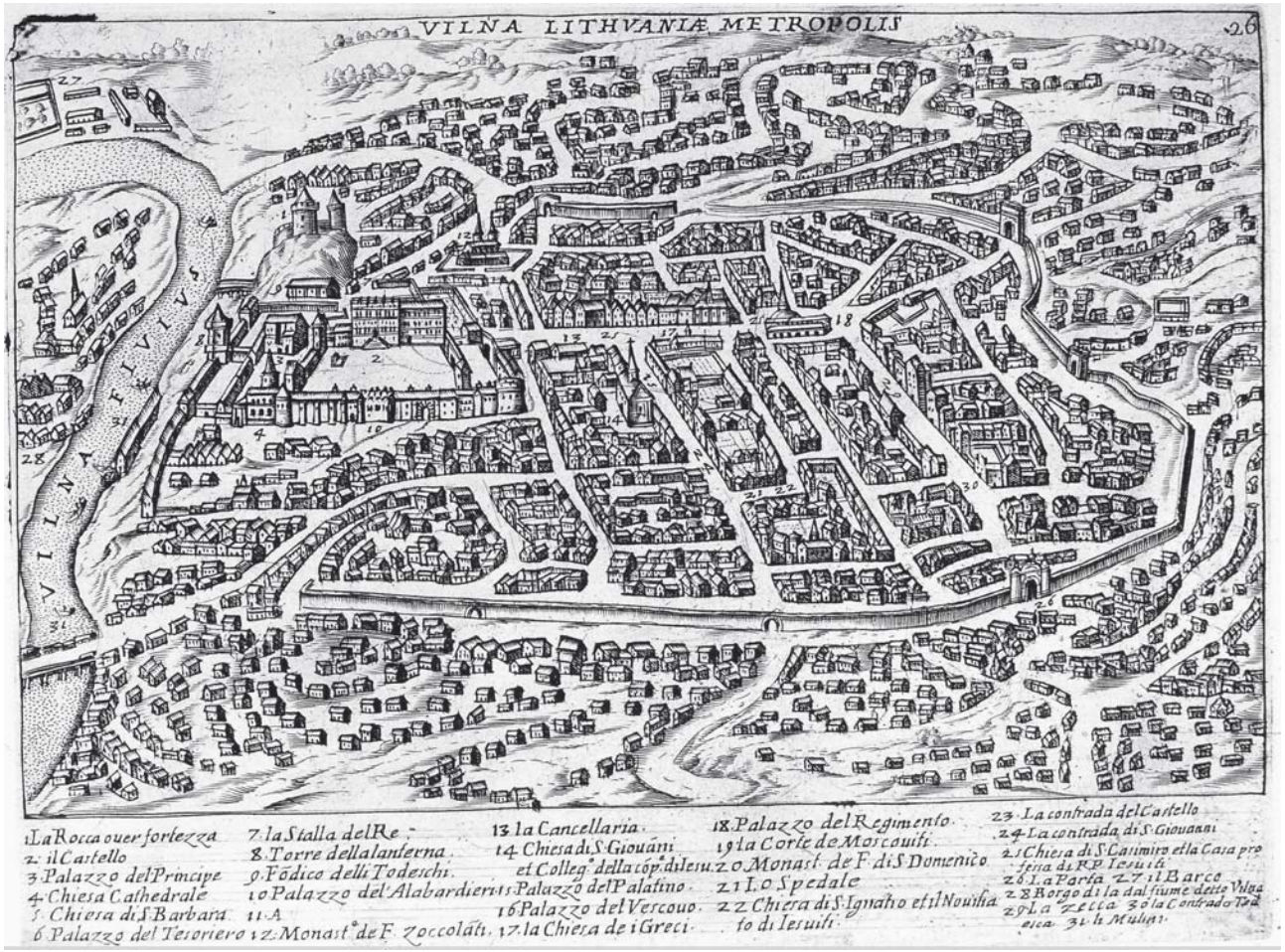

VILNA LITHVANIÆ METROPOLIS
26
VILNA FLVVIVS
1 La Rocca ouer fortezza
2 il Castello
3 Palazzo del Principe
4 Chiesa Cathedrale
5 Chiesa di S. Barbara
6 Palazzo del Tesoriero
7 la Stalla del Re
8 Torre della lanterna
9 Fòdico delli Todeschi
10 Palazzo de' Alabardieri
11 A
12 Monast.° de F. Zoccolati
13 la Cancellaria
14 Chiesa di S. Giouáni et Colleg.° della cõp.a di Iesu
15 Palazzo del Palatino
16 Palazzo del Vescouo
17 la Chiesa de i Greci
18 Palazzo del Regimento
19 la Corte de Moscouiti
20 Monast.° de F. di S. Domenico
21 L.o Spedale
22 Chiesa di S. Ignatio et il Nouitia to di Iesuiti
23 La contrada del Castello
24 La contrada di S. Giouanni
25 Chiesa di S. Casimiro et la Casa pro fessa di PP. Iesuiti
26 L.a Porta
27 il Barco
28 Borgo di là dal fiume detto Vilna
29 La Zetta
30 la Contrada Tra desca
31 li Mulini

Fig. 22. Wilno.

Fig. 23. Isfahan.

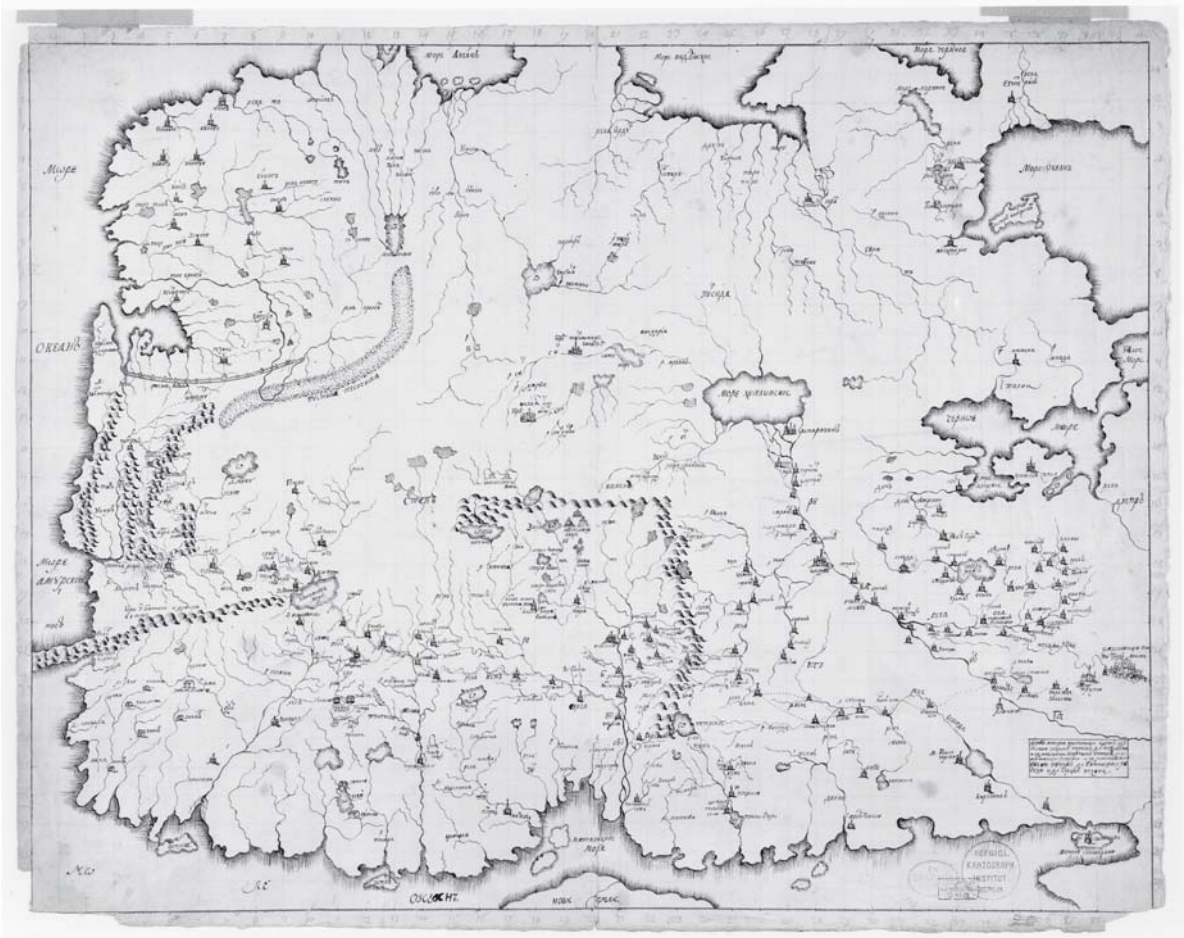


Fig. 24. Map of Siberia.

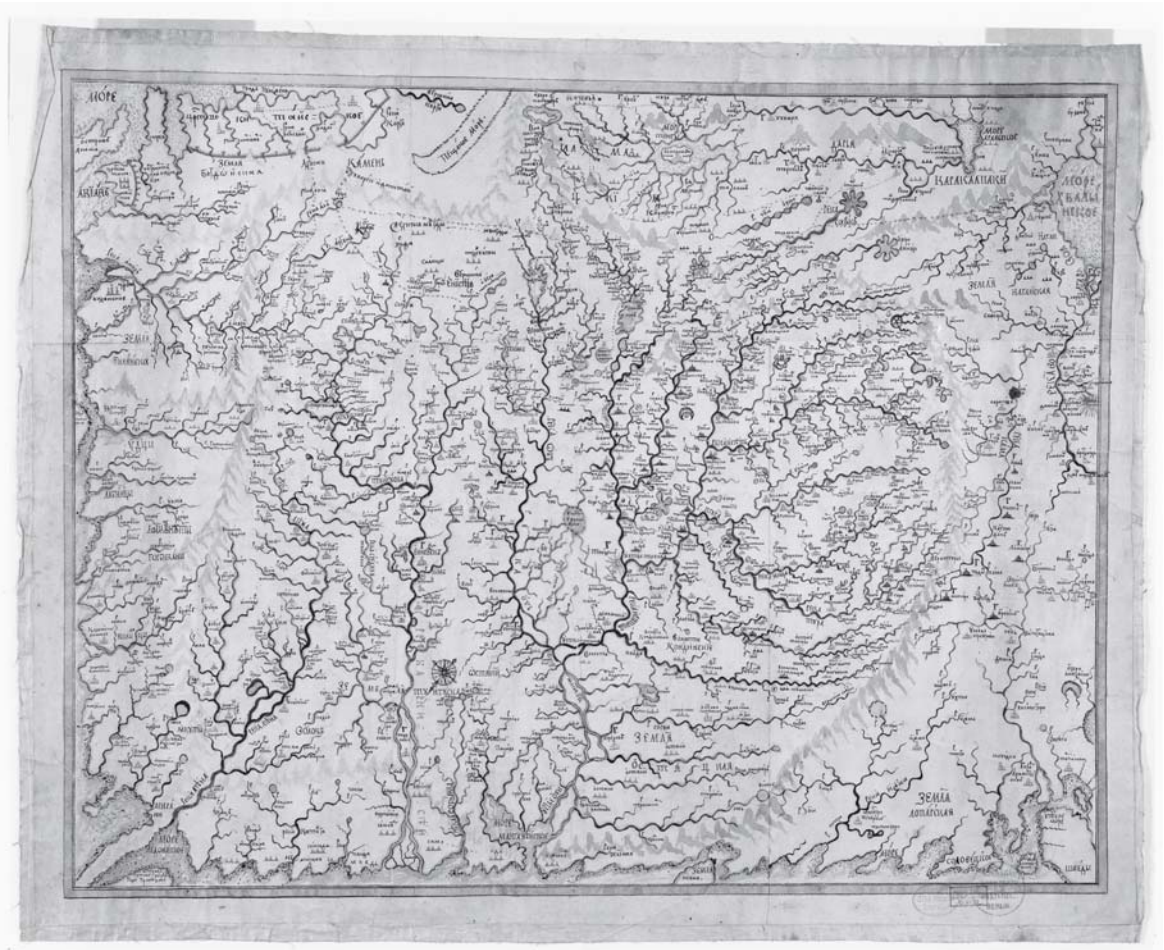


Fig. 25. Map of Siberia.